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THE KORYAK.

INTRODUCTORY.

128 IN the winter of 1900-01 I carried on ethnological studies among the Koryak, my work being part of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. The present publication contains the results of my inquiries. In working up my collections, I have treated religion and the myths first for the following reasons. When I returned from my field-work to New York, I found my friend, Mr. W. G. Bogoras, who had taken part in the Siberian Expedition, at work on the material culture of the Chukchee, whom he had studied for several years.

The Chukchee are related to the Koryak, and the conditions of life among these two tribes are very much alike. To avoid unnecessary repetition, it seemed desirable to defer the detailed description of the material culture of the Koryak until after the completion of Mr. Bogoras's work, and to restrict my description to features in regard to which the Koryak differ from the Chukchee. There is also a considerable similarity in the religion and mythology of both tribes, who are not only in the same stage of development of religious thought, but, with few exceptions, believe in the same supernatural powers, have the same kinds of festivals, religious ceremonies, and sacrifices, and possess similar myths. Since a considerable number of myths and some material relating to the beliefs of the Chukchee have been published by Mr. Bogoras,[1] I have been able to treat from a comparative point of view the beliefs and myths of the Koryak.

121 It may be in place to point out here that the material relating to the Koryak was gathered by me among the Maritime Koryak along the bays of Penshina and Gishiga on the Sea of Okhotsk, and among the Reindeer Koryak of the peninsula of Taigonos, and throughout the interior of the Gishiga district. I did not visit the Koryak of northern Kamchatka and of the coast of the Pacific Ocean, since I had only one winter at my disposal to make a study of this tribe, with which I first came in contact on the Jesup Expedition.

Since I had to leave the Koryak country in the latter half of the summer of 1901 to visit the Kolyma River, I thought it best in the winter of 1900-01

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[1] See list of authorities quoted, p. 3.

21 to confine my studies of the Koryak to a more or less fixed locality, thus avoiding unnecessary waste of time in making long and frequent trips over their vast territory.

This method of investigation proved advantageous both in gathering information and in making collections. It should be said, however, that I had opportunities to meet some individuals from the regions which I had not visited, and I utilized them as much as I could in obtaining information. Besides, the localities which I investigated are more interesting than other parts of the Koryak region in having the best preserved ancient customs and traditions.

The photographs reproduced here were taken by Mrs. Jochelson and myself, and the drawings were made by Mr. Rudolf Weber.

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⁂ For other authorities see references in the text.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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The following alphabet is used in transcribing native words: —

a, e, i, u	have their continental sounds (in the Chukchee and the Koryak always long).
o	like *o* in *nor*.
ä	obscure vowel (long).
ē	like *a* in *make*.
ᴀ, ᴇ, ɪ	obscure vowels (short).
ê	like *e* in *bell*, but prolonged.
i	a diphthong with an accent on *i*. It always has a laryngeal intonation, ᵋiᵋ.
ө	between *o* and *u*, long.
ü	mouth in *i* position, lips in *u* position (short).
w, y	as in English.
	Extra long and extra short vowels are indicated by the macron and breve respectively.
	The diphthongs are formed by combining any of the vowels with *i* and *u*. Thus:
ai	like *i* in *hide*.
ei	" *ei* " *vein*.
oi	" *oi* " *choice*.
au	" *ow* " *how*.
l	as in German.
ḷ	pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the palate a little above the alveoli of the upper jaw, the back of the tongue free.
ʟ	posterior palatal *l*, surd and exploded, the tip of the tongue touching the alveoli of the upper jaw, the back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate.
ļ	posterior palatal *l*, sonant.
r	as in French.
ṙ	dental with slight trill.
ṛ	velar.
m	as in English.
n	as in English.
ñ	nasal *n* sound.
n·	palatized *n* (similar to *ny*).
b, p	as in English.
bʽ, pʽ, dʽ, tʽ, gʽ, kʽ	have a spirant added (*gehauchter Absatz* of Sievers).
v	bilabial.
g	like *g* in *good*.
h	as in English.
x	like *ch* in German *Bach*.
x·	" *ch* " " *ich*.
k	as in English.
q	velar *k*.
ɢ	velar *g*.
d, t	as in English.
d·, t·	palatized (similar to *dy* and *ty*).
s	as in English.
s·	palatized (similar to *sy*).
š	like German *z*.
c	" English *sh*.
č	" English *ch*.
j	" *j* in French *jour*.
ǰ	" *j* in *joy*.
č·	strongly palatized č.
ǰ·	strongly palatised ǰ.
!	designates increased stress of articulation.
ᵋ	a very deep laryngeal intonation.
ʼ	a full pause between two vowels: yiñeʼa.
-	is used to connect.

PART I. — RELIGION AND MYTHS.

I. — HISTORICAL REMARKS.

The Koryak have remained until now the least known of all the tribes of Siberia. So far no one has made a special study of them. Steller, Krasheninnikoff, Dittmar, Baron von Maydell, and Slunin refer to them more or less fully. 114

The two travellers first mentioned[1] devoted themselves more than others to the ethnographical description of the Kamchatka-Okhotsk region, mainly of the Kamchadal. Up to the present time their descriptions furnish the only trustworthy ethnographical material on Kamchatka; but the science of ethnography in the eighteenth century — i. e., at the time when those scientists were making a study of the tribes of northeastern Asia — was in a rudimentary state, and the methods applied by them can no longer be regarded as satisfactory. Steller, for instance, in his book on the Kamchadal, says that there are no special shamans, and that they have no special shamanistic garb and no drums;[2] and at the same time his book contains three illustrations representing front, back, and side views of a shaman dressed in ceremonial garb, beating the drum and performing shamanistic rites. The illustrations are clearly those of a Tungus shaman dressed in a coat with tassels, and other paraphernalia characteristic of Tungus shamanism; but the legends to the illustrations state that they represent a shaman of the Kamchadal.[3] Krasheninnikoff describes some exceedingly interesting ceremonies during the annual fall festival of the Kamchadal, but fails to explain them in any way. Both Krasheninnikoff and Steller, in describing Kamchatka, mention the Koryak; but the authors' information of the religious conceptions of the Koryak is meagre and faulty, although there is no doubt that in the first half of the eighteenth century a good deal of what has now disappeared was in existence. Of the Reindeer Koryak, Krasheninnikoff tells us[4] that they have no festivals, have no conception of God, but only of devils;[5] and, further, that the Maritime Koryak worship as a deity "Ku'tkhu" of the Kamchadal.

Dittmar visited the Koryak region in 1852. He was a mining engineer, and was sent by the government to carry on geographical and geological explorations. While on his way, he gathered some ethnographical material, and wrote a separate article on the Koryak,[1] which was of great interest because of the lack of all other information. In regard to the Koryak religion, he informs us that they worship the good god by the name Apa'pel;[2] whereas apa'pel means "grandfather," and the Koryak apply it to their sacred rocks, hills, capes, to all of which sacrifices are offered.

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[1] They were members of the so-called "Kamchatka Expedition," which lasted from 1733 to 1743.

[2] Steller, p. 277.

[3] Ibid., Plates a-c, opp. p. 284.

[4] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 217.

[5] Ibid., p. 214.

Baron von Maydell (1868-70), an official attached to the Yakut governor, was sent to investigate the question whether the Chukchee could be induced to submit to Russian rule. While on his way, he accumulated a great deal of new geographical data, which constitute the principal subject-matter of his work. A considerable part of his report is devoted to a superficial and incidental description of the tribes with which he came in contact, and of their economic life. In his historical account concerning the conflicts of the Russians with the Chukchee he devotes some space to the Koryak. He relates the impressions produced upon him while passing through Koryak villages and camps; but his account contains no material relating to the religion of the people. His method of ethnographical investigation may well be understood from the following fact, which he, by the way, sets forth in his own praise.[3] On his arrival at the Koryak village Shestakova (Leñle'ñčan), on the river Shestakovka (Ega'č River), he found that the Koryak consider it a sin to enter the underground house in winter through the closed summer entrance. He considered it, however, inconsistent with the dignity of an official to crawl down into the house through the upper smoke-hole,[4] and commanded his cossacks to break through the lower entrance of the house with axes. Then the host asked him not to injure the house, and he himself opened the lower entrance.

Dr. N. V. Slunin, a surgeon in the navy, was a member of the expedition (1896-98) sent out by the government in charge of Prof. K. I. Bogdanovich, a mining-engineer, for the purpose of investigating the natural resources of the Okhotsk-Kamchatka region. His work on that region is mainly a compilation, but it affords an excellent body of information on the history, statistics, economic life, and natural history of the country. He has borrowed a great part of his ethnographical information, without critical examination, from Krasheninnikoff and Steller, and it is therefore antiquated. Slunin, for instance, has reprinted[5]

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[1] Dittmar, Die Korăken (see List of authorities quoted, p. 4).

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

[3] Maydell, I, p. 237.

[4] This refers to the underground buildings of the Maritime Koryak. Their houses consist of two parts, — a large living-room and a narrow porch. In the summer they enter the house through the entrance-door. During the winter this door is boarded up; and the opening in the roof which lets the smoke out serves as an entrance. The roof of the porch, from which a door leads into the living-room, also has a round opening, which is closed with a cork-shaped plug. When there is a fire on the hearth of the living-room, the plug is taken out from the opening in the roof of the porch for a draught.

[5] Slunin, I, pp. 399, 401.

114 from Steller's book some pictures of Japanese gods, which Steller[1] represents as the Kamchatka good and evil deities, and of whom no mention at all is made in the text of Steller's book. Slunin's personal observations do not add much new material to the ethnographical information which he obtained at second-hand.

Mr. Bogoras has had the kindness to place at my disposal the Koryak myths from Kamchatka and from the Pacific coast recorded by him.[2] These have been embodied in the present work on the Koryak. Besides this, he has revised and corrected the transcriptions of all Koryak names, words, incantations, and other Koryak phrases, contained in this book. Mr. Bogoras made a special study of both the Chukchee and the Koryak languages, which are closely related to each other.

124 Nicholas Vilkhin, a Russianized Koryak of the settlement of Gishiginsk, assisted me on the spot in recording and translating the myths. For scientific purposes he is the only tolerably good interpreter in the Gishiga district. He has equal command of the local Russian dialect and the Koryak language, and is more intelligent than two or three other Russianized Koryak who also live there, and who are at the same time familiar with both languages. Still I had to labor hard before I had him trained for the work. The cossacks' and other Russian settlers' knowledge of the Koryak language scarcely goes further than simple phrases used in trade, and their language frequently represents a peculiar Koryak-Russian jargon. It goes without saying that the Russian interpreters proved unfit for my purposes. Vilkhin was in the employ of the expedition throughout my entire stay in the Gishiga district.

171 The Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka, although still preserving their language, have long since embraced Christianity, and, setting aside a
177 number of superstitions, have forgotten their former religion. The same may be said, to a great extent, of the Alutora Maritime Koryak, who also have been converted to Christianity; but, according to Mr. Bogoras, the latter have preserved a great number of myths. The Reindeer Koryak, however, as well as the Maritime Koryak north of Alutorsky Cape, along the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the Maritime Koryak inhabiting the shores of Penshina Bay, have to a considerable extent preserved their primitive religion. The efforts of the Russians to convert them to the Orthodox faith have so far proved futile. Especially the Maritime Koryak who live nearest to the settlement of Gishiginsk, the Russian centre of the Gishiga district, prove to be more conservative in matters pertaining to religion than those who come in contact with the Koryak of Kamchatka, like the inhabitants of the villages of Kamenskoye (Va′ikenan), Talovka (Xe′s·xen), Ma′meč, and Reki′nnok.[3] But,

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[1] Steller, 3 plates opp. p. 252.

[2] The following tales were recorded by Mr. Bogoras: Nos. 97-109 and 115-139.

[3] See map. In the text Russian names of villages, rivers, etc., have been used. If there are Koryak names, these have been added in parentheses. Koryak names only are used when there are no Russian names.

771 in spite of the fact that Christianity has been adopted only to a limited extent
among the Koryak, their own religion is at present in a state of decay, which is
177 caused by their coming in frequent contact with Russian traders and Cossacks,
who, especially the latter, ridicule the idols, sacrifices, and ceremonies of the
Koryak. Many of the ceremonies and myths are mere survivals of the past,
and their meaning has been lost. As early as the middle of the eighteenth
century, the religion of Kamchadal, according to Krasheninnikoff and Steller,
was influenced by the Russians in the same manner.

II. — SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.

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The Transformer of the World and the Ancestor of the Koryak. — Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu, or Kutkinn·a'ku) is looked upon by the Koryak as the founder of the world. The termination-n·aku is the augmentative form of the mythical name of the raven (Ku'tqi, Qui'kıy, Ku'skıl, or Qui'kıl[1]). In some myths he is designated as Raven-Big-Qui'kıl (Va'lvam-Quikınn·a'qu). The Kamchadal call him Kutq.[2] Krasheninnikoff writes this word Ku'tkhu (Russian, Ky'тxy);[3] and Steller, Ku'tka or Kutga.[4] The Chukchee call him Ku'rkıl.[2]

The Maritime Koryak of the western shore of Penshina Bay call Big-Raven also Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu[5]), as may be seen from the myths recorded at the villages of Itkana, Kuel, and Paren; while the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsuia call him Creator (Tenanto'mwan), as is evidenced by the myths recorded on the Taigonos Peninsula. The last two names, however, Ačičen·a'qu and Tenanto'mwan, are well known to the Koryak of other localities. The identity of Creator with Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) and with Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu) is also recognized by the Taigonos Koryak, in some of whose tales the last two names are also found. On the other hand, we find in texts recorded in other localities, sometimes the name Big-Raven, then Creator or Big-Grandfather; and sometimes in the same tale we meet with two names.[6]

It may be pointed out here that the Chukchee make a distinction between Raven (Ku'rkıl) and Creator. The former appears as a companion and assistant of Creator when creating the world. The latter is considered as a benevolent deity of an indefinite character, living on the zenith, and is identified with another benevolent deity, Outer-One, World[7] (Ña'iñınen; Chukchee, Ña'rñınen), which, as will be seen farther on, is considered by the Koryak to be one of the names for the Supreme Being.[8]

In one of the Chukchee myths related by Mr. Bogoras,[9] "Creator" himself turns into a raven and ascends to heaven, in order to get reindeer for men from the Supreme Being; but this myth looks very much like an adaptation from the Koryak. Mr. Bogoras states, however, that in shamanistic incantations, Raven is sometimes called "the outer garment of the Creator."[10] This passage is in full accord with the Koryak conception of the Creator, or the Big-Raven, who turns into a raven when putting on a raven's coat.

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[1] In ordinary language the word for "raven" is va'lve. The names for Big-Raven and other mythical beings are written here as pronounced in the various Koryak dialects.

[2] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 637.

[3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 100.

[4] Steller, p. 253.

[5] Ači'če. "grandfather;" — n·aqu, augmentative form.

[6] Tales 6, 49, 125.

[7] Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 30; Anthropologist, p. 587; Chukchee Materials, p. viii.

[8] See p. 24.

[9] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 168 (Tale 57).

[10] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 640.

776 All the tales about Big-Raven belong to the cycle of raven myths which are popular on the American as well as on the Asiatic shores of the North [171] Pacific Ocean. But while the Ku'rkıl of the Chukchee, and the Raven of the North American Indians, play a part only in their mythology, particularly in the myths relating to the creation of the world, and have no connection with religious observances, Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) plays an important part in the religious observances of the Koryak. Steller calls the Kamchadal Ku'tka "the greatest deity of the Kamchadal, who created the world and every living being."[1] Like the heroes of the other raven myths, Big-Raven of the Koryak appears merely as the transformer of the world. Everything in the world had existed before he appeared. His creative activity consisted in revealing things heretofore concealed, and turning some things into others; and, since everything in nature is regarded by the Koryak as animated, he only changed the form of the animated substance. Some things he brought down ready made to our earth from the Supreme Being in heaven. Big-Raven appears as the first man, the father and protector of the Koryak; but at the same time he 782 is a powerful shaman and a supernatural being. His name figures in all incantations. These are either prayers addressed to him, or, in cases of treating 776 the sick, dramatic representations of myths relating how Big-Raven treated his 755 own children, the patient personifying one of Big-Raven's children. His presence is presupposed in pronouncing the incantation, and sick people are treated by means of his name. In the same manner he is supposed to be present at every shamanistic ceremony. When the shamans of the Maritime Koryak commence their incantations, they say, "There, Big-Raven is coming!" The Reindeer Koryak told me that during shamanistic ceremonies a raven or a sea-gull comes flying into the house, and that the host will then say, "Slaughter a reindeer, Big-Raven is coming!" I had no opportunity to witness personally any sacrificial offering to Big-Raven; but at the fawn festival[2] which is now observed only by the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Mountains, the antlers piled up during the festival constitute a sacrifice to Big-Raven.

The name Tenanto'mwᴀɴ,[3] but not his other two names, is always used in incantations, as will be seen later on from the texts which I succeeded in recording. His wife appears under one name only, Miti'.

776 In some of the myths we meet, together with Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu), 773 who turns into a raven only when putting on a raven's coat, the real raven (va'lvᴇ, "raven;" or Valva'mtılaᵋn,[4] "Raven-Man") as a representative of birds

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[1] Steller, p. 253. But on p. 255 he says, "If it is at all permissible to speak of any kind of a god, we do not find any description of his nature, faculties, or deeds, though there is a name for him, in the Kamchadal language. They, the Kamchadals, call him Düstechtschitsch." This is evidently the Supreme Being of the Kamchadal, corresponding to the supreme benevolent deity of the Koryak. Unfortunately, Steller does not give any further information about that deity. At the present time the Kamchadal call the Christian God by the name Duste'qčič.

[2] See Chapter V, The Fawn Festival.

[3] Chukchee, Tẽ'nanto'mgın.

[4] The ending-laᵋn means "man."

of that species, — a droll and contemptible personage, who feeds on dog carcasses and excrement, and has nothing in common with the cult. The Koryak do not consider it a sin to kill a raven. The raven, nevertheless, plays some part in their cosmogony. He swallowed the sun,[1] and Big-Raven's daughter got it out from his mouth, whereupon she killed him. This suggests the tale of the liberation of the sun told by the Indians of the North Pacific coast. In another tale[2] the raven and the sea-gull appear as shamans, bringing Eme'mqut, the son of Big-Raven, back to life several times, after he had been killed by an invincible giant who keeps his heart hidden in a box. 776 773

There are many contradictory accounts of the origin of Big-Raven. According to information given by a Koryak from Opu'ka, the Supreme Being was once sharpening his knife in heaven, and a piece of dust from the grindstone fell down to earth and turned into a man, and that man was Big-Raven. Many Koryak say that they do not know where Big-Raven came from, but that in olden times the people knew it. Others say that the Supreme Being created him, and sent him down to establish order on earth. According to one tale,[3] Big-Raven grew up all alone, having been left in the house by his father, Self-created (Tomwo'get), when quite a little boy. When he grew up, and commenced to go out hunting, he once happened to run up against a house in which a girl, Miti' by name, lived. She had been deserted when a little girl by her father, Twilight-Man (Ģi'thiłilaᵋn), and had grown up alone. Big-Raven married her, and the Koryak are their descendants.

Almost all of the recorded Koryak myths, with very few exceptions,[4] deal with the life, travels, adventures, and tricks of Big-Raven, his children, and other relatives. In this respect the Koryak mythology is very similar to the transformer myths of the Tlingit relating to the raven Yēlch[5] or Yētl.[6]

Struck with the ridiculous and disrespectful character of the tales about "Ku'tka" in Kamchadal mythology, Steller calls the Kamchadal "geborene Gotteslästerer,"[7] and considers such an attitude toward the gods an anomalous exception. But the myths of the civilized peoples of antiquity, as well as those of other primitive tribes that have been collected since, prove that in point of coarseness the crude imagination of the Kamchadal does not stand alone. Indecent tales are, nevertheless, especially characteristic of the inhabitants of both shores of the North Pacific; and their obscene character constitutes one of the points of resemblance between Koryak and American mythology. 776 773 831

Big-Raven and his wife Miti' play all sorts of indecent tricks just for their amusement. They turn their sexual organs into dogs and people, and then set them back again in their places.[8] Miti' takes her anus and puts it in place

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[1] See Tale 82.
[2] See Tale 67.
[3] Tale 20.
[4] Tales 27, 36, 44, 47, 97, 99.
[5] Krause, pp. 253-282.
[6] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 311-328.
[7] Steller, p. 253.
[8] Tales 7, 25, 31.

776 of her vulva, and *vice versa*.[1] Miti′ prepares puddings out of her genitalia,
773 and treats her husband to them. He enters her anus as though it were a house.[1] In another place, on the occasion of a famine, Big-Raven, as well as
831 every member of his family, — except his sons, who are absent with the reindeer, — following Big-Raven's order, each puts his head into his own anus, and, feeding there on excrement, imagines that he is wandering along a river-valley, and procuring fish.[2] Big-Raven appears, besides, as a being of a very low order of intelligence. Not only Miti′, who is represented as being brighter than he, succeeds in deceiving him, and excels him in cunning inventions, but even mice, foxes, and other animals cheat him, make fun of him, and deride him. It goes without saying, that all these funny, foolish, or indecent adventures of Big-Raven and other members of his family, go hand in hand
[522] with supernatural deeds and transformations. Although reflecting the Koryak view of nature and deities, they serve mainly as a source of amusement. The coarseness of the incidents does not prevent the Koryak from considering the heroes of those tales as their protectors.

773 According to some information, Big-Raven's wife Miti′, whose name is also connected with incantations, was thrown down from heaven upon earth
776 by her father, The-Master-on-High[3] (Ģıčho′l-etı′nvıla‘n). Big-Raven found her in the wilderness, and, knowing nothing of her origin, kept constantly taunting her, saying that she had no kin. Another informer told me that Miti′ fell down upon the tundra from the clouds during a thunder-storm.

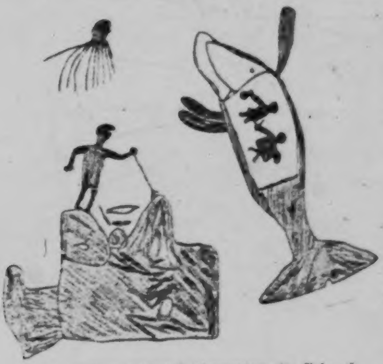

Fig. 1. Koryak Sketch illustrating the Tale of Big-Raven and the Spider-Crab.

According to a third tradition, related to me by an Opu′ka Koryak, Miti′
[532] was the daughter of Crab (Toko′yoto), the master of the sea. This name designates a large sea-crab found in the Pacific Ocean. From what follows, it might seem that it is the spider-crab. Miti′ remained on the shore after high water. Big-Raven found her and took her for his wife. According to Tale 116, Big-Raven found in a water-hole a White-Whale woman, Miti′ by name, whom he took for his wife. Another tradition relates that Miti′ had been married to the master of the sea, and that Big-Raven took her away from him; that Miti′'s older daughters were not Big-Raven's children, but Crab's. This last tale is accompanied by an illustration (Fig. 1) made by a Maritime Koryak, Ka′mmake from the Opu′ka River. Ka′mmake

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[1] Tale 23.

[2] Tale 42.

[3] See p. 24.

'773 '776 explained his drawing as follows: Big-Raven maltreated his daughters Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Čan·a'i-ña'ut, giving them nothing to eat or to drink. They got angry with him, and decided to run away to their real father, Crab (Toko'yoto), the master of the sea. They made a wooden whale, launched it upon the sea, and boarded it. Then it turned into a real whale. They started off in it. Their brother Eme'mqut, who happened to be on a rocky island hunting ducks, saw the whale, and aimed at it; but the elder sister shouted to him from within, and bow and arrows fell out of his hands. The sisters came to Crab, and remained with him.[1] Ka'mmake thus described the crab drawn by him: "He has ten legs, each as long as a man's arm, and without bones. He has no trunk. His head is round, like a man's, and has a beak like that of a ptarmigan. He lives on the bottom of the sea."

According to one tale, Big-Raven had seven sons and five daughters; but the following names only are mentioned: the sons, Eme'mqut,(2) Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu), One-who-paints-his-Belly (Na'ñqa-ka'le), Bear's-Ear (Ka'iñı-vi'lu), and in northern Kamchatka also Kıhıhıčın·a'xu and Dawn-coming-out (Tña'nto); and the daughters, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Čan·a'i-ña'ut, Iči'me-ñe'ut, and in northern Kamchatka An·a'rukča-ña'ut.(3) Of all the children, Eme'mqut and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut play the most important part in the myths. Both of them are shamans. These two are constantly engaged in a struggle with the cannibal kalau.[4] Their travels are full of adventures. They conquer their powerful rivals, ascend to heaven, or descend to the underground world. As told in Tale 9, Eme'mqut, together with his father, once put on a raven's coat, and turned into a raven; in Tales 8 and 136 Eme'mqut himself turned into a raven; and in Tale 82 Yiñe'a-ñe'ut set free the sun, which had been swallowed by Raven-Man. One of the stars of the Pleiades bears her name.

Among the other relatives of Big-Raven and Miti' are mentioned his brother Qaitaka'lñın (Brother); his sister A'na (also pronounced Ha'na or Ga'na(6)), who is also called Xe'llu; Great-Cold (Mai'ñi-ča'ičan or Čaičan·a'qu), her husband; and Miti''s brother, Little-Charm-Man (Ikle'mtıla'n). Besides the children of Big-Raven, an important part is played in the myths by Illa' and Kilu', the son and daughter of Ga'na. White-Whale-Woman (Yi'yi or Yi'yi-ñe'ut) is mentioned as Kilu''s younger sister.[6]

Krasheninnikoff(7) cites the following Kamchadal names, which apparently

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[1] A story referring to a wooden whale is told also in Tale 69.

[2] I have been unable to find out the meaning of this name.

[3] The ending — ñe'ut or — ña'ut means "woman."

[4] That is, malevolent beings. Kalau is the plural of kala (see p. 27).

[5] Steller (p. 281) mentions "Chana" as the Kamchadal name of the constellation the Great Bear.

[6] Tale 50. Mr. Bogoras (Anthropologist, p. 638) says that "the Chukchee tradition knows also the name of Miti' or Miti-ñe (ñe being abbreviated from ñe'ut, 'woman'), the Raven's wife," and that the Koryak of northern Kamchatka call Miti''s brother White-Whale-Man (Siisi'san), and the other sons of Quikınn·a'qu and Miti', Kigıgičin·a'ku, Kutha'nu, Kıtı'nyaaku, Va'la, and Mılpu'tayan. Steller calls Big-Raven's wife Chi'chy (p. 254), and his son Deselkut (p. 264).

[7] Krasheninnikoff, II, pp. 100-107.

776 773 have been distorted by defective recording, Ku'tkhu, his wife Ilkxum, his sister Xu'tlıžič, his sons Sı'mskalin and Ti'zil-Ku'tkhu, and his daughter Si'duku. Ti'zil-Ku'tkhu married Si'duku. They had a son Amle'i, and a daughter, who also intermarried, and the Kamchadal are their descendants. Neither Steller nor Krasheninnikoff give the meaning of any of the above-mentioned names.

One-who-paints-his-Belly (Na'ñqa-ka'le), the son of Big-Raven, is a strong man or a hero who remains sitting at one place, and does nothing but paint his belly. It is only after urgent entreaties on the part of his father that he starts out in search of his brothers, who were killed by cannibal monsters.

The tales relating to Big-Raven's life and creative activity are just as contradictory as those which treat of his appearance on earth. According to some of them, not only the earth and all phenomena of nature, but animals and even men, had existed before him. It is frequently told in the tales that Big-Raven lived alone, and that there were no other people; but then it turns out that, far away from his habitation, other people live. For instance, in Tale 6 it is said that his neighbors were Chukchee, with whom he was engaged in warfare. It is apparently meant by this that there were no Koryak as yet, and in that sense Big-Raven was alone. In other tales, Reindeer people from a distance are mentioned. This must be understood to mean that there were no Maritime people, who, by the way, are clearly distinguished from the Reindeer people; Big-Raven himself being always described as a Maritime settler.

According to a tradition recorded by myself in the Itkana settlement, there were no other people when Big-Grandfather appeared on earth. Real men appeared later on, or were the descendants of his children; while Big-Grandfather lived with animals, birds, and phenomena of nature as though they were human beings. He used to pay them visits, and received them at his house. According to other traditions, however, Big-Raven created mankind, reindeer, and other animals. As has been said before, however, this creative activity entirely excludes the conception of calling new objects or beings into existence, but simply means the change of things from one form into another, and the bringing to light of hitherto hidden objects. For instance, according to some tales, Big-Raven pulls out the post to which dogs are tied, and herds of domestic reindeer come out of the ground: in other tales he brings reindeer from the Supreme Being in heaven, or makes wooden reindeer and endows them with life. Big-Raven introduced order on earth. He taught people how to catch sea-animals and fish; he gave them the drum and the fire-drill; he gave them protection from evil spirits, and incantations against diseases; but he also introduced death among mankind.

It is unknown whither Big-Raven disappeared. He bade his descendants burn their dead; but he ordered that after death his own body should be placed in a separate house, which should be closed up. This house and Big-Raven himself were turned into stone after his death.

According to other traditions, Big-Raven wandered away from the Koryak country, no one knows where. The same is related in the Kamchadal traditions; but, according to the latter, Raven (Kutq) went away from the Kamchadal to the Koryak and Chukchee. Some say that Big-Raven departed because he was displeased with men, since they ceased to heed his advice: others say that once, after having procured a whale, he arranged the whale festival, but the whale could not be induced to start off.[1] 776 773

Traces of Big-Raven's former places of abode are shown in several localities. On the Taigonos Peninsula it is said that he lived on a sea-cliff, not far from the village of Middle Itkana (Osgi'nčo). Before leaving the Koryak country, Big-Raven turned his house, his skin boat, and his storage-house into stone. The Koryak say that all these things have retained their previous forms. The stone plug for the hole in the roof of the porch[2] is still lying on top of the house. Big-Raven had some iron under his skin boat; but the Koryak are unable to lift the boat in order to get it, and therefore use the imported Russian iron. He also thrust his grindstone into the rock, where it forms a thick layer of slate. Since the rock is disintegrating, the Koryak manage to get pieces of grindstone, and make whetstones out of them. Stone hatchets and knives that are occasionally found in the bank which is being washed away, and that are simply remnants of ancient Koryak settlements, are considered by the Koryak to be Big-Raven's implements.

In the village of Kamenskoye (Vai'kenan) the Koryak told me of traces of Big-Raven's footsteps, and of those of his reindeer, upon a ridge along the left bank of the Penshina River. The Alutora Koryak say that Big-Raven's petrified house is in Baron Korff's Bay.

Big-Raven lived in an underground house, like the Maritime Koryak; but he had a herd of reindeer at the same time, and his sons used to roam about with it just as the Reindeer Koryak do. Such a method of living may be found at present among the Koryak of northern Kamchatka and Alutora. Tales describing this mode of life seem to reconcile the antagonism between the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak which may be noticed in some tales, in which the Maritime Koryak are always given the preference. Thus, for example, in Tales 7 and 59 Eme'mqut represents the Maritime Koryak, while Envious-One (Nɪpai'vatɪčñɪn) represents the Reindeer people; and the wife of the former excels the wife of the latter in beauty and in shamanistic art.

THE SUPREME BEING. — Though occupying the most important place in the religious life of the Koryak, the conception of the Supreme Being is vague. It is quite materialistic, although some names of this deity, translated into a civilized language, suggest abstract ideas. Nothing is known of his origin or

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[1] The same is told in Tale 20 about Creator's (Tenanto'mwʌn) and Miti''s fathers (see Chapter V, The Whale Festival).

[2] See p. 14, Footnote 4.

776 773 his world-creating activity, except that he sent Big-Raven down to our earth to establish order; but he is the personification of the vital principle in nature taken in its entirety. On the other hand, he is an anthropomorphic being, — an old man living in a settlement in heaven, and having a wife and children. He is a benevolent being, well disposed toward men, but displaying little activity. The course of events takes place under his supervision. If he wills, he can give abundance and plenty, or put an end to prosperity, and send a visitation of famine and other calamities upon mankind; but he seldom makes use of his power to do evil to men.

The Supreme Being is known under the following names: Ña'ñɪnen (Universe, World, Outer-One); Ina'hɪtelaᵋn or Çɪna'gɪtelaᵋn (Supervisor); Yaqhɪ'čñɪn or Caqhɪ'čñɪn (Something-Existing), called by the Paren people Vahɪ'čñɪn by those of Kamenskoye Vahɪ'tñɪn, or by the Reindeer Koryak Vahɪ'yñɪn (Existence, also Strength); Çɪ'čholaᵋn (The-One-on-High); Çɪčho'l-etɪ'nvɪlaᵋn (The-Master-on-High) or simply E'tɪn (Master); Tña'ɪrgɪn (Dawn). Some identify the sun with him. In Tale 113 we meet with the name Kihi'gilaᵋn (Thunder-Man) for the Supreme Being.

The Chukchee call Existence Va'ɪrgin (from the verb tɪtva'rkin, "I exist," "I am"). It should be noted here that Mr. Bogoras(1) considers this word, not as the name of an individual deity, but as that applied to the entire class of benevolent spirits. In the same manner the Asiatic Eskimo use the word Kɪya'ŗnaŗak (from kɪyaŗnakuña, "I exist," "I am"). Mr. Bogoras states that the name Va'ɪrgin is used in some cases even with reference to evil spirits; but the Koryak among whom I collected information identified this name with the other names of the Supreme Being. It is probable that previously the [177] Koryak may also have applied this name to a class of beings. It is also possible that all names now applied by them to one deity may have formerly been applied to various beings or phenomena of nature, and that, owing to their intercourse with the Russians, a monotheistic tendency of uniting all names of the various deities into one may have developed; and, indeed, I used to notice such a tendency, and wondered at it. Once a Cossack was trying to persuade a Maritime Koryak to embrace the Orthodox faith. "Why should I be baptized?" the latter replied evasively, pointing upward with his hand. "We all have one God, anyway." On the other hand, Cloud-Man (Ya'hal or Ya'halaᵋn) figures as the son of the Supreme Being under his various names. This idea appears equally clear in the tales and in my notes. It does not seem likely that this identification of the father of Cloud-Man with one single supreme being, known under many different names, should be due to Russian monotheistic influence. I recollect one case in which a Koryak identified the dawn with the Supreme Being. It was in spring, in the camp

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[1] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 587.

of the chief[1] of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula. One 776 morning, as soon as dawn was visible in the east, he called the herdsmen 773 who were sleeping near our tent, and, pointing to the east, said, "The-One-on-High has woke up: it is time for us to get up too." Such occasional expressions lead to a much better insight into the ideas of primitive man about cosmogony than questions, which are usually put in such a way that they necessarily suggest the reply.

What are the relations of the people to this deity[1]? They are based 776 rather on a sense of gratitude and the desire to secure his good-will than on 782 fear. Gratitude is expressed in the offering of sacrifices; but the latter are also offered in advance to secure future prosperity, or as atonement for transgressions of taboos.

All thoughts of the Koryak are concentrated upon the procuring of food, the hunting of sea and land animals, picking berries and roots, and the safe-keeping of the herds. All these things are in abundance as long as The-One-on-High looks down upon earth; but no sooner does he turn away than disorder reigns. In Tale 9 Big-Raven becomes unsuccessful in his hunt when Universe (Ña'iñınen) has gone to sleep. Failure to offer customary sacrifices may also lead to disaster. In Tale 111 young Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), the husband of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Big-Raven's daughter, fails to sacrifice reindeer to Supervisor's (Ina'hıtelaᵋn) son Cloud-Man (Ya'halaᵋn), as is customary to do at a wedding; and in consequence Supervisor pushes Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to the very edge of the hearth, owing to which she is roasted by the fire, and wastes away. Of course, it must be understood here that it is her soul which was close to the fire, for Yiñe'a-ñe'ut herself was not at the edge of the hearth at all.

The notions as to the direct interference of the Supreme Being with worldly affairs are very confused. Men seem to be left to their own resources in their struggle with evil spirits, diseases, and death: they appeal for help to Big-Raven, to protecting spirits, and to amulets.

The abode of the Supreme Being is identified with the world beyond the 776. clouds, the sky, "the heaven village" inhabited by the people of the sky [773 (I'ye-nımyı'saᵋn, "inhabitants of the heaven village"), who possess reindeer, and resemble the people our world, of the earth.

The wife of the Supreme Being is called Supervisor-Woman (Lap-ña'ut, literally "the woman who looks or supervises").[2] In Tale 9 she is called Rain-Woman or Dampness-Woman (I'leña or I'le-ñe'ut). According to other notes collected by me, the sea itself figures as the wife of The-One-on-High, and her name is Sea-Woman (A'nqa-ña'ut).

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[1] That is, the chief elected by the natives, or appointed by the government, who is responsible for the payment of tribute to the Russian Government.

[2] See Tale 114.

1 [The Supreme Being. See category 776, pp. 23-27 -- Analyst]

776 Besides his general function as supervisor of the course of things on
775 earth, The-One-on-High is particularly concerned in birth. He sends the souls
of the new-born into the wombs of their mothers. The souls (uyi'čit or uyi'rit)
843 are hung up in the house of the deity on posts and beams. The duration of the earthly life of each soul is marked beforehand on thongs tied to them. A long strap indicates longevity; a short one, the early death of the child to be born. After death the human soul returns to The-One-on-High, who after some time sends it into a relative of its former owner, to be re-born. A drawing (Fig. 40) made by the Koryak Yulta of the village of Kamenskoye serves to illustrate the tale in which is described how the souls are hanging in the deity's house.

776 Two children of the Supreme Being are mentioned by name, — his son
832 Cloud-Man (Ya'hal or Ya'hala'n) or Cloud-Maker (Ta'yañ), and his daughter
Cloud-Woman (Ya'hal-ña'ut). Cloud-Man figures as the protector of young
782 couples. Young men beat the drum, and appeal to him to turn to them the "mind" or heart of the girl, and *vice versa*. On the right side of a picture drawn by the above-mentioned Koryak (see Fig. 41) a girl is represented beating the drum in order to attract to herself the heart of a young man. The sounds of the drum reach the ears of Cloud-Man, who draws a line connecting the affections of the two young people. In one tale[1] Fog-Man beats the drum to attract the heart of Big-Raven's daughter. Cloud-Man causes Big-Raven to conceive the thought of marrying Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to her brother, and thus induces Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to flee to Fog-Man. For his mediation in love-matters Cloud-Man gets a sacrificial reindeer from the bridegroom after the marriage has taken place. In another tale[2] Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), after his marriage, fails to follow this custom, and his bride ails and wastes away until he does his duty toward Cloud-Man.

773 The Supreme Being plays no active part in mythology, at least not in
the myths collected by me; but there are numerous tales relating to Cloud-
776 Man's marriage with Big-Raven's daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and to Cloud-Woman
821 becoming Eme'mqut's wife. On such occasions, Big-Raven and his family ascend to heaven to visit with his divine father-in-law: and Cloud-Man, with his sister and other inhabitants of heaven, come down to Big-Raven's settlement to return his visit.

Only one tale[3] relating to The-Master-on-High, and containing coarse details, can be compared with the tales relating to Big-Raven. In order to cause rain on earth, Universe (Ñai'ñmen) attaches his wife's vulva to a drum, which he beats with his penis: and the liquid which is squirted out from the vulva falls down on earth as rain. In order to put an end to the incessant rain, Big-Raven and his son Eme'mqut turn into ravens and fly up to heaven. They cause the deity and his wife to fall asleep, and carefully dry their privates

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[1] Tale 66.
[2] Tale 111.
[3] Tale 9.

by the fire. On awakening, Universe is no longer able to produce rain by beating 821
the drum; and thus it clears up on earth. It is interesting to note that this tale 776
is told in order to put an end to rain or to a snow-storm. On the other hand,
it must not be told in fine weather, lest it bring on rain or a storm. The tale 773
was told to me during fine weather, and therefore a sacrifice to Universe had [782]
to be offered first. This was done by burning some fat, the idea being that
the fire acts as an intermediary between the supplicant and Universe. However,
I had to take upon myself the responsibility for the consequences.

Malevolent Beings. — The first place among beings that are ill-disposed 776
to mankind is occupied by the so-called kalau (*sing*. kala[1]), which correspond to the Chukchee kelet. The people of Paren call them also kalak or kamak; and among the Reindeer Koryak they are frequently called ñe´nvetıčñın or ñi´nvit. However, the above-mentioned names for evil spirits are known among all the Koryak. The Koryak conception of their dual nature finds expression in their myths, and appeared clearly in conversation. The kala appears sometimes as an invisible being that kills people by supernatural or rather invisible means; and sometimes he appears as a common cannibal. His material and spiritual features are often intermingled.

The relations between the kalau and the Supreme Being were described to me by an old man named Yulta, from the village of Kamenskoye. At one time the kalau lived with The-Master-on-High in the upper world; but he quarrelled with them, and sent them down to our world. This resembles somewhat the biblical conception of the fallen angels. The official chief of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula used to tell me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to people when they do wrong, just as the Czar sends his Cossacks against those that are disobedient. Others told me that The-Master-on-High sends the kalau to the people that they may die, and that he may create other people. A similar story was told to me about Big-Raven. He sends the kalau down to the people to give them a chance to test the power of their incantations against diseases and death, which
he had bequeathed to them. In one tale[2] the dead ancestors send the kalau [775]
from the underground world into the village of their descendants to punish the young people for playing games at night, and thus disturbing the rest of the old people.

According to Koryak ideas, the kalau constitute families, just like human beings, with an old man as the head of the family, his children, their wives, etc. I heard various accounts concerning the abode of the kalau, from which it may be concluded that several groups are distinguished, according to their place of residence.[3] Some live in the world under us. They have daytime

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[1] See p. 21, Footnote 4.

[2] Tale 43.

[3] It is interesting to note, that, while the idea of evil spirits dwelling in the upper world is foreign to the Koryak mind, the Yakut subdivide their evil spirits (Abasyla'r), which correspond to the kalau, into upper (that is, heavenly), middle (earthly), and lower (or those of the underground world).

776 when it is night here. They sleep when we are awake. When visiting the houses to cause diseases and to kill people, they enter from under ground through the hearth-fire, and return the same way. It happens at times that they steal people, and carry them away. They are invisible to human beings, and are capable of changing their size. They are sometimes so numerous in houses, that they sit on the people, and fill up all corners. With hammers and axes they knock people over their heads, thus causing headaches. They bite, and cause swellings. They shoot invisible arrows, which stick in the body, causing death, if a shaman does not pull them out in time. The kalau tear out pieces of flesh from people, thus causing sores and wounds to form on their bodies.

Other kalau live on the earth, toward the west, where the sun sets, on the borders of the Koryak country. They are thus identified with the darkness of night. They live in villages, whence they invade the camps and settlements of man. Their mere approach to a settlement is enough to cause people to get ill, for "their breath is as poisonous as nux vomica." Thus, when Big-Raven's children began to ail, he said, "The kalau must be near by." Their arrows are supplied with mouths, and they can be shot without the use of a bow, and fly wherever they are sent. They enter the houses of the Reindeer Koryak from above, and those of the Maritime people by descending along the back of the ladder. Sometimes these kalau appear in visible form, as animals. Some Koryak, for instance, in speaking about the epidemic of measles of 1900, which exterminated a considerable number of the inhabitants of the Gishiga district, told me that the kalau which caused the epidemic came running from the direction of sunset in the guise of colts. This particular idea can be explained by the fact that the measles had been brought to the country by the Russians, hence the kala of that disease assumed the form of a Russian animal. In one tale[1] the kala is described as having a human face and a dog's body. They appear frequently in the guise of human beings with pointed heads.

In some myths relating to the kalau, they appear, not as supernatural beings, but as common cannibals, longing for human flesh, and with a ravenous appetite. They resemble in this respect the malevolent beings of the Yukaghir called Mythical-Old-Man (Ču'oleji-Po'lut) or Mythical-Old-Woman (Ču'oleji-Teri'ke). Cannibalism, in the tales of the kalau, is at times so vividly depicted, that the tales appear like descriptions of tribes of cannibals.

Big-Raven and his children wage a constant war against the kalau. At one time his children and he himself were first eaten by them, and then revived by shamanistic exercises of the members of Big-Raven's family who had remained alive. According to mythology, the kalau are coarse, stupid beings, whom Big-Raven often vanquishes by means of cunning devices. The final victory is always on the side of Big-Raven or of his children. Sometimes he completely destroys the kalau, and thereupon his children recover: at other times he renders them harmless. He causes them to fall asleep; he takes out their cannibal-stomachs during their sleep, and puts other ones in their places, usually those of some rodents. At still other times he devises some other means of protecting himself and his children against the invasion of the cannibals. In one story[1] it is told that he heated stones in his house until they were red-hot, invited the kalau to sit on them, and thus burned them. At another time[2] he got rid of them by making a steam-bath for them, in which they were smothered. At times an incantation serves him as a means of rescue. In another story[3] Big-Raven appealed to The-Master-on-High for help against the mouthed arrows of the kalau with whom he had been at war; and the deity gave him an iron mouth, which caught all the arrows sent by the kalau.

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[1] Tale 43.

There are Maritime and Reindeer kalau. The houses of the former have no storm-roof[4] to protect them from the snow: they have only an opening to admit the light; but it does not serve as an entrance, since the kalau go in and out through the ground under the hearth-fire. Instead of dogs, they keep bears, which tear up their human victims. The Reindeer kalau have reindeer herds; but, according to some myths, mountain-sheep constitute their herds. There are kalau also in the tundra and in the woods, where they waylay man, and whence they invade human settlements to procure human flesh. They hunt human beings just as men hunt reindeer and seals.

At the time when Big-Raven lived, the kalau were visible beings; but ever after he took away their herds, and waged war against them, they became invisible; and after Big-Raven disappeared, they assailed man, and death became his lot.

Some kalau perform special functions, representing particular diseases. [158]
There is the kala that "causes one to shudder;" that is, produces certain nervous diseases among women.

Some kalau have proper names; thus, the eldest son of one old kala is [552]
called Able-to-do-Everything (Apka'wka; literally, "not powerless to do anything"); his daughter, E'me-ñe'ut.[5] She was so beautiful that her bare hand would illuminate the darkness of the night. Eme'mqut married her, after having killed all the cannibals.

Names of some cannibals that apparently do not belong to the kalau are mentioned in the myths. These are Lo'čex[6] and Gormandizer[7] (A'wye-qla'ul). There are also names of some kalau that are not cannibals: for instance, Big-Kamak-who-turns-Himself-Inside-Out (Čıhı'ļļı Kamakn·a'qu), a kala whose mouth

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[1] Tale 73.
[2] Tale 13.
[3] Tale 37.
[4] See p. 14, Footnote 4.
[5] Tale 78.
[6] Tale 79.
[7] Tale 112.

776 turned inside out as soon as he began to laugh, and who is considered a ludicrous figure.

Although, on the whole, the word “kala” denotes all powers harmful to man, and all that is evil in nature, there are numbers of objects and beings known under the name of “kalak” or “kamak” that do not belong to the class of evil spirits. Thus, the guardian spirits of the Koryak shamans, and some varieties of guardians of the village, of the family, or of individuals, are called by this name. These will be discussed later on.[1]

“OWNERS” AND OTHER SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.” — Another class of supernatural beings are known as Owners or Masters (E′tɪn). They represent the idea of a more or less powerful being who is the “owner” of an object, who resides in the object. Among the Koryak the conception is not well developed. It seems to me that this conception belongs to a stage of religious consciousness higher than that of the Koryak, among whom it is not yet differentiated from a lower animistic view of nature. The conception of “masters” residing, under the name of inua (“its man”), within things, or phenomena of nature, is quite clear among the Eskimo, is well developed with the Yukaghir (they call their “owners” po′gil), and is especially developed among the Siberian tribes with typical Asiatic culture. Among the Yakut the “masters” are called i′čči; and the word e′cen or i′šin is used in the same sense among the Buryat. According to the idea prevalent among all these tribes, every object — or at least every important natural object — has a spirit-owner residing within it. I have been unable to observe a clear conception of this kind among the Koryak.

782 The following data are characteristic of the notions of the Koryak: —

One Reindeer Koryak from the Taigonos Peninsula, who had gone to
776 the seashore in the beginning of summer to hunt seals and to fish, offered a
823 reindeer as a sacrifice to the sea. The Koryak for “sea” is a′ñqa; and for “master of the sea,” añqa′ken-etɪ′nvɪla‘n. I asked him whether he offered his sacrifice to the sea, or to the master of the sea. He did not understand the question at first. Apparently he had never thought about it, and very likely the two conceptions were confused in his mind. After a little while, however, he replied, “I don't know. We say, ‘sea’ and ‘owner of the sea:’ it is just the same.” At the same time I was told by the Koryak of other places that the owner of the sea is a woman; while others considered the sea itself as a woman. The Crab (Toko′yoto) is considered to be the deity of the sea, along the North Pacific coast; and, according to Mr. Bogoras, the Koryak of Kamchatka consider the crab A′vvi as such.[2]

I have received similar incoherent replies when inquiring about the so-called apa′pel (from a′pa, “father” in the Kamenskoye dialect, “grandfather” in the Paren dialect). Certain hills, capes, and cliffs are called by this name.

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[1] See p. 36.

[2] See Tale 134.

They protect hunters and travellers, and sacrifices are offered to them; but 776
whether apa′pel is applied to the hill itself, or to the spirit residing in it, I
am unable to say. It would rather seem that the hill proper is the guardian. 823

The sun, the moon, and the stars also figure as animated beings. The 782
sun is sometimes identified with The-Master-on-High. Whe shall see hereafter
that special sacrifices are offered to the sun. In some tales[1] Sun-Man (Teike′mtɪlaˁn) has a wife and children and his own country, which is inhabited by Sun people. In these tales it is told that Eme′mqut marries Sun-Man's daughter; while in another one[2] it is related that Sun-Man marries Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. On the other hand, we also hear that the sun as a luminary is swallowed by the raven, and set free by Yiñe′a-ñe′ut.

In one tale[3] the moon figures as a man, Moon-Man (Yaeˁlhɪ′mtɪlaˁn); 776
while in another[4] she is a woman who is trying hard to induce Eme′mqut to 821
marry her.

A Star-Man (Añayɪ′mtɪlaˁn) is also mentioned.[3] The sky is regarded as a country inhabited by a stellar people.

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[1] Tales 12, 21.
[2] Tale 19.
[3] Tale 114.
[4] Tale 29.

III. — GUARDIANS AND CHARMS.

771 778 Passing from the conceptions of invisible supernatural beings to the religious significance of concrete objects, I shall begin with a discussion of guardians and charms. It is very difficult to answer the question, In what way does an image of man or animal, made by man, or do objects in their natural state and having no likeness to animated objects, come to be considered as deities or guardians? It is impossible to obtain a direct explanation from primitive man. I will relate here a case that I witnessed myself. Two brothers, Reindeer Koryak from Tılqai River, after their father's death, divided between themselves the reindeer-herd, intending to live apart. According to custom, the family sacred fire-board,[1] the guardian of the herd, was given to [322] the younger brother. Then the older brother made a new sacred fire-board for himself. With adze in hand, he went to the woods, and soon returned with a newly hewn wooden figure. It was put upon the cross-beam over the hearth to dry, and in a few days its consecration took place. A reindeer was slaughtered as a sacrifice to The-Master-on-High (Ģıčhoʻl-etıʹnvılaᵋn), and the figure was anointed with the sacrificial blood and fat. Thereupon the mother of the two brothers pronounced an incantation over it, consisting of an appeal to Big-Raven to set up the new sacred fire-board as a guardian of the herd. Then fire was for the first time obtained from the sacred fire-board by means of drilling; and the wooden god, or rather guardian, black from hearth smoke, and shining from the fat that had been smeared upon it, became the guardian of the herd and of the hearth. "Now my reindeer will have their own herdsman," said Qačai, the older of the two brothers, with a smile, in reply to my questions.[2] It seems to me that there are two elements which participate in this transformation into a guardian, of a piece of wood shaped into a crude likeness of a human figure. First, there is the conception of a concealed vital principle in objects apparently inanimate. Second, there is the mysterious influence of an incantation upon this vital principle; i. e., the power of the words of man to increase the force of the vital principle, and to direct it to a certain activity. In what way the guardianship is exercised by the charm is a question which the Koryak never put to themselves; but it is exercised by means that are not perceptible to our senses.

While the invisible, organizing, creative, and destructive forces — The-Master-on-High, Big-Raven, and kalau — are deities or spirits of the entire

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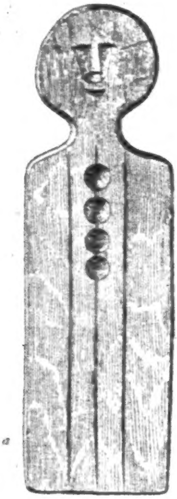
[1] See p. 33.

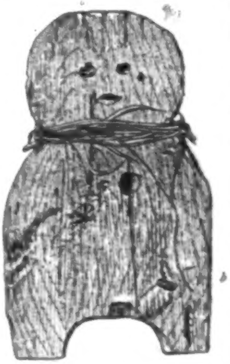
[2] It was clear that his attitude towards the new guardian was somewhat sceptical, but the ancient custom proved stronger than his scepticism.

tribe (with the exception of those that serve individual shamans[1]), the "protectors 771
or guardians" belong each to a family, an individual, and in some cases to a
whole village. In general, the guardians form a group of objects that are sup- 778
posed to take care of the welfare of man, and keep away all evil from him. The particular function of the guardians depends upon the office with which they are charged. The same little figure may act as the guardian of a family or of an individual. Nevertheless some "guardians" have definite forms and duties.

I shall now enumerate those guardians about which 532
I have succeeded in gathering information, and which are
contained in the collection of 322
the Museum.

Sacred Implements for 372
Fire-Making. — The sacred 778
implements for making fire are the following: —





A fire-board with holes in it, called gi'čgič or ge'čgei (Chukchee, gı'rgir), in which the drill is turned. The board is usually of dry aspen-wood, which readily ignites, and is roughly shaped like a human being. A head is carved out at one end; and eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated (Fig. 2, *a*, *b*). In some boards the opposite end is carved to represent the legs.

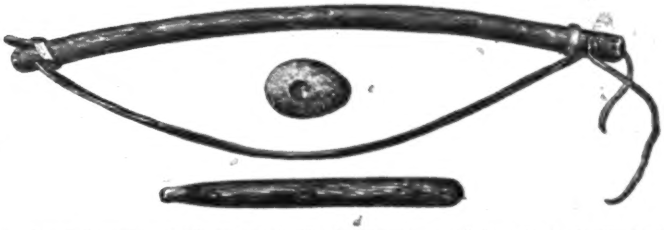


Fig. 2. Sacred Fire-making Implements of the Maritime Koryak. *a*, *b* ([illegible], [illegible] a), Fire-Boards (length, 42 cm., 25 cm.); *c*, *d*, *e* ([illegible] a, b, c) Bow, Wooden Drill, and Stone Head-Piece (length of bow, 47 cm.).

A small bow, called e'yet (Fig. 2, *c*).

A wooden drill, called mā'xem ("arrow"), Fig. 2, *d*.

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[1] See Chapter IV, Professional Shamans.

532 322 778 37 A head-piece of stone or of bone, with a shallow socket, called čeñe'yine (Fig. 2, *e*), which is put upon the thin upper end of the drill; while the thick lower end of the drill is set into one of the holes in the board. The head-piece (*e*) is held by one person, the board by another, while the bow is turned by a third person (see Plate VI). The thin end of the wooden drill, and one end of stone head-piece, have holes bored in them, that they may be tied, when not in use, to the straps at the end of the bow (Fig. 2, *c*).

The fire-drill is not complete without a small leather bag filled with small pieces of coal, in which the coal-dust produced by drilling is collected. It is considered a sin to scatter the coal-dust.

The Maritime as well as the Reindeer Koryak consider the sacred fire-board, first of all, the deity of the household fire, the guardian of the family hearth. During important festivals and ceremonies, which will be described later on, fire is obtained by means of these sacred fire-boards.

The other functions of this charm are different among the two groups of Koryak. Among the Maritime Koryak the sacred fire-board is the master of the underground house and the helper in the hunt of sea-mammals, while among the Reindeer people it figures as the master of the herd. The Maritime Koryak call it "father" (a'pa); the Reindeer people, "master of the herd" (qaya'-etı'nvıla'n) or "wooden kamak" (otkamak).

[353] [758] At the left side of the house of the Maritime Koryak, near the door leading to the porch, a place is usually set aside for guardians and charms, and it is called the "stake-house" (op-yan). There wooden charms are driven into the ground or set against the wall. The sacred fire-board is the most important among the images of this shrine. It is adorned with a collar made of sedge-grass, which is used in all sacrifices. This collar serves the charm in place of clothing. It is "fed" from time to time by smearing its mouth with fat. This is done not only during festivals that have a direct bearing on its cult, but also on the occasion of all other religious and family festivals. From the sacrificial fat, the soot of the hearth, and the indescribable filth prevailing in the Koryak house, the charm becomes covered with a heavy coat of shining black filth; and the more highly esteemed the charm is, the dirtier and the blacker will it become. When, owing to frequent use, the entire base of the charm is filled with holes, a new board is made. The old one, however, is left, like a deserving veteran, in the place set aside for the sacred objects. When moving from the winter house into the summer house, nearer to the sea, the Maritime Koryak takes his charms along; but sometimes summer and winter house have each their own sacred fire-board. I remember having seen the Koryak Yulta make a new sacred fire-board for his winter house because he had forgotten his old one in the summer house; and when the following summer came, he left the new sacred fire-board in his winter house. In the summer of 1900, when visiting a deserted settlement

along the Paren River, I found a sacred fire-board that had been left behind 532
in one of the houses. It was lying on the ground near the wall, covered 322
with dust, among some seal-bones, old dishes, and scraps of clothing.

The sacred fire-board of the Reindeer Koryak, the "master of the herd" 778
(qaya'-etɪ'nvɪla'n), is kept during the winter in a bag on a pack-sledge or on
the covered sledge, which is occupied during travels by the mother and the 372
small children. When the wandering family makes a stop, the sledges are left
outside, near the tent. During the summer the sacred fire-board hangs on a
cross-beam in the tent.

Besides the articles enumerated above, that are necessary for obtaining 532
fire by drilling, and the bag for the coal-dust, the "master of the herd" of 778
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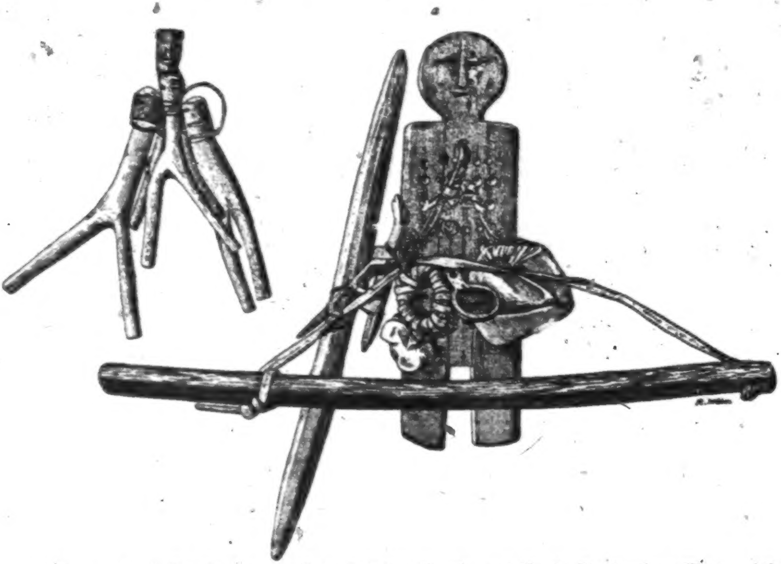

Fig. 3. Sacred Fire Implements of the Reindeer Koryak. *a* ([illegible] a), Fire-Board, or "Master of the Herd," with Attachments (length of fire-board, 33 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Attachments from a Fire-Board, representing the Assistants of the "Master of the Herd" (length, 10 cm.).

the Reindeer Koryak is also supplied with a lasso, a watch-dog, a sacrificial ladle, an image of a wolf (Fig. 3, *a*), and several little wooden figures. The sacred fire-board keeps the wolf near him to prevent his assailing the herd, while the little forked figures (Fig. 3, *b*) serve as his assistants in guarding the herd, and are called oya'čiku, which properly means "boys," "fellows," although this word has also the meaning of "laborers" and "herdsmen." The sacred fire-board also secures the herd against sickness, and prevents the

532 788 233 reindeer from straying away, and, as often happens, from getting lost. When a reindeer is slaughtered, the sacred fire-board is taken out and smeared with blood. Instead of a grass collar, the Reindeer Koryak put on it a tie made of the hair from the mane of a reindeer-buck.

Among the Maritime group, as well as among the Reindeer Koryak, the sacred fire-board is connected with the family welfare, and therefore it must not be carried into a strange house. But if two families join for the winter and live in one house, in order to obviate the necessity of procuring fuel for two houses, both take their own charms along into the common house, [428] without risk to their effectiveness by so doing. The sacred fire-board is usually transmitted to the younger son, — or to the younger daughter, provided her husband remains in his father-in-law's house and the brothers establish new houses for themselves or raise separate herds. Often fire-boards are found that have outlasted two, three, or more generations.

778 534 592 THE DRUM. — The drum (ya'yai), which, as will be seen later on, plays an important rôle in ceremonials and shamanistic performances, at the same time ranks with the sacred fire-board as one of the guardians of the household. The drum is the master of the sleeping-apartment where it is kept. Every married couple has a drum of their own. A bride who has her own sleeping-tents, also possesses her own drum. The drum is especially held in esteem by the Reindeer Koryak. Just as a herd cannot exist without a sacred fire-board, so a family cannot get along without a drum.

778 342 KAMAKS AND KALAKS. — A large class of guardian charms are called kamaks and kalaks,[1] — the same names as are applied to the hostile spirits described before.[2] It appears from this that these names do not always signify a thing harmful and evil, like the Yakut word abasy.[3]

In distinction from the evil spirits, this class of "charm-guardians" are often called otkamak, or okkamak; that is, "wooden kamak." By the Maritime Koryak, the most important place among the wooden kamaks is assigned to the one considered as guardian of the inhabited place. It cannot, however, be called "guardian of the village," in the sense of guardian of the community, since the social organization of the Koryak is so loose that the term "community" cannot very well be applied. The wooden kamak (okkamak) is considered rather as a guardian of the habitation. He is also called Nımyo'lhın, which signifies "habitation," and he appears as a guardian or master of it.

The "guardian of the habitation", has the shape of a post, tapering at the top, and sometimes forked, the thinner branch representing the arm of the charm. It is located close to the village, usually on a hill overlooking it, or on a rock over the sea. It is put up by the founder of the "habitation;" 778 that is, by the one who erects the first house, and is passed by inheritance 342 to the descendants of the founder. As a rule, new settlements were founded by "strong men," heroes. Around the first house, and under his protection, weaker people would settle, usually his relatives by blood or by marriage; and the "guardian of the habitation" would become the common guardian of the settlement. As the latter grew, some of the house-owners would put up habitation-guardians of their own, which were, however, only family guardians. The general guardianship of the settlement belongs to the first guardian erected [621] by the founder. It serves as the intermediary between the inhabitants of the village and the rulers of the sea and of the hunting-grounds. The lower part of the guardian-figure is girded with sacrificial sedge-grass. When the hunt of sea-animals, wild reindeer, and mountain-sheep, is over, the charm is smeared with the blood and the fat of the animals. The top of the charm, from the constant application of fat, turns black, and looks as though it were 778 charred. The charm is also offered sacrifices of horns and 782 antlers of animals killed in the hunt, and whale-vertebræ. On Plate XII, Fig. 1, a photograph is reproduced of the old guardian of the settlement of Kuel, surrounded with sacrifices. The priestly duties in relation to the guardian of the settlement are performed by a descendant of the founder, usually the eldest in the family. He smears the charm with fat, "feeds" it, and adorns it with sacrificial grass. In a year of successful hunt, the charm is sometimes offered a dog as a sacrifice. Fig. 4, represents one of the guardians of the village Big-Itkana, with a slaughtered dog near the charm. In the same village I saw a pup strung up as a sacrifice on the wooden kamak (okkamak) itself (see Plate IX, Fig. 1). The charm was a secondary guardian, the protector of one family, and consisted of a forked branch of a large willow-tree stuck into the ground. The village guardians differ in size, while the guardian of Big-Itkana (Fig 4) is about six feet high, that of Kuel (Plate XII, Fig. 1) is not over two feet.

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[1] The Koryak plural of kamak is ka'maku. Since kamak has been used with an English plural (Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 631), the English plural has been used here.

[2] See p. 27.

[3] Abasy (*pl.* abasyla'r) means not only "evil spirit," corresponding to the Koryak kala or to the Chukchee kele, but everything harmful in nature.

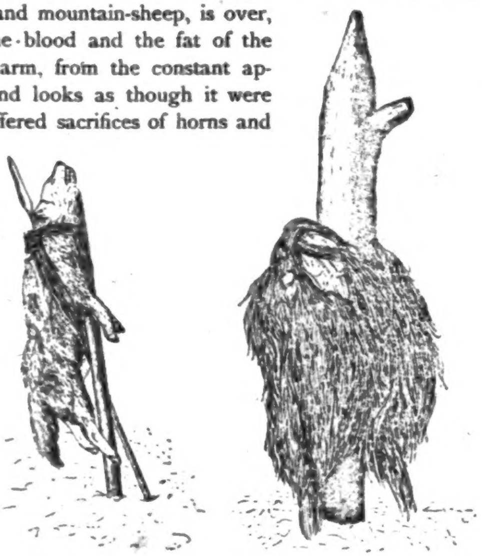

Fig. 4. Guardian of the Village Big-Itkana, with Sacrificed Dog. (From a photograph.)

778 Besides the guardian of the settlements, other wooden kamaks, consisting of long, thin tapered poles, are occasionally found in the villages.
225 They are put up on a rock overlooking the sea, after the whale-hunt, by the owner of the skin boat the crew of which killed the whale. The duties of this wooden kamak are to watch the sea, and to attract new whales. Formerly it was customary to put a collar of sacrificial grass on the charm, and string around it offerings consisting of pieces of whale-skin and of blubber. Since at present the Koryak seldom engage in whale-hunting, I did not see any such decorated posts, but only those that had been put up long ago.[1]

532 There is still another kind of kalaks connected with whale-hunting. These
778 kalaks are also put up after the whale-hunt; and a man who has killed many whales has several of these charms. They are of small dimensions, are kept
225 in the house, and, when the whale-skin is being broiled, are seated or put up around the fireplace to watch the whale-skin, their tapering ends being driven into the ground. The fire on the hearth is regarded as the sea in which floats the whale-skin, representing the whale. If the whale is not watched, it dives into the fire, and disappears under ground, and whale-hunting ceases.

During this ceremony these kalaks are adorned with collars of sacrificial grass, but they are not "fed;" that is, are not smeared with fat, and are not offered any special food. They must help themselves. There are male and female kalaks; and when there are many of them, they form a family. In ordinary times they stand in the shrine set aside for the charms. The form of these kalaks is not the same in all villages. Since there is no whale-hunting at present, the charms are not made now; but I found several of them in Kamenskoye (Va´ikenan) and Talovka (Xe´s·xen). They differ in form. In the village of Kamenskoye they have the shape of sitting figures (Fig. 5, *a-d*), and are usually painted in black: in the settlement of Talovka they have the form of a stick tapering at both ends, with a slight notch for a neck, with indications of eyes, and a line for a mouth (Fig. 5, *e*).[2]

Nets´-Kamak-Face. — This guardian (Ti´ñilat-ka´mak-lō^{n})[3] is made to guard the nets. It helps them to make a great catch, and protects them from the incantations of wicked people. This guardian is smeared with the blood of sea-animals and with blubber. It is kept in the usual place set aside for the charm, and is adorned with sacrificial grass. In winter it is not taken special care of. Like the "village guardian" mentioned above, it is represented as

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[1] The following quotation from Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 103) bears witness that the Kamchadal also had wooden kamaks: "The Kamchadal put up a pole on the vast plains of the tundra, tie grass around it, and never pass by without throwing it a piece of fish or something else. Mr. Steller had seen two such posts near Lower Ostrog."

[2] It is interesting to note here that Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 126) speaks of the Kamchadal having small charms with pointed heads, under the name katide. They represent the spirits that enter women while they perform their ritual dances.

[3] Ka´mak-lō^{n} = kamak + lō^{n} ("face"). It refers to the amulets having a human or animal face.

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having only one hand (Fig. 6), possibly because representing the one-sided spirits mentioned in some tales.

Little Kalaks. — The little kalaks (Kala'kpila'qu) correspond to the Chukchee Ta'yñiqut[1] ("misfortune protectors"), and consist of a string or bundle of small figures, which are considered as charms, and correspond somewhat to the rosary of the Catholic Church. Fig. 7, *a*, represents a string of little kalaks made of willow-branches. The forked part is meant for the legs, while the head and face are very crudely indicated. At times forked willow-

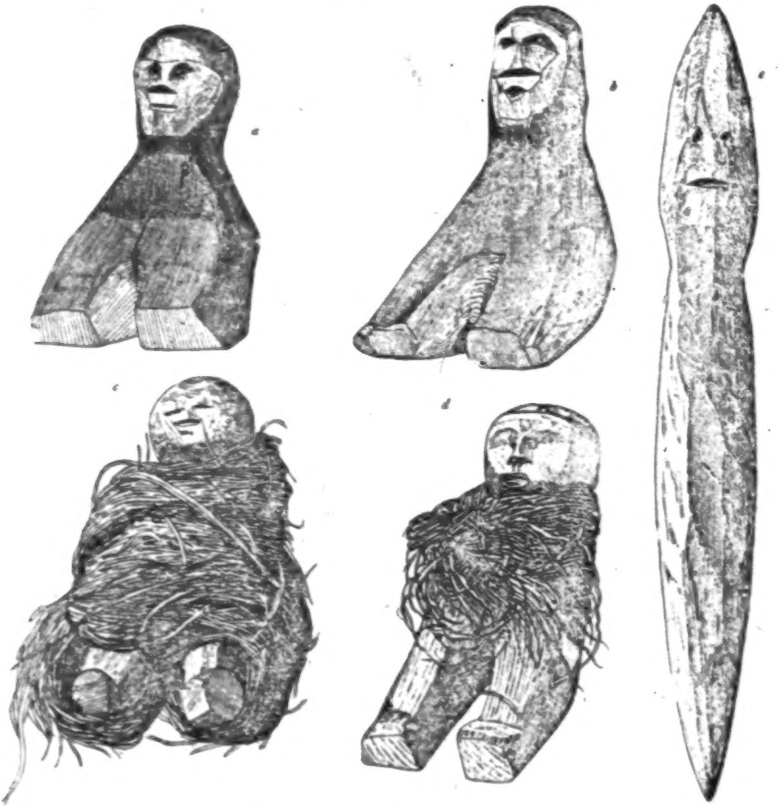

Fig. 5. Guardians connected with Whale-Hunting. *a-d* ([illegible]), from Kamenskoye (*a*, *b*, height, 10 cm., 11 cm.; *c*, *d*, length of each, 12 cm.); *e* ([illegible]), from Talovka (length, 52 cm.).

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[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, pp. ix, xxxv.

778 532 twigs having a very remote similarity to human figures serve this purpose. They are also called "protectors" (ine'njulanu). However, this latter term is applied to the entire group of guardian-charms. The [784 484] people usually wear the little kalaks attached to the belt, when travelling or hunting without companions. The Koryak are afraid to drive or walk alone through the woods or in the wilderness, because they believe that evil spirits (kalau), which haunt such places in large numbers, may easily overcome a lonely traveller. In such cases the little kalaks replace fellow-travellers, and serve as guardians against evil spirits. Another string of guardians (Fig. 7, *b*) contains a small human figure made of grass, charmed beads representing drums, and wolf's and hare's hair braided with sinew-thread. The Reindeer Koryak call the string of guardians okka'mak-lō$^{\epsilon}$; [321] that is, "wooden kamak face."[1] A snow-beater of antler, with a handle carved in the form of a raven-beak (Fig. 8), is also regarded as a fellow-traveller and guardian.

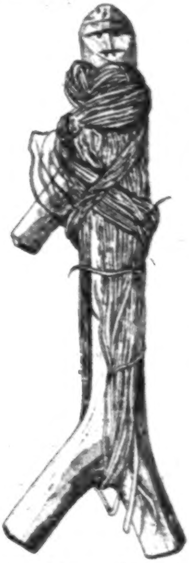
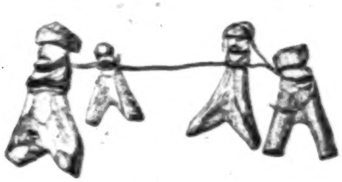


Fig. 6 ([illegible]). Guardian of Nets. Length, 21 cm.



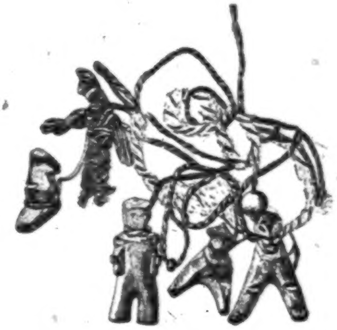


Fig. 7, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Strings of "Little Kalaks," or Guardians. Length of figure, 4 cm.

854 778 *The-Searching-Kamak-Face.* — This kalak (En·a'yıs-ka'mak-lō$^{\epsilon}$, literally "the searching kamak face") is the special protector of babies. It is usually sewed to the back of the child's shirt-collar[2] (Fig. 9, *a*). In the village of Paren I obtained such a protector attached to a strap (Fig. 9, *b*), which the child used to wear around the neck, under the shirt, like a cross; but

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[1] See p. 38, Footnote 3.

[2] It is interesting to compare this with the custom of the Eskimo of Baffin Land, where a woman who is with child wears an amulet attached to the back of her inner shirt (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 143); and among the Central Eskimo, amulets are always worn on the middle of the back of the inner jacket (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 592).

the figure of the guardian rested on the child's back. Two little bags with 778
fragments of stone arrow-points were also attached to the strap; but their meaning 854
is not clear. The-Searching-Kamak-Face guards, keeps in place, or restores the child's soul, which may leave the body or go astray. Small children are

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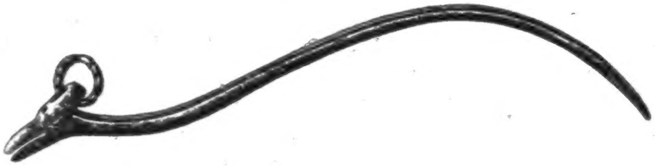

Fig. 8 ([illegible]). Snow-Beater serving as Guardian. Length, 54 cm.

especially subject to assaults of evil spirits, and the souls frightened by the
latter desert the bodies. When children are asleep, their souls also leave [774]
their bodies, and lose their way. In such cases The-Searching-Kamak-Face catches them, and puts them back in place.

Although the "searching little charm" is, like the Roman *genius*, an individual protector of the child that wears it, it is to be regarded as one of the

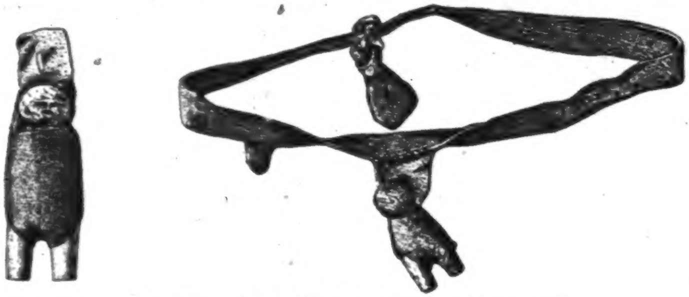

Fig. 9, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Child's Guardians. Length of *a*, 10 cm.

family *penates*. It is transmitted by inheritance. The older it is, the more powerful does it become. When a child is born in a family, the charm is taken off from the older child, and sewed to the clothing of the new-born child. A new charm is made only in case the family divides.

The Skin Boat and its Charms. — Among the rest of the family deities, 778
the skin boat, as an implement for procuring food, is an important guardian
of the family hearth. Being closely linked with the family cult of the Maritime 592
Koryak, the skin boat cannot belong to two households that are not mutually 501
connected by ties of consanguinity. Neither can it be sold, or given temporarily to strangers. As one of the household *penates*, it is the source of the family's welfare. The owner of the skin boat generally takes along strangers,

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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from among those who do not own a boat, to assist him in his hunt; for not all families are in possession of a skin boat. It is considered a sign of prosperity to own one. The assistants get a share of the product, but are regarded simply as laborers, who work for their master. Sometimes they will give the owner of the skin boat seal-skins to mend the boat; but these are looked upon as presents to the owner of the boat, and he may dispose of them in any manner he may see fit. The first launching of the boat in the spring, and the last beaching in the fall, when it is to be put away for the winter, are considered as family festivals among the Maritime Koryak.

Charmed forked alder-twigs called iklō′ (*sing.* i′kla) are prepared in the spring, when the skin boat is launched, and are placed in the prow of the boat (Fig. 10, *a*). They are the comrades and assistants of the skin boat, and are supposed to attract whales and other sea-animals to it. In the village of Kamenskoye the "guardians" of the whale-skin are also called iklō.[1]

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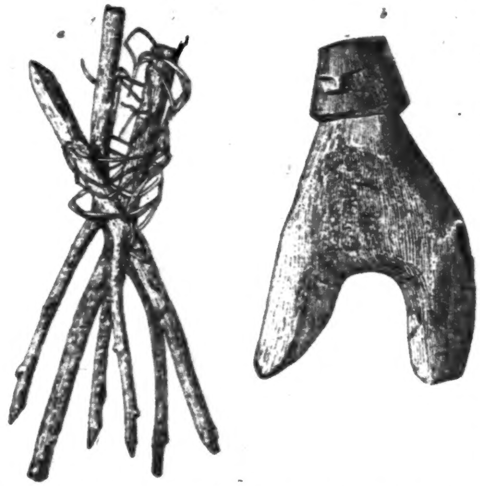

Fig. 10. Guardians of the Skin Boat. *a* ([illegible]), Forked Alder-Twigs representing Guardians in Human Shape (length, 23 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Attachment to the Prow, representing the Manager of the Boat (length, 20 cm.).

On the upper end of the prow of the boat is a small forked figure, placed with legs pointing upward, over which the harpoon-thong is pulled. A face is carved on the opposite end. It is considered the manager of the skin boat. The specimen here figured (Fig. 10, *b*) was an old boat-charm which, having been worn out by use, had been replaced by a new one, and which was deposited among the other *penates* of the house.

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THE LADDER. — The ladder which is used for the entrance into the winter house of the Maritime Koryak is also classed among the guardians of the house. A crudely carved human face is represented on the top of the ladder (Fig. 11). It is called Old-Woman (ı′n·pa-ña′ut). This guardian is apparently a woman. The image is also called Ye′ltitkin; that is, "the head of the ladder." The ladder is the master of the house-entrance. It is supposed not to allow any kamaks to get in. When the house is temporarily deserted, — for instance, when the people move to

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[1] See p. 38.

their summer dwellings, — the Maritime Koryak pray to the ladder not to 417
let any strangers or ill-meaning people enter the house. In the fall of 1900, 342
when I arrived at the winter village of Paren, it was deserted.
The inhabitants were still in their summer houses. I wished to 778
inspect the winter houses; but my interpreter (a Russianized Koryak) and Cossack were afraid to descend into them until I had gone in and come back unmolested. From time to time the ladder is smeared with seal-blubber and other fat.

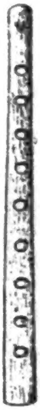

Fig. 11. Model of a House Ladder.

Sacred Arrows. — Freqently an arrow, given as an offering 411
after a wolf has been killed, is found among the guardians of the 778
fireplace. Such an arrow (Iᵉlhun) is either driven into the ground at its butt-end, or it is tied to a pointed stick, which is driven into the ground, near the hearth. One of these sacred arrows is shown in Fig. 12. I obtained it in the Talovka settlement. It was completely blackened from the soot of the hearth.

The Sun-Worm. — The doll shown in Fig. 13 represents 778
a guardian of women. It is hung up in the family sleeping-tent, 842
and protects lying-in women, and also prevents sterility. It is called The-Vivifying-One (Yeytele'ʟɪčɪčaᵋn). The women of the village of Kamenskoye, where I found this guardian, told me that a "worm" is sewed up in it. This "worm" is believed to fall down from the sky into the bag which women carry on their backs while digging roots. It then becomes the guardian of the woman into whose bag it falls. They call it Sun-Worm (Tiyk-Eli'ggi). I think this belief may be explained by the fact that in the spring caterpillars fall from the trees, and thus sometimes get into the baskets that women wear on the back while walking in the woods, picking dry branches, and digging up roots.

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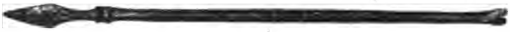

Fig. 12 ([illegible]). Sacred Arrow. Length, 66 cm.

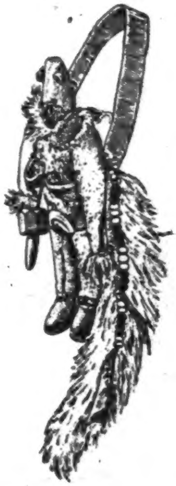

Fig. 13 ([illegible]). Woman's Guardian. Length of doll, 11 cm.

Special House-Guardians. — Some charms are 778
called House-Kamak-Face (Yaya'-kamak-lōᵋ), and represent 353
special house-guardians. Two of these are represented in Fig. 14. The one marked *a* I got in the village of Kuel, and the other in the village of Paren. As the guardian of the house is regarded as the sacred board of the fire-making implements, it would seem that House-Kamak-Face is a supplementary protector of the dwelling, but not of the hearth. The guardian of the dwelling (Yaya'-Kamak-lō) is placed in the shrine (op-yan) and fed on different occasions.

800 of the dwelling (Yaya′-kamaklŏ) is placed in the shrine (op-yan) and fed on different occasions.

787 778 Divining-Stones. — The divining-stone plays an important part in the ritualistic life of the Koryak. Like all the guardians, the divining-stone constitutes a necessary attribute of the family hearth. Divining is practised at all ceremonies, — when a child is given a name, before starting on a journey, after a death, during the whale festival, etc. The divining-stone is sewed up in a leather bag (Fig. 15), and a number of charms are frequently attached to it. When in use, it is hung on a stick, a question is put, and the stick is lifted. If the stone does not move, it means that the answer is in the negative. If it swings, it indicates an affirmative answer. Sometimes two or three sticks are tied together, and the stone is hung from the point where they are joined. By inclining this support, the stone is enabled to swing. Divining-stones are rounded pebbles picked up on the river-banks, but selected by experienced men or shamans. Before they are used, a spell is wrought over them. The divining-stone is called an·a′pel or an·a′pila′qu ("little grandmother").

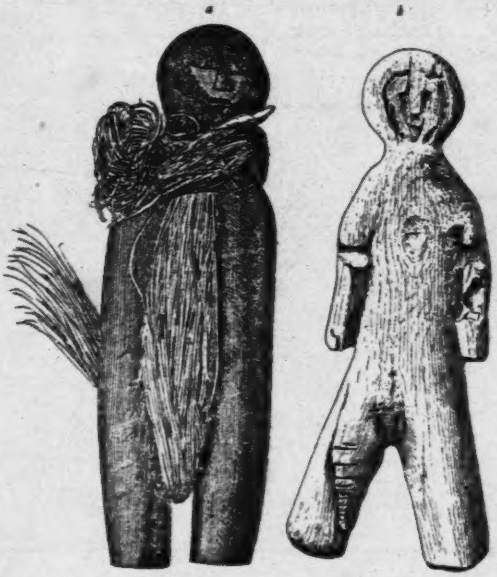

Fig. 14, a ([illegible]), b ([illegible]). Special House Guardians. Length, 25 cm., 27 cm.

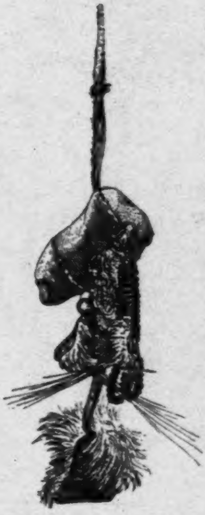

Fig. 15 ([illegible]). Divining-Stone. Total length, 28 cm.

751 Amulets. — All objects over which incantations are uttered are called ewya′nwičŏ (ewya′na signifies "conjuring," endowing with supernatural power"), and serve as amulets. In this sense, all the Koryak *penates* and guardians

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are ewya'nwičŏ. I shall discuss here only those amulets that serve as individual charms against diseases. To guard against headaches, sometimes a strap and hare's hair are braided in with the hair of the head (Fig. 16, *a*). Ordinarily a bead is attached to it, and a spell is pronounced over it. Fig. 16, *b*, represents a charmed bracelet braided of sinew-thread, hare's and wolf's hair, with a bead attached to it. It was worn as a protection against rheumatism in the arm. A similar amulet is represented in Fig. 17, *a*.

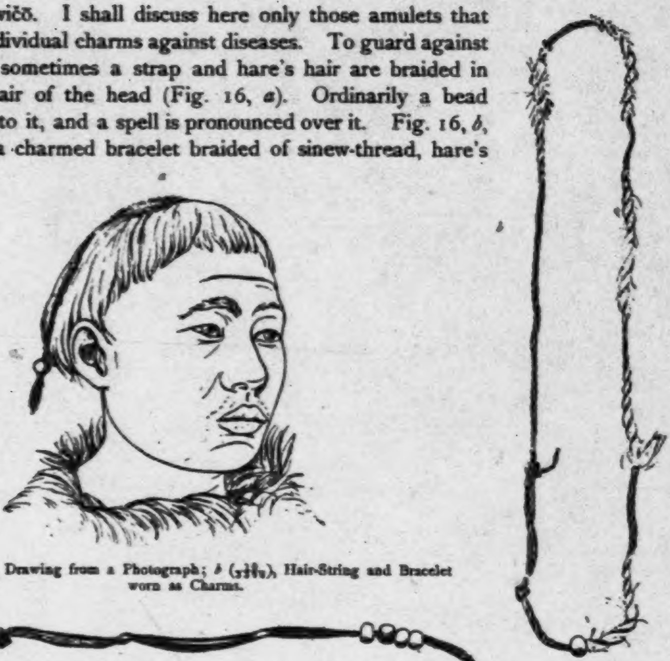

Fig. 16, *a*, Drawing from a Photograph; *b* ([illegible]), Hair-String and Bracelet worn as Charms.

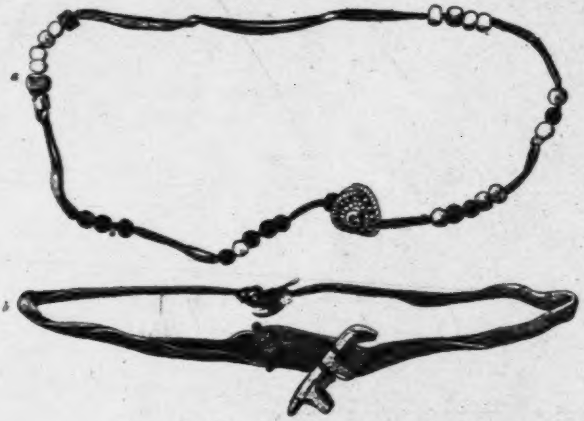

Fig. 17, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Necklaces worn as Charms.

751 It is worn around the neck. It consists of a thong braided together with reindeer-hair, and beads strung on it. Sometimes a guardian representing a human figure or some animal is appended to such an amulet (Fig. 17, *b*).

364 755 Tattooing, so far as it is not done as a matter of fashion, is also to be classed with amulets. Aching parts of the body are tattooed in order to drive away the pain. Tattooing is thus made to serve as an amulet or guardian. The design of the tattooing frequently represents a human figure. The method of tattooing is the following. Pounded charcoal is mixed with oil. A thin sinew thread twisted with a woman's hair is blackened in it, and then, by means of a fine needle, is drawn through the skin. This kind of tattooing is called gettʹplın ("pierced"). It is practised on women as well as on men: while tattooing as an adornment is practised on women only, and is called lŏᵋ-keʹle ("face-painting"). Some women tattoo the face as a charm against barrenness.

The method of charming amulets and making incantations will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.[1]

778 771 General Remarks. — We have seen that the majority of the guardians are family deities. Only the guardian of the habitation has a tendency to become a village protectors. On the other hand, only amulets against diseases, and a certain kind of tattooing, figure as guardians of individuals. All the other guardians are closely connected with the household fireplace and the welfare of the family. They cannot be transferred into a family of strangers; but they may be temporarily engaged by one or another of the members of the family.

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[1] See pp. 59-64.

IV. — SHAMANISM AND INCANTATIONS.

Shamanism.

General Remarks. — Shamanism may be defined as the art of influencing, 755
by the help of guardian spirits, the course of events. Among the Koryak we 787
may distinguish professional shamanism and family shamanism. Professional shamans are those who are inspired by special spirits. Their opportunities for displaying their powers are not limited to a certain group of people. The more powerful they are, the wider is the circle in which they can practise their art. Family shamanism is connected with the domestic hearth, whose welfare is under its care. The family shaman has charge of the celebration of family festivals, rites, sacrificial ceremonies, of the use of their charms and amulets, and of their incantations. Some women possess, besides the knowledge of incantations which are a family secret, that of a considerable number of other incantations, which they make use of outside of the family circle for a consideration.

Professional Shamans. — The professional shaman is called eñe′ñalaᵋn 756
(that is, a man inspired by spirits), from e′ñeñ ("shaman's spirit").[1] Every 776
shaman has his own guardian spirits, that help him in his struggle with the disease-inflicting kalau, in his rivalry with other shamans, and also in attacks upon his enemies. The shaman spirits usually appear in the form of animals or birds. The most common guardian spirits are the wolf, the bear, the raven, the sea-gull, and the eagle. Nobody can become a shaman of his own free will. The spirits enter into any person they may choose, and force him to become their servant. Those that become shamans are usually nervous young men subject to hysterical fits, by means of which the spirits express their demand that the young man should consecrate himself to the service of shamanism. I was told that people about to become shamans have fits of wild paroxysm alternating with a condition of complete exhaustion. They will lie motionless for two or three days without partaking of food or drink. Finally they retire to the wilderness, where they spend their time enduring hunger and cold in order to prepare themselves for their calling. There the spirits appear to them in visible form, endow them with power, and instruct them. The second of the two shamans of whom I shall speak below told me how the spirits of the wolf, raven, bear, sea-gull, and plover, appeared to him in the desert, — now in the form of men, now in that of animals, — and commanded him to become a shaman, or to die.

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[1] At present the Koryak also term the Christian God and the images of the Orthodox Church e′ñeñ.

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There is no doubt that professional shamanism has developed from the ceremonials of family shamanism.[1] The latter form is more primitive, while the functions of professional shamans somewhat resemble those of priests. However, the influence of contact with a higher civilization has had a more disastrous effect upon professional shamanism than upon that practised in the family.

There was a time when the Koryak had all the different kinds of shamans that are still in existence among the Chukchee. The Koryak tell of miracles performed by shamans who have died recently, but at the present time there are very few professional shamans among them. I did not find a single shaman in the settlements of the Maritime Koryak along Penshina Bay. The old men of these settlements told me that many people had died among them during the epidemic of measles which had ravaged these regions before my arrival, because there were no shamans to drive away the disease.[2]

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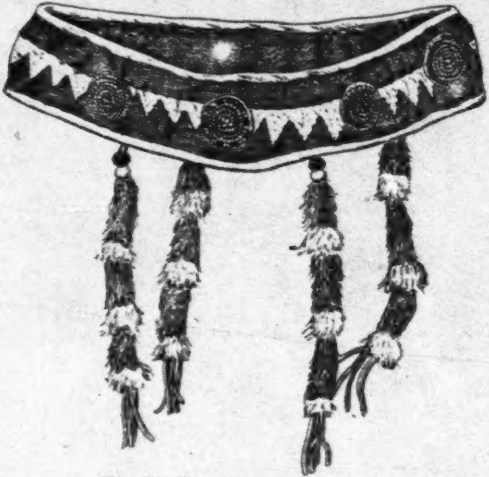

Fig. 18 ([illegible]). Shaman's Head-Band.

The Koryak shamans have no drums of their own: they use the drums belonging to the family in whose house the shamanistic performance takes place. It seems that they wear no special dress: at least, the shamans whom I had occasion to observe wore ordinary clothing. One embroidered jacket (Plate I, Fig. 1) and head-band (Fig. 18) were sold to me for my collection as the garb used by the Alutor shamans; but the jacket looks like an ordinary dancing-jacket used in the whale festival, except that it has some small tassels which have apparently been borrowed from Tungus shamans.

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[1] It is very strange that both Steller and Krasheninnikoff, who spent several years in Kamchatka, assert that the Kamchadal had no professional shamans, but that every one could exercise that art, especially women and Koe'kčuč (men dressed in women's clothes); that there was no special shaman garb; that they used no drum, but simply pronounced incantations, and practised divination (KRASHENINNIKOFF, III, p. 114; STELLER, p. 277), which description appears more like the family shamanism of the present day. It is improbable that the Kamchadal should form an exception among the rest of the Asiatic and American tribes in having had no professional shamans.

[2] It is interesting to note that among the Yakut, a people with a more developed primitive culture, the embracing of Christian teaching has resulted in the decline of family shamanism, which, according to Trostchansky (p. 108), used to be practised among them, rather than that of special shamanism. Professional shamans can be found everywhere among the Yakut even at the present time.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate I.

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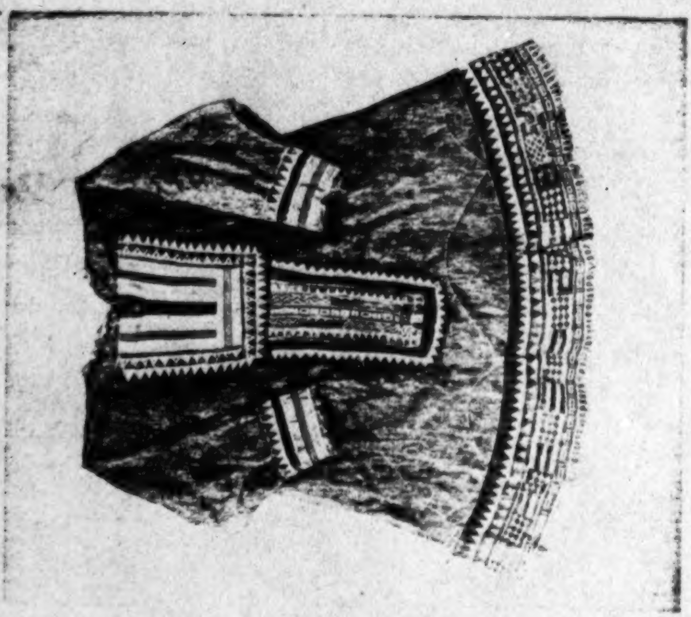

Fig. 2. Man's Dancing-Jacket.

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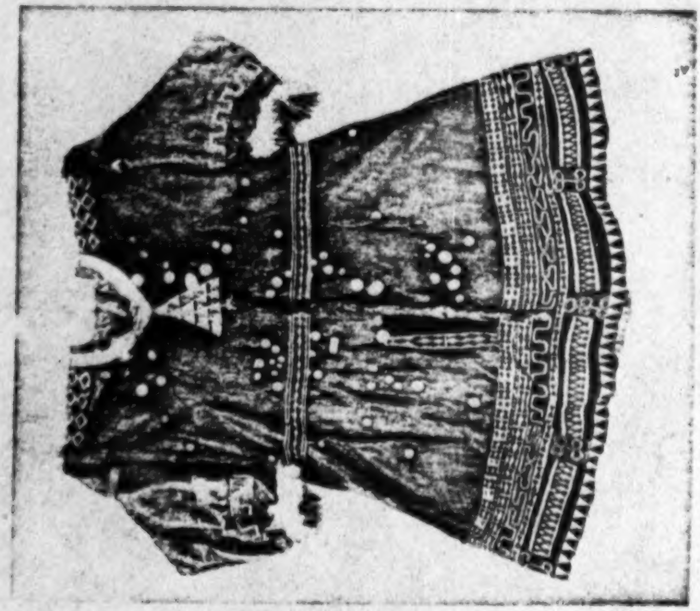

Fig. 1. Shaman's Jacket.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 48]

During the entire period of my sojourn among the Koryak I had opportunity to see only two shamans. Both were young men, and neither enjoyed special respect on the part of his relatives. Both were poor men who worked as laborers for the rich members of their tribe. One of them was a Maritime Koryak from Alutor. He used to come to the village of Kamenskoye in company with a Koryak trader. He was a bashful youth. His features, though somewhat wild, were flexible and pleasant, and his eyes were bright. I asked him to show me proof of his shamanistic art. Unlike other shamans, he consented without waiting to be coaxed. The people put out the oil-lamps in the underground house in which he stopped with his master. Only a few coals were glowing on the hearth, and it was almost dark in the house. On the large platform which is put up in the front part of the house as the seat and sleeping-place for visitors, and not far from where my wife and I were sitting, we could just discern the shaman in an ordinary shaggy shirt of reindeer-skin, squatting on the reindeer-skins that covered the platform. His face was covered with a large oval drum.

Suddenly he commenced to beat the drum softly and to sing in a plaintive voice: then the beating of the drum grew stronger and stronger; and his song — in which could be heard sounds imitating the howling of the wolf, the groaning of the cargoose, and the voices of other animals, his guardian spirits — appeared to come, sometimes from the corner nearest to my seat, then from the opposite end, then again from the middle of the house, and then it seemed to proceed from the ceiling. He was a ventriloquist. Shamans versed in this art are believed to possess particular power. His drum also seemed to sound, now over my head, now at my feet, now behind, now in front of me. I could see nothing; but it seemed to me that the shaman was moving around us, noiselessly stepping upon the platform with his fur shoes, then retiring to some distance, then coming nearer, lightly jumping, and then squatting down on his heels.

All of a sudden the sound of the drum and the singing ceased. When the women had relighted their lamps, he was lying, completely exhausted, on a white reindeer-skin on which he had been sitting before the shamanistic performance (Plate II, Fig. 1). The concluding words of the shaman, which he pronounced in a recitative, were uttered as though spoken by the spirit whom he had summoned up, and who declared that the "disease" had left the village, and would not return.

The shaman's prediction suited me admirably, for one of the old Koryak had forbidden his children to go into the house where I stopped to take measurements, saying that they would die if they allowed themselves to be measured.[1]

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[1] It will be interesting to quote here from the work of Dr. Slunin (I, p. 378) on this subject: "Up to this time no one has taken any anthropological measurements of the Koryak; and this is impossible, for they are too ignorant and superstitious, and they are exceedingly opposed to being measured. They absolutely refused to comply with our request in this matter, despite the hospitality we met in their homes."

756 787 He also tried to stir up the other Koryak against me, pointing out to them that an epidemic of measles had broken out after the departure of Dr. Slunin's expedition, and that the same thing might take place after I left.

755 I made an appointment with the shaman's master to have him call on me, together with the shaman, on the following day. I wished to take a record in writing of the text of the incantations which I had heard; but when I woke up in the morning, I was informed that the shaman had left at daybreak.

I saw another shaman among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula. He had been called from a distant camp to treat a syphilitic patient who had large ulcers in his throat that made him unable to swallow. I was not present at the treatment of the patient, since the latter lived in another camp, at a distance of several miles from us, and I learned of the performance of the rite only after it was over. The Koryak asserted that the patient was relieved immediately after the shamanistic exercises, and that he drank two cups of tea without any difficulty. Among other things, the shaman ordered the isolation of the patient from his relatives, lest the spirits that had caused the disease might pass to others. A separate tent was pitched next to the main tent for the patient and his wife, who was taking care of him. I lived in the house of the patient's brother, the official chief of the Taigonos Koryak. At my request he sent reindeer to bring the shaman. The shaman arrived. His appearance did not inspire much confidence.

756 787 In order to obtain a large remuneration, he refused at first, under various pretexts, to perform his art. I asked him to "look at my road;" that is, to divine whether I should reach the end of my journey safely. The official chief said that this performance must take place in my own tent, and not in that of some one else; but the shaman declared that his spirits would not enter a Russian lodging, and that he would be in deadly peril if he should call up spirits for a foreigner. Finally it was decided that the peril for the shaman would be eliminated by making his remuneration large enough to completely satisfy the spirits. I promised to give the shaman, not only a red flannel shirt, which he liked very much, but also a big Belgian knife. I had offered him first the choice of one of the two articles; but he declared that his spirits liked one as well as the other.

Another difficulty arose over the drum. The chief himself found a way out of it by means of casuistry. He gave his own drum, saying that a family drum must not be taken into another Koryak's house, but that it was permissible to take it into mine. The drum was brought into my tent by one of the three wives of the chief. It was in its case, because the drum must not be taken out of the house without its cover. A violation of this taboo may result in bringing on a blizzard.

During the shamanistic exercises there were present, besides my wife and myself, the chief, his wife who had brought the drum, my cossack, and

756 787 the interpreter. The shaman had a position on the floor in a corner of the tent, not far from the entrance (see Plate II, Fig. 2). He was sitting with his legs crossed, and from time to time he would rise to his knees. He beat the drum violently, and sang in a loud voice, summoning the spirits. As he explained to me after the ceremony, his main guardian spirits (e′ñeñs) were One-who-walks-around-the-Earth (No′taka′vya, one of the mythical names of the bear), Broad-soled-One (Umya′ılhın, one of the mythical names of the wolf), and the raven. The appearance of the spirits of these animals was accompanied by imitations of sounds characteristic of their voices. Through their mediation he appealed to The-One-on-High (Ģı′čholaᵋn) with the following song, which was accompanied by the beating of the drum: —

"Nıme′leu neye′iten.
"(It is) good that (he) should arrive.

Nume′leñ ho′mma nıme′leu ove′ka o′pta neye′itek."
Also I should-well myself also reach home."

That is, "Let him reach home safely, and let me also reach home safely." Suddenly, in the midst of the wildest singing and beating of the drum, he stopped, and said to me, "The spirits say that I should cut myself with a knife. You will not be afraid?"[1] — "You may cut yourself, I am not afraid," I replied. "Give me your knife, then. I am performing my incantations for you, so I have to cut myself with your knife," said he. To tell the truth, I commenced to feel somewhat uneasy; while my wife, who was sitting on the floor by my side, and who was completely overwhelmed by the wild shrieks and the sound of the drum, entreated me not to give him the knife. Until that time I had heard different narratives about shamans cutting their abdomen, but I had never seen it done. On the Palpal Mountains I was told that a woman shaman, who died quite recently, used to treat her patients by opening the affected place, cutting out a piece of flesh, and swallowing it, thus destroying the disease, together with the spirit that had caused it. It was said that the wound she made would heal up immediately. Several times I attended the exercises of a Tungus shaman nicknamed Mashka, who subsequently served me as guide on my way from Gishiga to the Kolyma. He pretended that his guardians belonged to the Koryak spirits, and demanded that he cut himself with his knife. The wild fits of ecstasy which would possess him during his performances frightened me. In such cases he would demand all those present to give him a knife or a spear. He was married to a Yukaghir woman from the Korkodon River, whose brother was also a shaman. She would always search him before a performance, take away all his knives, and request all those present not to give him any sharp instruments, for he had once cut himself nearly to death. His spirits, being of Koryak origin, spoke out of him in the Koryak language; i. e., part of the performance was in the Koryak

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[1] Shamans, with the help of the spirits, may cut and otherwise injure their bodies without suffering harm.

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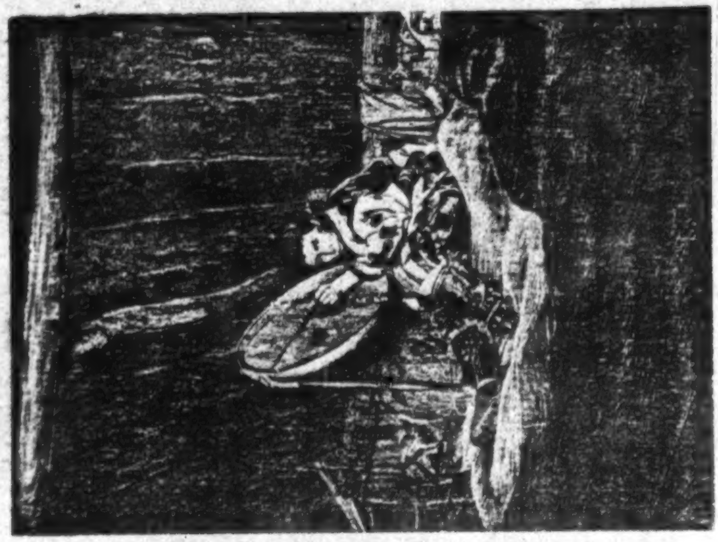

FIG. 1.

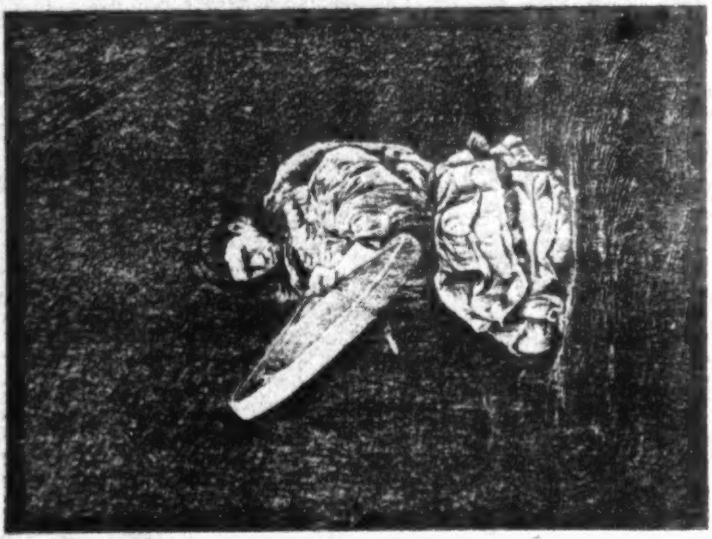

FIG. 2.

PERFORMING SHAMANS.

[Facing p. 51]

756 language. I asked him several times to dictate to me what his spirits were
787 saying, and he would invariably reply that he did not remember, that he forgot everything after the seance was over, and that, besides, he did not understand the language of his spirits. At first I thought that he was deceiving me; but I had several opportunities of convincing myself that he really did not understand any Koryak. Evidently he had learned by heart Koryak incantations which he could pronounce only in a state of excitement.

To return to our Koryak shaman. I took from its sheath my sharp "Finnish" travelling-knife, that looked like a dagger, and gave it to him. The light in the tent was put out; but the dim light of the arctic spring night (it was in April), which penetrated the canvas of the tent, was sufficient to allow me to follow the movements of the shaman. He took the knife, beat the drum, and sang, telling the spirits that he was ready to carry out their wishes. After a little while he put away the drum, and, emitting a rattling sound from his throat, he thrust the knife into his breast up to the hilt. I noticed, however, that after having cut his jacket, he turned the knife downward. He drew out the knife with the same rattling in his throat, and resumed beating the drum. Then he turned to me, and said that the spirits had secured for me a safe journey over the Koryak land, and predicted that the Sun-Chief (Tiyk-e′yım) — i. e., the Czar — would reward me for my labors.

Contrary to my expectations, he returned the knife to me (I thought he would say that the knife with which he had cut himself must be left with him), and through the hole in his jacket he showed spots of blood on his body. Of course, these spots had been made before. However, this cannot be looked upon as mere deception. Things visible and imaginary are confounded to such an extent in primitive consciousness, that the shaman himself may have thought that there was, invisible to others, a real gash in his body, as had been demanded by the spirits. The common Koryak, however, are sure that the shaman actually cuts himself, and that the wound heals up immediately.

756. *Shamans that change their Sex.* — Among the Koryak, only traditions
are preserved of shamans who change their sex in obedience to the commands
838 of spirits. I do not know of a single case of this so-called "transformation" at the present time. Among the Chukchee, however, even now shamans called ırka$^{\varepsilon'}$-la′ul may be found quite often. They are men clothed in woman's attire, who are believed to be transformed physically into women. The transformed shamans were believed to be the most powerful of all shamans. The conception of the change of sex arises from the idea, alluded to farther on, of the conformity between the nature of an object and its outer covering or garb. Among the Koryak they were called qava′u or qeve′u. In his chapter on the Koryak, Krasheninnikoff makes mention of the ke′yev, — i. e., men occupying the position of concubines,[1] — and he compares them with the Kamchadal

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 222.

koe'kčuč, as he calls them; i. e., men transformed into women. "Every koe'kčuč," says Krasheninnikoff, "is regarded as a magician and interpreter of dreams;"[1] but, judging from his confused description, it may be inferred that the most important feature of the institution of the koe'kčuč lay, not in their shamanistic power, but in their position with regard to the satisfaction of the unnatural inclinations of the Kamchadal. The koe'kčuč wore women's clothes, they did women's work, and were in the position of wives or concubines. They did not enjoy respect: they held a social position similar to that of woman. They could enter the house through the draught-channel, which corresponds to the opening in the roof of the porch of the Koryak underground house,[2] just like all the women; while men would consider it a humiliation to do so. The Koryak told me the same with reference to their qava'u. But, setting aside the question of the perversion of the sexual instinct connected with this so-called "change of sex," the interesting question remains, Why is a shaman believed to become more powerful when he is changed into a woman?[3]

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The father of Yulta, a Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye, who died not long ago, and who had been a shaman, had worn women's clothes for two years by order of the spirits; but, since he had been unable to attain complete transformation, he implored his spirits to permit him to resume man's clothes. His request was granted, but under the condition that he should put on women's clothes during shamanistic ceremonies.[4] As may be seen from Plate II, Fig. 1, the shaman wears woman's striped trousers.

It should be stated here that I did not learn of transformations of women shamans into men among the Koryak of to-day, which transformations are known among the Chukchee under the name qa'čikıčheča ("a man-like [woman]").[5] We find, however, accounts of such transformations in the tales; and the conception of the change of sex is the same in both cases.

Women shamans, and those transformed into women, are considered to be very powerful. I was told that a woman shaman on the Palpal Mountains

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 114.

[2] See p. 14, Footnote 4; and Steller, p. 212.

[3] It is interesting to note that traces of the change of a shaman's sex into that of a woman may be found among many Siberian tribes. During shamanistic exercises, Tungus and Yukaghir shamans put on, not a man's, but a woman's, apron, with tassels. In the absence of a shamanistic dress, or in cases of the so-called "small" shamanism, the Yakut shaman will put on a woman's jacket of foal-skins and a woman's white ermine fur cap. I myself was once present at a shamanistic ceremony of this kind in the Kolyma district. Shamans part their hair in the middle, and braid it like women, but wear it loose during the shamanistic performances. Some shamans have two iron circles representing breasts sewed to their aprons. The right side of a horse-skin is considered to be tabooed for women, and shamans are not permitted to lie on it. During the first three days after confinement, when Ayısı't, the deity of fecundity, is supposed to be near the lying-in woman, access to the house where she is confined is forbidden to men, but not to shamans. Trostchansky (p. 123) thinks that among the Yakut, who have two categories of shamans, — the "white" ones representing creative forces, and the "black" ones representing destructive forces, — the latter have a tendency to become like women, for the reason that they derive their origin from women shamans.

[4] Among the Eskimo "the servant of the deity Sedna is represented by a man dressed in a woman's costume" (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 140).

[5] See Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. xvii.

756 who was all covered with syphilitic ulcers, but whom I had no opportunity
838 of seeing, did not die because she was supported by her guardian spirits. On the other hand, child-birth may result in a complete or temporary loss
[841] of shamanistic power. During the period of menstruation a woman is not permitted to touch a drum.

Eme'mqut's shamanistic power disappeared after the mythical Triton had bewitched him, and caused him to give birth to a boy. His power was restored to him after his sister had killed the Triton's sister, by which deed the act of giving birth was completely eliminated.[1] Tale 113 also tells of the transformation of men into women. Illa' dressed himself like a woman and went to his neighbors. When River-Man (Veye'mılaᵋn), the neighbor's son, recognized him, Illa', in revenge, filled him with the continual desire to become a woman.

In Tale. 129 Kılu''s brother became pregnant with twins. When he was unable to give birth, his sister took out his entrails and put the entrails of a mouse in their place. After the children had been born, she replaced his entrails. Apparently the tranformation was not complete in this case.

756 FAMILY SHAMANISM. *The Drum.* — In the chapter on guardians and
534 charms I referred to the drum as a household guardian. In connection with professional shamanism I mentioned that the drum is closely connected with
774 shamanistic performances, but not with the person of the shaman, as is the case among other Asiatic shamans. I shall point out here the part played by the drum in family shamanism.

The power of the drum lies in the sounds emitted by it. On the one hand, the rhythm and change of pitch produced by skilful beating with the stick evoke an emotional excitement in primitive man, thus placing the drum in the ranks of a musical instrument. On the other hand, the sound of the drum, just like the human voice or song, is in itself considered as something living, capable of influencing the invisible spirits. The stick is the tongue of the drum, the Yukaghir say. As seen from Tale 9, The-Master-on-High himself, in his creative activity, needs a drum. Big-Raven borrowed the drum from him, and gave it to men.

The following song, which was sung while beating the drum by a Reindeer Koryak woman of the Taigonos Peninsula, and which may be regarded as a prayer to the Creator (Tenanto'mwan), to whom it was addressed, characterizes the relation of the latter to the acquiring of the drum by man.

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Text.

"Gı'ča	ivi'hiᵋ	'ya'yai	getei'kilın'	nıme'leu	mını'tvala	qoya'u	evi'yıke	ı'mıñ
"Thou	said,	'drum	make'	well	(we) shall live	the reindeer	not dying	also

yava'letın	kımi'ñu	nıme'leu."
afterwards	children	well (let live)."

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[1] See Tale 85.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Free Translation.

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539 "You said to us, 'Make a drum.' Now let us live well, keep alive also the reindeer, and after our death grant good living to our children."

534 In accordance with the dual character of the drum, as a musical instrument and as a sacred object in the household, it is not exclusively used for ritual purposes. Every member of the family may beat the drum. It is beaten for amusement, for enchantment, for propitiation of the gods, for summoning spirits, and also during family and ceremonial festivals. In every family, however, there is one particular member who becomes especially skilful in the art of beating the drum, and who officiates at all the ceremonies in the series of festivals. Women usually excel in the art of beating the drum (Plate III).

The Koryak drum (ya'yai) is somewhat oval in shape. The specimen represented in Fig. 19, front and back views of which are shown, is a typical Koryak drum in size and form. Its long diameter is 73 cm.; the width of [281] its rim is 5 cm., and the length of the stick 45 cm. The membrane covers the drum only on one side. It is made of reindeer-hide. The Maritime Koryak [237] sometimes make the drum-head of the skin of a dog or of that of a young spotted seal. The drum-stick is made of a thick strip of whalebone, which is wider at the end that strikes the drum than at the other end, and is covered [283] with skin from a wolf's tail. Inside of the drum, at four points in the rim, near its edge, are tied double cords made of nettle-fibre, which meet at the lower part of the drum and form the handle. These cords are not arranged symmetrically, but all towards one side of the drum. At the top edge of the rim are attached iron rattles. There is no doubt that the custom of attaching

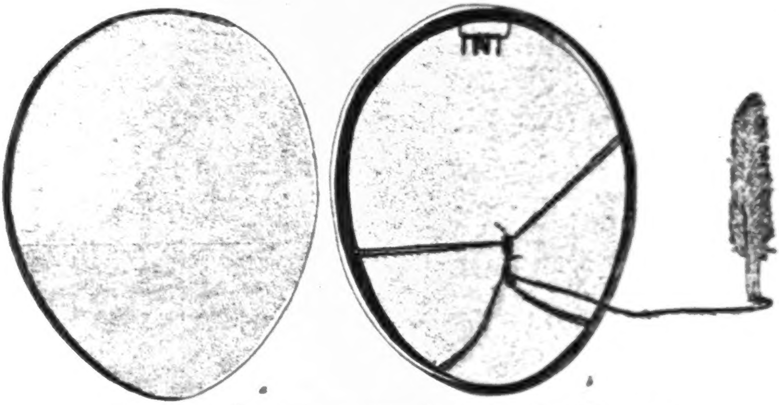

Fig. 19 ([illegible]). Koryak Drum. *a*, Outer Side; *b*, Inner Side and Drum-Stick.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate III.

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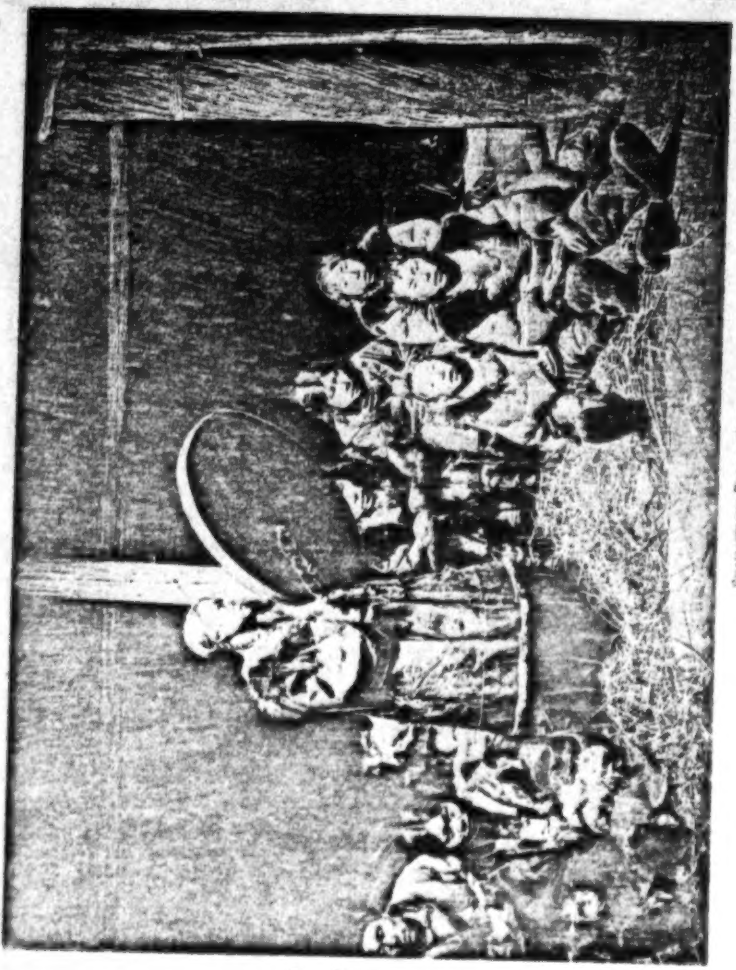

SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 55]

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There is no doubt that the custom of attaching
such rattles to the drum has been borrowed from the Tungus. Not all of the Koryak drums that I saw had iron rattles. The drum, before being used, is heated by the fire. Thus the hide is made taut, and the sounds become clearer and more sonorous.

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It is very interesting to compare the Koryak drum with other Asiatic drums which I collected. Fig. 20 represents a Yukaghir drum.[1] Its longitudinal diameter is 88 cm., the width of the rim is 6.2 cm., and the length of the stick is 42 cm. The Yukaghir drum is asymmetrical — somewhat egg-shaped — in form. It is also covered with hide on one side only. Inside of the drum there is an iron cross near the centre, which serves as a handle. The ends of the cross are tied to the rim by means of straps. Iron rattles are attached at four places on the inner side of the rim. This kind of drum is similar to that of the Yakut. This similarity may be observed not only in its shape, the cross, and the iron rattles, but also in the small protuberances on the outer surface of the rim, which are especially characteristic of the Yakut drum. They represent the horns of the shaman's spirits. Judging from what the old people among the Yukaghir relate, in olden times their drums had no metallic parts, and were apparently like those of the Koryak. The metallic parts were borrowed from the Yakut. The Yukaghir drum is, however, larger in size than that of the Yakut, and its rim is not so wide. The stick is covered with skin of reindeer-legs. The drum-head is made of reindeer-hide.

The Yakut drum (Fig. 21) is

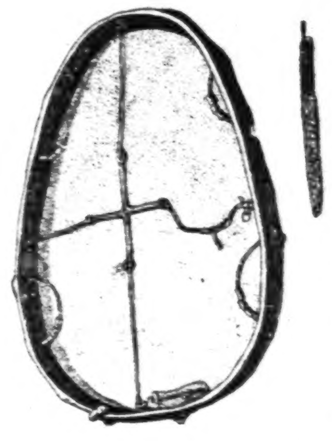

Fig. 20 ([illegible]). Yukaghir Drum and Drum-Stick.

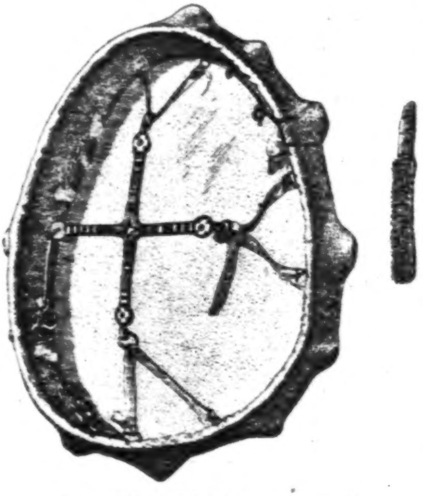

Fig. 21 ([illegible]). Yakut Drum and Drum-Stick.

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[1] When in use, the drum is held with the broad end up, which is also the case with the Yakut drum shown in the next figure.

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covered with hide of a young bull. Its longitudinal diameter is 53 cm.; the width of the rim, 11 cm.; and the length of the stick, 32 cm. The wider part of the stick is covered with cowhide. There are twelve protuberances representing horns.[1] The cross inside is attached to the rim by means of straps. Little bells and other metallic rattles are attached inside around the rim.

The long diameter of the Tungus drum (Fig. 22) is 53 cm. In size and shape it is almost like that of the Yakut; but its rim is narrower, in one specimen only 7 cm. wide. The drum has no protuberances. The ends of the cross are attached to the rim by means of a twisted iron wire. The iron rattles are in the form of rings strung upon wire bows attached to the rim.

In comparing Asiatic with American drums, we observe that in most cases the Eskimo drums are not large. The only large drums are found among the tribes of the west coast of Hudson Bay. They are either oval (but not asymmetrical) or round; the rim is very narrow, like a hoop; and a wooden handle is attached to the rim,[2] like that of a hand mirror (Fig. 23). Mr. J. Murdoch, in his paper on the Point Barrow Eskimo,[3] says that such drums are used by the Eskimo from Greenland to Siberia. The drum in Murdoch's illustration is somewhat oval in form (55 cm. by 47.5 cm.).

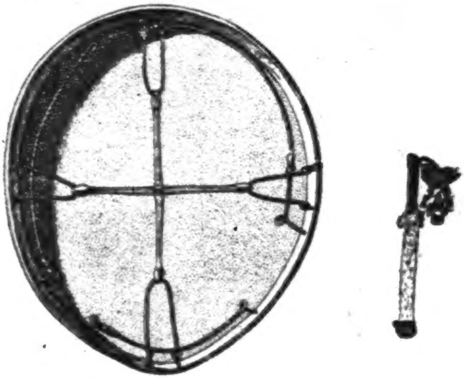

Fig. 22 ([illegible]). Tungus Drum and Drum-Stick.

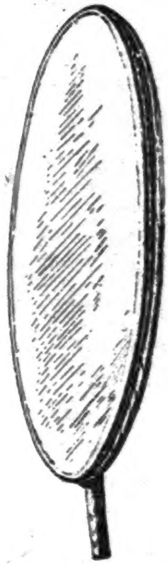

Fig. 23 ([illegible]). Eskimo Drum. Diameter, 87 cm.

The Chukchee use the same kind of drum (Fig. 24) as the Eskimo. The Chukchee, as well as the Eskimo, strike the lower part of the drum with the stick.

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[1] Sieroszevsky (p. 635) says that the protuberances are always in odd numbers: 5, 7, and 11.

[2] Potanin (IV, p. 678) tells that divinators in China use drums with handles.

[3] Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1887-88, p. 385.

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The Koryak drum approaches the Asiatic drum, but its handle is not of metal: it does not form a cross, and is not placed in the centre, but nearer to the lower edge. All asymmetrical drums are held (in the left hand) in such a way that the wider part of the oval points upward. Since the handle of the Koryak drum is not in the centre, it is held, when being beaten, in a slanting position, so that the stick strikes at the lower part of the membrane. Other Asiatic drums are mostly struck in the centre.

On the American Continent, proceeding from the Eskimo southward, we find among the Indians small, round, broad-rimmed drums used for purposes of shamanism, as well as in dancing-houses.

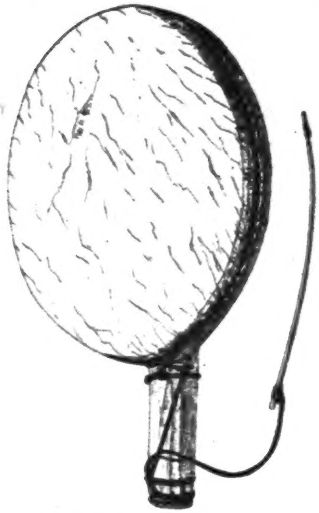

Fig. 24 ([illegible]). Chukchee Drum.

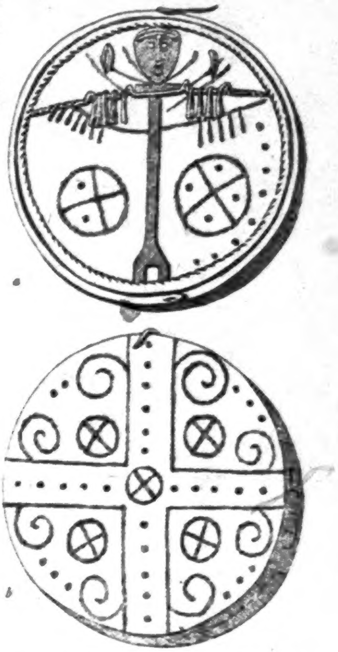

Fig. 25. Altai Drum. *a*, Inner Side; *b*, Outer Side.

It is interesting to note, that, according to Potanin's description,[1] the drums of northwestern Mogolia and those of the natives of the Russian part of the Altai Mountains have not the egg-shaped form common to East Siberian drums. They are round, and not large in size. Fig. 25 represents both sides of an Altai drum, according to Mr. Potanin.[2] Circles and crosses representing drums, and other curved lines, are drawn upon the outer and inner sides of the membrane. Some Altai drums have drawings of animals, like those on drums of the North-American Indians. Instead of the cross, which serves as a handle, we see on the Altai drum a vertical wooden stick, representing a human figure, passing through the centre of the circle, and a horizontal iron chord with rattles. The drum is held by the wooden stick, and not at the intersection of the stick and the iron crossbar.[1] In American drums, which have a single head only, the straps attached to the hollow side, and crossing each other, serve as a handle. These straps frequently form, not a cross, but a number of radii. According to Dr. Finsch's description,[2] the drums of the Samoyed and of the Ob-Ostyak are, like the Altai drums, round in shape, broad-rimmed, covered on one side only, and have a diameter of from 30 cm. to 50 cm. 534 171

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[1] Potanin, IV, pp. 44, 679.

[2] Ibid., Plate XIII, Figs. 68, 69.

Drums covered on both sides with hide, like those found among the North-American Indians, together with drums covered on but one side, are used in Siberia only by the Buddhists (for instance, the Buryat), who use them in their divine services. These drums are of a circular form, and have leather handles attached to the outer edge of the rim.

I do not know whether the Koryak word for "drum" (ya′yai) has any other meaning; but the Yukaghir word (ya′lgil) means "lake," that is, the lake into which the shaman dives in order to descend into the kingdom of shades. This is very much like the conception of the Eskimo, the souls of whose shamans descend into the lower world of the deity Sedna. The Yakut and Mongol regard the drum as the shaman's horse, on which he ascends to the spirits in the sky, or descends to those of the lower world.

INCANTATIONS.

The significance of family shamanism will become clearer by a discussion of the festivals of the Koryak. It seems desirable, however, to treat first the magic formulas used by them. In almost every family there is some woman, usually an elderly one, who knows some magic formulas; but in many cases some particular women become known as specialists in the practice of incantations, and in this respect rival the powers of professional shamans. 789

The belief regarding magic formulas is, that the course of events may be influenced by spoken words, and that the spirits frequently heed them; or that an action related in the text of an incantation will be repeated, adapted to a given case. In this way, diseases are treated, amulets and charms are consecrated, animals that serve as food-supply are attracted, and evil spirits are banished.

All incantations originate from the Creator (Tenanto′mwAN). He bequeathed

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[1] Potanin (IV, p. 679) calls attention to the similarity of the cruciform figures on the drum to similar figures on the clay cylinders discovered in Italy, and considered to belong to the pre-Etruscan period (Mortillet, Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme: Paris, 1886, pp. 80, 95, 96); but it does not seem to me that the sign of the cross on the drum-handle had in itself any religious or symbolical meaning.

[2] Finsch, p. 550, Plates 45, 47.

789 them to mankind to help them in their struggle with the kalau. He and his wife Miti′ appear as acting personages in the dramatical narrative which constitutes the contents of the magic formulas. [424] The incantations are passed from generation to generation; but every woman versed in this art regards her formulas as a secret, which, if divulged, would lose its power. A magic formula cannot serve as an object of common use. These women, when performing any incantation, pronounce the formula, and at the same time perform the actions described in it. This is done for a consideration. I know of a woman on the Taigonos Peninsula, whose husband was poor and a good-for-nothing, and who made a living by incantations. "The magic formulas are my reindeer, they feed me," she said to me. A good incantation is worth several cakes of pressed tea, or several packages of tobacco, or a reindeer. When a woman sells an incantation, she must promise that she gives it up entirely, and that the buyer will become the only possessor of its mysterious power.

At first, during my stay among the Koryak, I was unable to record any formulas of incantations. To sell an incantation to a foreigner is considered a sin. It was only after I had lived with them for several months that I was able to record the incantations given below. Formulas 1-3 were told me by Navaqu′t, a Maritime woman from the village of Kuel; and 4 and 5, by Ty′kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman from a camp on the Topolovka River. Before dictating them to me, the women sent out of the house all the Koryak except my interpreter, lest they should make use of the formulas without paying for them.

[539]

1. Incantation for the Protection of a Lonely Traveller against Evil Spirits.

Text.

Tenanto′mwalan	alaʻitɪvoño′ī:	"Kɪ′miyñin,"	e′wan	"i′čuča	kalaʻiña	nača′-
(The) Creator	began to worry:	"Son,"	says,	"likely	by the kala	carried

ičɪñɪn,	ena′nneña	yɪʻlqalan	kalaʻiña	načaʻičɪñɪn."	Ele′enu	teiʻkenin	e′lle	aiño′ka.
away will be,	solitary	sleeping-man	by the kala	carried away will be."	In excrement	transformed (him)	not	susceptible to smell (by the kala).

tañ-iʻlqañoi,	teñ-ɪkye′vi.
Well to sleep began (son),	well woke up.

Free Translation.

The Creator began to worry, saying, "My son will probably be carried away by a kala; he will be carried away by a kala while he is sleeping alone in the wilderness." Therefore the Creator transformed his son into excrement, for the kala does not like the smell of it. Thus the son of the Creator fell asleep well, and woke up without harm.

In this incantation the belief is characteristic that the son of the Creator (that is, the traveller), charmed in this way, when preparing for the night in

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the wilderness, is actually turned by the Creator into excrement, just as, in the Koryak[1] and Kamchadal[2] tales, Big-Raven's excrement assumes the form of a woman. Something like the same trend of thought, though deviating somewhat from it, is found in connection with similar measures taken in other parts of Siberia for guarding against evil spirits. Among the natives of the Altai, if a person loses all his children, one after another, his new-born child is given as ill-sounding a name as possible: for instance, It-koden (“dog's buttocks”), thus trying to deceive the spirits which kidnap the soul, making them believe that it is really a dog's buttocks.[3] In a similar manner, wishing to convince the spirits that the new-born child is a puppy, the Yakut call the child ɪ′t-ohoto′: that is, “dog's child.”[4] The Gilyak, on their way home after hunting, call their village Otx-mif (“excrement country”), in the belief that evil spirits will not follow them to such a bad village.[5]

2. Incantation for charming an Amulet for a Woman.

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Text.

Tenanto′mwan	alai′tivoñoi	e′voñoi:	“Ñava′kketɪ	či′nna	qoč	tye′ntyäᵉn?”
Creator	think commenced	say commenced:	“(For) daughter	what	(I)	shall bring!”

Ye′nnin	čo′nnin	ña′anen	či′llinin	e′lle	kama′kata	ayo′ka.	Nenenke′vɪn	yook.
Procured	brought	that	hung	not	(by) spirits	visited.	Caused stop	visit.

Free Translation.

The Creator considered, and said, “What shall I bring for my sick daughter?” Then he procured an amulet, brought it to his daughter, and placed it on her in order that the spirits should not visit her. Thus the amulet[6] prevented the visit of spirits.

3. Incantation for the Treatment of Headache.

Text.

Tenanto′mwanɪnak	ena′n	čini′n	lautɪta′lgɪn	nenatai′kɪñvoqen;	ne′lqatqen
(By the) Creator	he	himself	headache	commences to make;	(he) goes

notai′te	nenayo′qenat	ñau′gɪsat.	Quti′ninak	aaḷ	čɪnča′tkɪnin	qoli′ninak	pe′kuḷ
in the wilderness	overtakes	two (all alone with wife).	One	axe	holds	one	woman's knife

čɪnča′tkɪnin.	ɪ′mɪñ	ña′čit	inala′xtathenat	nenanyai′tatqenat.	Ñava′kɪkin	ḷe′ut
holds.	All	those	(he) led away	brought home.	Daughter's	head

quti′ninak	a′aḷa	nenaaḷa′tkoñvoqen	quti′ninak	vaḷa′ta	nenati′npuqen.	Miti′
one	with axe	knocks	one	(with) knife	thrusts.	Miti′

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[1] Tale 121.

[2] Steller, p. 261.

[3] Verbitsky, The Natives of the Altai, p. 86.

[4] Trostchansky, p. 55.

[5] L. J. Sternberg, Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folk-Lore (Publication of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, p. 31). *In press.*

[6] Any object given to wear may serve as an amulet in this case, since it becomes a guardian warding off the visits of the kalau by virtue of the incantation.

ᴇnı′k čäkᴇ′tte nele′qin ni′uqin: "qawya′nvat ñava′kık." Ni′uqin: "ᴇna′n čini′n
to his sister goes says: "Charm (my) daughter." Says: "He himself
tashe′ñın tei′kınin ᴇna′n čini′n nenmeleve′nnin."
pain made he himself let cure."

Nıyaitı′qen, ni′uqin: "gına′n čini′n tashe′ñin getei′kıli."
Comes home, says: "Thou thyself pain madest."

Ña′čit aļa′tkuļat pane′nak gaļļa′lenat. Gıčhathıčñe′ti neļļe′qin. Gıčha′-
Those with axe cutting to the old place carried off. To country of dawn goes. In country
thıčñık yaya′pel nenayo′qen. Ña′vısqat ña′nko va′tkın. Mi′lut ge′yiļļın.
of dawn little house reaches. (A) woman there lives. Here gave (him).
Ganyai′tilin lawtıka′ltıčñın. Kai′ñan mi′lut, le′vut kunme′levenin tethı′yñu
Brought home for head-band. Cries hare, head cures (with) seam
konnomaña′nen a′yikvan ne′lyi hekye′lin nıme′leu. Geme′leuļin.
joins closer better became woke up better. Cured.

Free Translation.

The Creator himself caused his daughter to have headache. He went to the wilderness, and overtook a couple, — a kala with his wife. The former had an axe; the latter, a woman's knife. The Creator took the couple and brought them home. Then the kala commenced to knock with his axe the head of Creator's daughter; and the kala's wife began to hack the head of the girl with her knife. Miti′, the mother of the latter, went to Creator's sister, and said, "Charm away my daughter's headache." Creator's sister answered, "The Creator himself caused the sickness: let him cure it."

Then the Creator carried back to their old place those who were knocking with the axe, and cutting with the knife, the head of his daughter. After that the Creator went in the direction of the dawn, and when he reached there, he came to a little house in which a woman lived. The woman gave him a hare. The Creator took it home, and of it made a head-band for his daughter. The hare cried out, and in that way cured the girl's head. The seams of the injured skull joined together. Each day she woke up better, until she was entirely cured.

The story contained in this incantation is as follows: Creator (or Big-Raven) went into the wilderness, met a kala with his wife, and took them home. The kala had an axe, and his wife had a woman's knife; and they began to cut the head of Big-Raven's daughter, owing to which she suffered from headaches. Miti′ went to Big-Raven's sister to ask her to work a charm over her daughter; but she was a woman shaman, and knew the cause of the girl's illness, and replied that her father himself had caused the illness, and that he should cure her himself. Miti′ returned home, and said to her husband, "You yourself have caused the disease." Then he took the two kalau and carried them back to the wilderness.

In order to cure his daughter's wounded head, he went toward sunrise. There he found a little house in which lived a woman. That woman, according to the explanation of the woman from whom this incantation was recorded, was the Sun herself. She gave Creator a hare to cure his daughter. He took the hare home, and tied it around his daughter's head. The hare cried, and cured her head with its crying. The wounds closed up.

It may be remarked here that the hare is an important amulet. It is

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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looked upon as a strong animal, hostile to the kalau. In Tale 74 Eme′mqut kills the kalau by throwing a hare's head into their house. During incantations, hare's hair is plaited into the hair of the parts cut; and sometimes parts of the hare — such as its nose, or a part of its ear — are attached to the charm-string. Since the formula speaks of a hare whose cry is to effect the cure, and since in reality the charm is made of a part or parts of a hare, it would seem that these parts serve as substitutes for the whole animal.

4. Incantation for the Cure of Swellings on the Arm.

Text.

Tenanto′mwᴀnen	Miti′in	kımi′yñın	e′wan:	"Menganno′tıtkın."	"Miti′,
Creator's (and)	Miti′'s	son	says:	"Arm swells."	"Miti′,

qo′yañ	welv-i′san,	walva-oča′mñin!"	Ɠanto′len	a′ñqan	gagetačaña′ñvolen,
fetch	raven's coat,	raven's staff!"	Went out	sea	to look upon began,

galqa′ḷḷen	anqaṭai′netıñ,	vă′yuk	gayo′len.	Ya′xyax	qoḷḷa	milu′tpil	koai′ñan.
went	to sea-limit,	then	reached.	Gull	other	little hare	cry.

A′ñqan	yawa′yte	gapa′ñvolen.	Esgina′n	a′iñak	ganapa′ññolen.	"Tu′yi,	če′qăk
Sea	great distance	(to) dry commenced.	They	(by) crying	(to) dry (the sea) commenced.	"You two,	what for

nayava′ñvotkınetık?"	E′wan:	"Mu′yi	tnu′tıla	tnutka′ltısño	nayavañ′votkıne′mok.
used are!"	Say:	"We	for swollen,	for bandage on swelling	used are.

Mu′yi	mıtaiñanvotkıne′mok,	u′iña	anno′tka!"	E′wạn:	"Mınyai′tatık!"	Nenayai′-
We two	together cry,	not	swells!"	Says:	"Shall take you two home!"	Carried them

tatqenat	ña′čit	nenaya′vaqenat	kımi′yñik	tnutka′ltisño.	Nᴇnqă′uqin	tıñu′tık.
two home	these two	uses	(on) son	for bandage of swelling.	Stopped	swelling.

Esgına′n	ai′ñak,	tıno′tgısñın	u′iña	amai′ñatka.	Am-aiña′nva	tıño′tgısñın
They	when cry,	swelling	not	increases.	All by means of crying	swelling

nenmelewe′tıtkın.	Ɠeme′ḷeuḷin.
improves.	Recovered.

Free Translation.

Creator's and Miti′'s son said, "My arm is swelling!" Then Creator said to his wife, "Miti′, fetch my raven's coat and my raven's staff!" She brought them. Creator dressed himself and went out to the sea, looked upon it, and went to the limit of it. There he met a couple, — a gull and a little hare. Both were crying, and from their cry the tide became lower, and the shore commenced to dry. Creator asked them, "For what are you both used?" They answered, "We are used for swollen men, — for a bandage on swelling. When we both cry together, the swelling ceases." Then Creator said, "I shall take you both home." Then he carried them both home, and used both for a bandage on his son's swelling. From their cry, the swelling ceased to increase. Then, all by means of their crying, the swelling improved, and Creator's son recovered.

When the patient is a woman, the beginning of the incantation is: "Daughter of the Creator and Miti′." The Creator asks Miti′ for the coat and staff. The association in the text, of the idea that the crying of the gull and the hare causes the tide to ebb and the swelling to go down, is interesting. The water

789 recedes on account of the screaming of the gull and of the hare; and in the
539 same manner the swelling is made to decrease by their screams. Of course, on the bandage or amulet, only parts of the hare or gull are used, such as the hare's hair or the beak of the gull; but these parts are substituted for the whole animal.

5. INCANTATION FOR RHEUMATISM IN THE LEGS.

Text.

Miti'ⁿin kımi'yñın nagı'tkataḷetqeñ. Vă'yuk Tenanto'mwᴀnen kımi'yñın
Miti''s son (with) legs ill. Then Creator's son
nagıtka'yan. "Ña'vısqat, qre'tgın welv-i'san, walva-oča'mñin." Vă'yuk
legs (ill). "Wife, fetch raven's coat, raven's staff." Then
ganto'len, ei'yen o'miñ ninenčiče'tqin. Vă'yuk či'ñei es·gatgısñe'te, vă'yuk
went out, sky always looked. Then flew to sunrise, then
tin·u'pnäqu venviye'un. Es·ga'tgısñık vă'yuk gayo'len tin·u'pnäqum, gañvo'len
big mountain clearly saw. On the sunrise side then reached big mountain, started
čatapoge'ngık tın·u'pnäquk, vă'yuk gata'pyalen gısgo'ḷalqak. Ennĕ'n väᵋaye'mkın
(to) ascend big mountain, then came up to (the) very top. One assembly of grasses
nappa'tqen. Väᵋa'ykinin o'miñ yalña'gısne gayıkı'sñılane, o'mıñ čačopatkala'tke.
standing. Of grass all joints with mouths, all chewing.
"Tu'yu če'qäk nayavañvola'knatık?" "Mu'yu gıtkatalo'. Mosgınan ka'lau
"You what for used are?" "We with leg-pain. We kalau
mıtkono'mvonnan." Ña'nen väᵋa'yemkın ninepyi'qin, nenanya'ita:qen, me'no
eat." That assembly of grasses pulled out, carried home, where
kı·mi'yñınin gıtka'lgın nanena'ta nenapın·a'n·aqen. O'mıñ ka'lau väᵋa'ya
son's leg therewith bound. All kalau (by the) grass
ku'nñunenau, o'mıñ gıtkalqa'tıḷau ka'lau ku'nñunenau. Vă'yuk geme'ḷeuḷin,
eaten, all upon legs coming kalau eaten. Then recovered,
gaᴇnqäᴇu'lin gıtkata'lık ge'mge-kye'vik ayi'kvan. Geme'ḷeuḷin.
ceased leg suffer at every awakening anew. Recovered.

Free Translation.

Miti''s and Creator's son had pains in his legs. Then Creator said to Miti', "Wife, fetch my raven coat and raven staff." Then Creator went out and always looked up at the sky. Then he flew in the direction of the dawn. Soon he caught sight of a big mountain on the side of sunrise. He reached that mountain, started to ascend it, and finally went to the very top of it. There he found an assembly of Grasses. All their joints had mouths that were always chewing. "For what are you used?" asked, then, Creator. "Our legs pain us," answered the Grasses; "and we eat the kalau that cause the pain."

Creator drew that assembly of Grasses out, carried them home, and bound his son's legs with them. The Grasses ate all kalau that came upon the legs and caused the pain. Then Creator's son ceased to suffer with his legs, at every awakening he felt better, and finally recovered.

[824] It may be remarked, in connection with this formula, that the grass mentioned is a species of *Equisetaceæ*, the joints of which are regarded as mouths that eat kalau. Grass charmed in this manner is tied around the affected part.

V. — FESTIVALS AND SACRIFICES.

FESTIVALS.

The cycle of festivals is different among the Maritime and the Reindeer Koryak, owing to the difference of their means of subsistence. A cult of the animals upon which their livelihood depends is developed among both groups; the Maritime Koryak worshipping sea-animals, while the Reindeer Koryak worship the reindeer herd. All the religious festivals of the Koryak centre around these animals. 796 221

FESTIVALS OF THE MARITIME KORYAK. — Following are the main festivals of the Maritime Koryak: the whale festival; the celebration at the putting-away of the boat for the winter; and that at its launching in the summer. To the religious customs of the Maritime Koryak belongs also that of wearing masks.

The Whale Festival. — The whale festival is considered the most important one. It is called Yañya-eṇa'čɪxtitgɪn, which literally means "whale-service." Every killing of a whale is celebrated with a "whale-service;" but the main whale festival occurs in the fall, usually in October, after the capture of a whale. Since whales are very seldom obtained nowadays, the ceremony is celebrated in connection with the capture of a white whale.

In describing the fall festival of the Kamchadal, Krasheninnikoff calls it the festival "of expiation of sins." Judging from the description of the rites performed during this festival, it abounds in interesting details; but, unfortunately, their inner meaning remained unknown to Krasheninnikoff. In one passage[1] he states that the means of expiation of sins was confession. Women suffering from nervous fits confessed transgressions of various taboos committed by them, and were then comforted by one of the old men. Such a confession of transgressions of taboos constitutes the expiation from sins also among the Eskimo.[2] 114 796 171

On the other hand, it may be seen from Krasheninnikoff's description, not only that this was a family festival, but that all inhabitants of a given village took part in it, even those not related to each other.[3] It signified

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 125.

[2] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 121.

[3] In the description it is not mentioned in whose house the celebration took place; but Mr. Bogoras (Anthropologist, p. 606) interprets the description as meaning that there were special ceremonial houses among the Kamchad . . Krasheninnikoff tells (II, p. 135) how the women of the house in which the festival was celebrated (apparently the winter house) walked off to the balagans (that is, the summer huts raised on posts), and how each returned into the house with sacrificial grass and provisions. The grass and provisions were received by two men appointed for that purpose. The grass was hung upon the charms; and the provisions, especially dried fish, were chopped with a hatchet, and returned to the woman from whom they had been taken, only a small piece being thrown into the fire as a sacrifice. Each women also put some sacrificial grass upon the hearth. Then they passed from one corner to the other, treating each other with dried fish, as a symbol of a future abundance of food-supply.

114 796 171 that the summer and fall hunting seasons were over, and was intended to influence the deity so that the hunt of the following year would also prove successful, and that the winter would pass without sickness, or visitation of the kalau. This is Steller's interpretation of this festival, to which he devotes only a few lines. Krasheninnikoff also describes how a grass whale filled with blubber and other kinds of provisions is made. It was tied to the back of one of the women, and at a certain moment those who participated in the celebration threw themselves upon it, tore it up, and ate it, apparently in imitation of a successful hunt.

Parry[1] tells, that, among the Central Eskimo, the capture of a whale is celebrated by a great festival. According to his brief description, the whale is hauled inside of a stone enclosure about five feet high. Several men flense it, and throw the pieces of meat over the stone wall. The crowd which stands on the other side catch the flying pieces; while the women, who are inside, sing, forming a circle, in the centre of which are the whale and the men who carve it.

The killing of a whale was also celebrated by the Aleut with a feast, with beating of drums, dances, and masks. The dances had a mystic significance. Some of the men were dressed in their most showy attire; while others danced naked, wearing large wooden masks, which reached to their shoulders, and represented various sea-animals.[2]

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak have no festivals, and adds,[3] that the Maritime Koryak observe their festivals at the same time as the Kamchadal, but that they are as little capable of explaining the meaning of their ceremonies as the Kamchadal. Unfortunately Krasheninnikoff does not offer any, not even a superficial, description of the festivals of the Maritime Koryak, which would be interesting for the purpose of comparing the rites of a previous period with those observed by me.

796 The essential part of the whale festival is based on the conception that the whale killed has come on a visit to the village; that it is staying for some time, during which it is treated with great respect; that it then returns to the sea to repeat its visit the following year; that it will induce its relatives to come along, telling them of the hospitable reception that has been accorded to it. 825 According to the Koryak ideas, the whales, like all other animals, constitute one tribe, or rather family, of related individuals, who live in villages, like the Koryak. They avenge the murder of one of their number, and are grateful for kindnesses that they may have received.

The whale festival is not a family festival, but a communal one. All the inhabitants of the village participate in it; but the owner of the skin boat by whose crew the whale has been killed, acts as the host, and takes charge of the festival. He invites his neighbors; and the celebration, which lasts a few days, takes place in his own house or in the largest one of the village.

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[1] Parry, II, p. 362.

[2] Dall, p. 139.

[3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 217.

If several boats participated in the capture of the whale, the master of the festival is the one who dealt the deadly blow with his harpoon.

The villages of the Maritime Koryak, especially their summer villages, are mostly situated on rocky shores rising to some height above the sea. From the roofs of the houses a wide view of the sea may be had. When the inhabitants of the village are out sealing, the women frequently go out and sit on the roof to await the return of the boats. When the women of a certain house discover their boats towing a whale, they put on their embroidered dancing-coats, trousers, and shoes, and masks of sedge-grass, take sacrificial alder-branches and fire-brands from the hearth, and go to the beach to meet the whale. (The Koryak custom of bringing out fire-brands from the hearth to meet the newly married daughter-in-law or son-in-law is regarded as a sign that they now belong to the family hearth. In ancient times welcome and honored guests were in the same way received with fire-brands from the hearth.) If there is an old man who staid at home in the house, he also puts on a dancing-costume, a grass collar, and a grass girdle, ties plaited grass all over his dress, and takes a whip-like wand of plaited sedge-grass, which he brandishes, apparently to chase away evil spirits. The women and the old man are joined by women from other houses, also attired

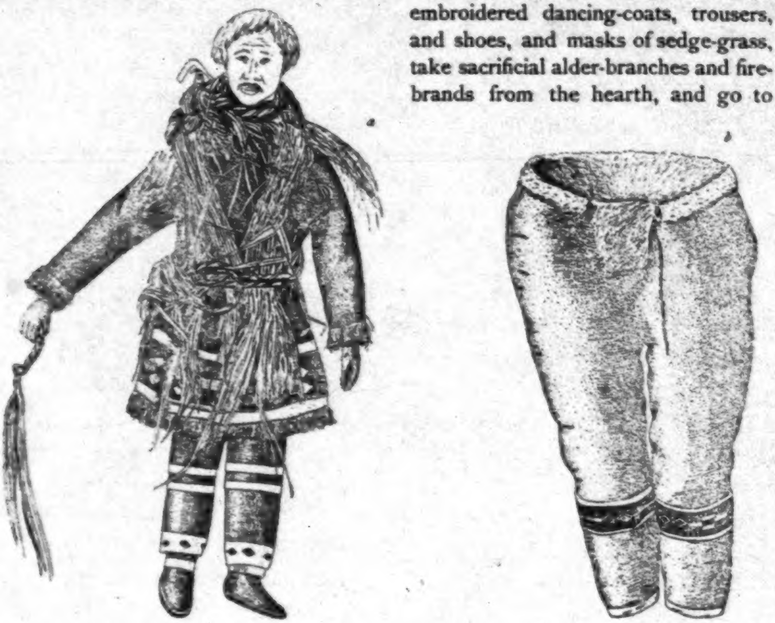

Fig. 26, *a* ([illegible]), Doll representing Man in Dancing-Costume; *b* ([illegible]), Man's Dancing-Trousers.

796 in their festive coats; and all welcome the whale, dancing around the fire that is brought from the hearth, and is built up outside the house.

[535] A man's embroidered dancing-coat is represented on Plate 1, Fig. 2 (opp. p. 48). Other parts of dancing-costumes are shown in Figs. 26 and 27.

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Fig. 26, *a* shows a doll made by the Koryak Lạlu′ from the village of Kamenskoye, and represents an old man dressed in a dancing-costume, and tied around with sacrificial grass; while Fig. 28, a reproduction of a drawing by the old Koryak Yulta of the village Kamenskoye, represents a scene after the capture of a whale. In the middle, the whale is lying on grass, one side carved. On the right side of the whale a dog is being sacrificed. Two men are holding it, — one by the head, the other by the hind part, — and a third is holding a spear, ready to stab it. On the ground, near this group, is a dog already slaughtered. Around this central group, men with knives in their hands, and women, are dancing, forming almost a complete circle. On the upper and lower parts of the illustration four places are shown at which grass is spread. Usually the straw-like stems of *Elymus mollis* are used for this purpose. Slices of whale-meat, represented by a number of vertical lines, are spread on the grass; and people are standing near them. At the sides of the figure the owners of the skin boat are seen spreading out the harpoon-lines which were used in the capture of the whale, and which must be dried.

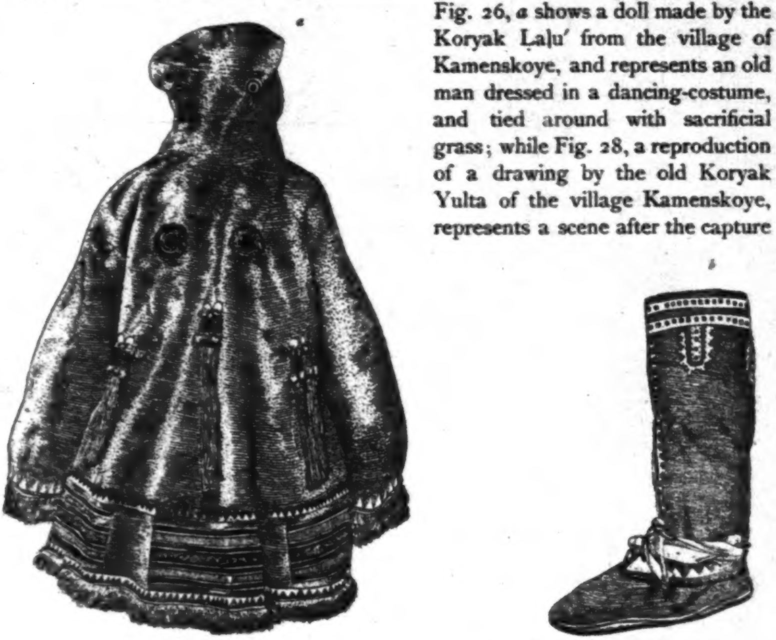

Fig. 27, *a* ($\frac{70}{\text{[illegible]}}$), Woman's Dancing-Coat; *b* ($\frac{70}{\text{[illegible]}}$ a), Woman's Dancing-Boot.

796 As I said before, the whale festival is at present celebrated in connection with white-whale hunting, for large whales are nowadays very rare in the bays of the Okhotsk Sea. I will describe here the celebration of a festival that I witnessed in the village of Kuel.

It was on the 11th of October, 1900. A white whale had been caught in the nets which the Koryak Qaivi'lok had set for catching seals. In some places the ground was covered with snow. Blocks of ice had begun to accumulate on the beach, every retreating tide adding to the accumulation of slippery salt-water ice. Early in the morning several men started out on a sledge to fetch the white whale. When they were returning to the village, bringing the whale, a few women in dancing-costumes, but without masks,

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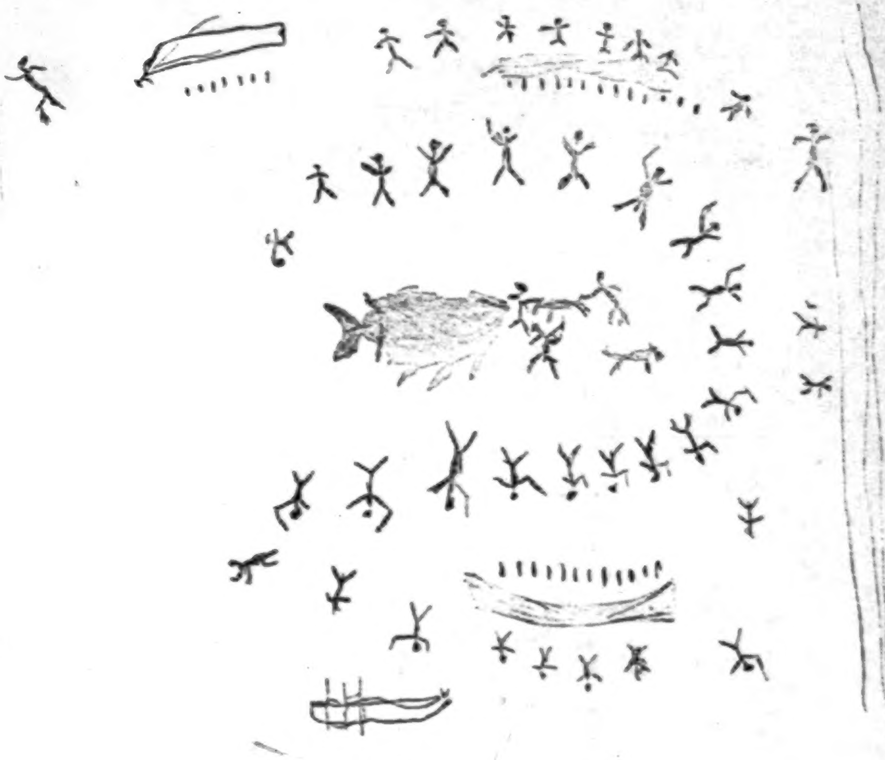

Fig. 28. Koryak Sketch illustrating a Scene after the Capture of a Whale.

796 came out to welcome it with burning fire-brands. They put these down on the ground at the point where it began to slope toward the shore, together with a dish filled with berries of *Empetrum nigrum* and covered with sacrificial sedge-grass. As a strong wind was blowing, stones were put upon the grass to prevent its being blown away. The women danced, shaking their heads, moving their shoulders, and swinging their entire bodies with arms outstretched, now squatting, now rising and singing, "Ah! a guest has come!" and exclaiming joyfully, "Ala, la, la, ho, ala, la, la, ho!" In spite of the cold and wind, they were covered with perspiration, owing to their strenuous and violent movements; and they soon became hoarse from singing and screaming. From time to time, one or the other remained squatting for a little while to take a rest, and then again rejoined the dance (Plate IV, Fig. 1). When the sledge with the whale had reached the shore, the women went into the house, took off their dancing-costumes, and soon returned with pails and troughs for gathering the blood and the entrails, and with bunches of grass on which to spread the meat and skin before they should be divided. The men threw the whale from the sledge upon the ground. One of the women, among whom were the two wives and two sisters of the owner of the nets that had caught the whale, took alder-branches and a bunch of sacrificial grass, and, after having whispered an incantation, put them into the mouth of the white whale. There is no doubt that this was a sacrifice symbolizing a meal given to the whale; but the Koryak were unable to explain to me the meaning of the alder-branches. "Our forefathers used to do this way," they said. Then the women cleaned the body of the whale with grass, and covered its head with a hood plaited of grass, apparently with the idea that the whale should not see how it was going to be carved.

Before putting the branches into the whale's mouth, Kılu'-keña,[1] the older widowed sister of Qaivi'lok, known in the village as the woman most expert in pronouncing incantations, bent over the whale's head, and, assisted by her younger sister, pronounced the following incantation:[2] —

> [539] "The Creator said, 'I shall go get a white whale for my children as food.' He went and got it. Then he said, 'I shall go for an alder-branch.' He went and brought a branch. He brought the branch for the whale. Later on he again procured the same white whale: again he brought a branch. Thus he always did, and thus he always hunted."

Then the men flensed the whale, and the women gathered the blood, and divided the meat, blubber, and skin into parts (Plate IV, Fig. 2). At the same time that the white whale was brought, other hunters from the settlement brought a ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) and a thong seal (*Erygnathus barbatus*); and these were included in the following festive ceremonies. They were also

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[1] She is represented with a drum on Plate III.

[2] I learned the meaning of this incantation many months after, when I revisited the settlement in the spring. Unfortunately the text of this incantation remains undeciphered. I therefore give only the translation.

I. Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate IV.

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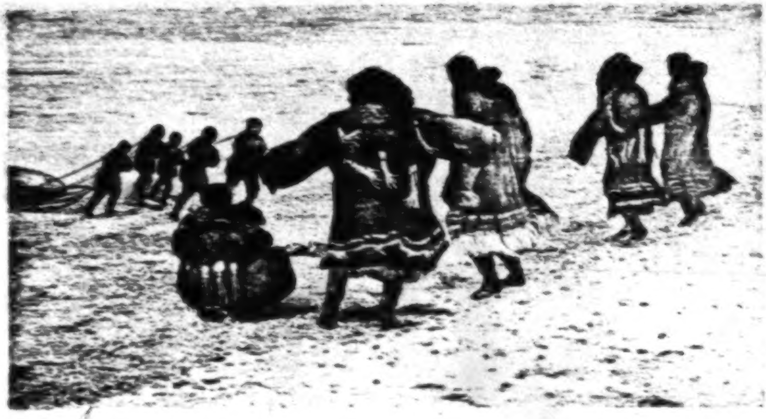

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FIG. 1. WELCOMING THE WHALE.

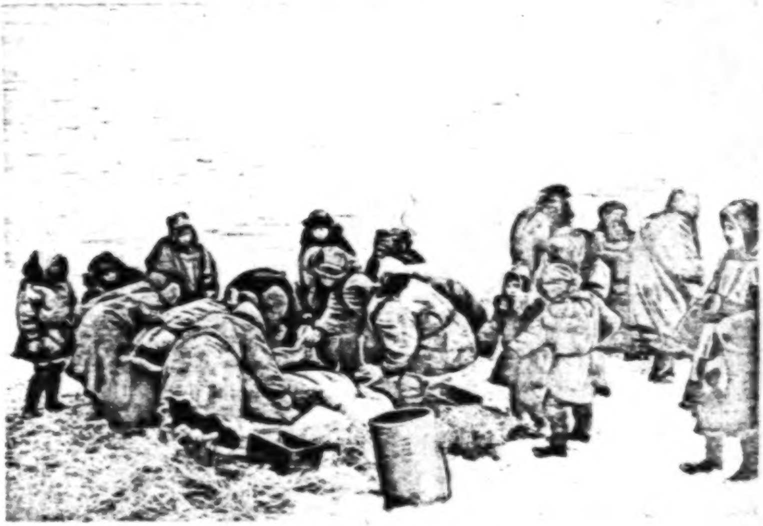

FIG. 2. FLENSING THE WHALE.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 70]

'796 cut up in front of the village. The head of the white whale, as well as the heads of the two seals, were wrapped up in grass hoods, and put upon the roofs of the storehouses.

Next the inhabitants of the village made preparations for the festival. During the day a dog was slaughtered at the seashore as a sacrifice to the master of the sea. It looked as if the entire village had moved over to Qaivi'lok's house, the owner of the net in which the white whale was caught. The women spent all their time there, working. They plaited travelling-bags of grass for the white whale, made grass masks, prepared berries and roots, etc. By chance only one guest from a neighboring village was present at this festival, while it is customary for many visitors to come to participate in the whale festival. The communal character of this festival was also due to the fact that all the families belonging to the village set up their nets together, and that the flesh of the sea-animals was divided among them. Only the head and skin of the animals belonged to the man in whose nets they had been caught. But, although the white whale's skin was not divided, all participated when it was eaten in Qaivi'lok's [342] house. Many of the men and women spent all the time during the celebration in eating in Qaivi'lok's house, and even slept there.

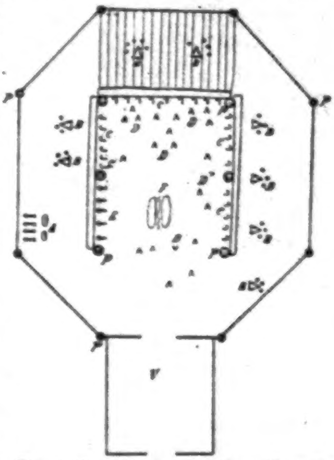

Fig. 29. Plan of Underground House, illustrating the First Part of the Whale Festival. *a*, The Shrine; *b*, Lamps and women cooking; *c*, Men sitting; *d*, Children; *e*, Place in which the writer and his companions were seated; *f*, Fireplace; *p*, Posts; *v*, Porch.

In the evening of the same day, Oct. 11, the first reception in honor of the guests (the white whale and the seals) took place. When I entered Qaivi'lok's house, accompanied by my wife and Mr. Axelrod, it was full of people (Fig. 29). The skin-covered sleeping-tents and the bedding had been taken out of the house. All around the house, in the spaces between the posts and the walls, the women were busy cooking, cutting up blubber, grinding and mixing spawn and berries, and cutting edible grasses and roots. The men were sitting in a half-circle near the posts, while the youths were standing or sitting on the ground, near the hearth. The space to the left of the entrance, as far as the first middle post, was unoccupied. In this section, near the wall, was the shrine (op-yan) in which were placed the charms, attired in grass neckties, — the sacred fire-board, the master of the nets, the house-guardian (yaya'kamaklō), the spear consecrated to the spirit of the wolf, and a few other minor guardians. Among them was a wooden image of a white whale (Fig. 30, *a*), in front of

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which was a small cup filled with water (Fig. 30, *b*), which was changed every day during the festival; and on a grass bag were small boiled pieces of the nostrils, lips, flippers, and tail of the white whale. The little cup is called e′naxla-ko′ñin ("for a friend a cup"). A similar cup, used in the whale festival, is represented in Fig. 30, *c*. The sacrificial parts are called tayñinya′ñvo ("desired [pieces]"); that is, the choicest. It is interesting to note that the sacrifice to the spirit of the animal consists of parts of its own body, while, on the other hand, these parts represent the white whale itself.

[778]

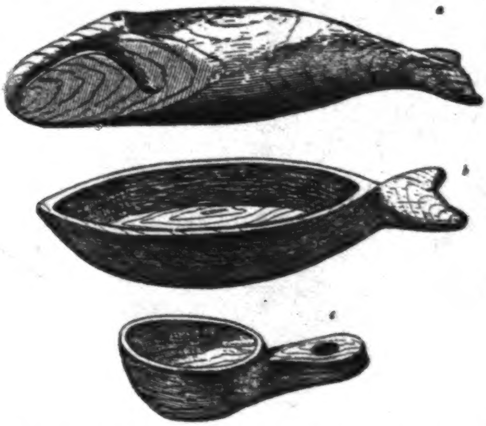

Fig. 30, *a* ($\frac{70}{817}$), *b* ($\frac{70}{818}$), *c* ($\frac{70}{818}$). Wooden Image of a Whale, and Sacrificial Cups used at the Whale Festival. Length, 21 cm., 17 cm., 8.5 cm.

It was very quiet in the house. The people spoke in whispers, and the host pointed out a place for us in front of the shrine. We sat down on the log which separates the sleeping-place from the middle of the house. The interior of the house had a strange, mysterious, and at the same time a depressing look. There was no fire on the hearth; the coals were only smouldering. Eight stone lamps on wooden stands, the number corresponding to the number of families that participated in the festival, were burning with smoking flames all around the house, where the walls are slanting, and gave off a very unpleasant smell of seal-oil. Their light was lost in the darkness of the vast underground house, the largest in the village. The walls, black from soot, completely absorbed the light of the lamps, and it was very difficult to discern the figures of the women, who were busy cooking. The men and the children were sitting motionless in the middle of the house. All were silent, or spoke in whispers, for fear of awaking the guest before it was time.

At last the preparatory cooking was done, and all went outside, since, during the ceremonies of that evening, no one was allowed to leave the house. Soon all returned, and each family brought a bundle of fagots, and they built a large fire on the hearth, which lighted the house, and made it appear less gloomy than before. Amid the silence that was still reigning, the women placed near the fire kettles brought from their homes, and melted in them the blubber of the white whale and seals. The women continued to whisper one to another. After the oil was tried out, they went back, each to her lamp, and mixed the oil with the cut willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*). 796 These were ground with spawn of the dog-salmon (*Oncorhynchus keta*), various [824] kinds of berries, — crow-berries (*Empetrum nigrum*), cranberries (*Vaccinium vitis idæa L.*), blea-berries (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), and cloud-berries (*Rubus chamæmorus*), — and roots of *Claytonia acutifolia*, *Hedisarum obscurum*, and *Polygonum viviparum*. A little water was added, and the whole was kneaded in troughs, for making puddings, which the white whale was to take along on its journey. These puddings are called či'lqačil. When they were ready, the women representing the different families passed from one corner to the other, and exchanged presents, consisting of small pieces of pudding. After this exchange of presents, the host and other men brought in from the porch the heads of the white whale and the two seals, and hung them on a cross-beam at one side of the hearth.

The silence was suddenly interrupted. From all sides of the house were heard joyous exclamations of the women, who exchanged greetings with one another, — "Here dear guests have come!" "Visit us often;" "When you go back to sea, tell your friends to call on us also, we will prepare just as nice food for them as for you;" "We always have plenty of berries;" etc., — and they pointed with their fingers at the puddings that were placed on boards. The fire of the hearth was supposed to represent the sea, to which the whale returns. The charms which guard the whale's skin, as described above, are not used in the equipment for the home journey of the white whale.

Everybody in the house was carried away with excitement. The men and children talked aloud, and crowded around the hearth. Soon the hunters hung up over the hearth, to boil, the livers of the white whale and of the seals, and the skin of the whale. Then the host, a grass collar around his neck, took a piece of the fat of the white whale, and threw it into the fire, saying, "Caqhıčnın" [Being, Something-existing], "we are burning it in the fire for thee!" Then he went to the shrine, placed pieces of fat before the guardians, and smeared their mouths with fat. Thereupon all those present in the house began to partake of the food. They ate dried fish (dipping it in white-whale or seal oil), boiled seal-meat and whale-meat, broiled skin of the white whale, and pudding. The naked bodies of the men (who had taken off their coats), the excited faces of the women, the children's faces smeared with oil, the smoke of the hearth, and the soot from the lamps, — all these together offered a strange sight. The 796 concluding ceremony of the evening was divining with a shoulder-blade of a seal. This was done by two old men. 787 One held the shoulder-blade, and the other one piled burning coals on it. All the men examined the cracks which formed in the shoulder-blade. First a crack appeared parallel to the longer side of the bone, which caused anxiety among those present. Such a crack indicates dry land and mountains. Since the object of the divination was to discover whether the white whale would go back to the sea and call others

796 787 to visit the settlement, the augury desired was a line indicating the sea. To the delight of all the participants in the ceremony, there soon appeared another crack across the bone, and intersecting the first line. Such a line indicates the sea; that is, that the home journey of the whale will be happily accomplished (see Fig. 31).

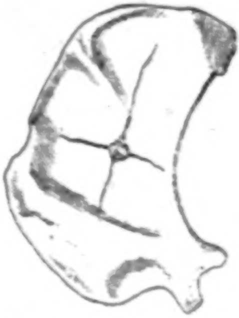

Fig. 31. Shoulder-Blade of a Seal, used for Divination. (From a sketch.)

796 527 The ceremony of the equipment for the home journey of the white whale took place on the fifth day, in the morning of the 15th of October. During the three days intervening, — from the 11th to the 15th, — the inhabitants did not do any work. They called on each other, and gave feasts; but most of their time was spent in the house in which the ceremonies were taking place. The old men ate fly-agaric, and, when the intoxication had passed, they told whither the "Fly-Agaric Men" (Wapa′qala‛nu) had taken them, and what they had seen. The women and the young people sang and beat the drum.

796 In the evening of the 14th there was another gathering in Qaivi′lok's house. This time only two lamps were burning in the house. The women finished plaiting the grass bags required for the ceremony, and the host beat the drum and sang. Then his sisters beat two drums, and sang in praise of the guests, — that is, of the white whale and the seals, — dancing at the same time in the same way as they had done on the shore when meeting the white whale. During this ceremony they were overcome with such a frenzy, that the deafening roar of their drums was completely drowned by their desperate shrieks, which alternated with guttural rattlings.

On Oct. 15 the frost was rather severe, the minimum temperature being —23° C. For more than a mile the shallow beach was covered with blocks of ice, so that the high tide no longer reached the village. Winter had set in, and all hunting of sea-animals ceased.

By ten o'clock in the morning I was called into Qaivi′lok's house. The low entrance-door leading from the porch, which is closed for the winter, was still open. So far the opening in the roof had served only to admit light from outside, and to let out the smoke from within, but not as an entrance. The hearth was turned into something like an altar. On it were lying the travelling-bags plaited of grass (*Elymus mollis*), and filled with puddings which had been frozen outside. The heads of the white whale and of the seals had been placed on the altar, and sacrificial sedge-grass was hung around them. It was a bright, sunny day; and the light passing through the smoke-hole illuminated well the centre of the house and the hearth, leaving the recesses nearer the walls in semi-darkness. The light in the middle of the house permitted me to take a photograph of the hearth without the use of the flash-light (Plate v, Fig. 1).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate V.

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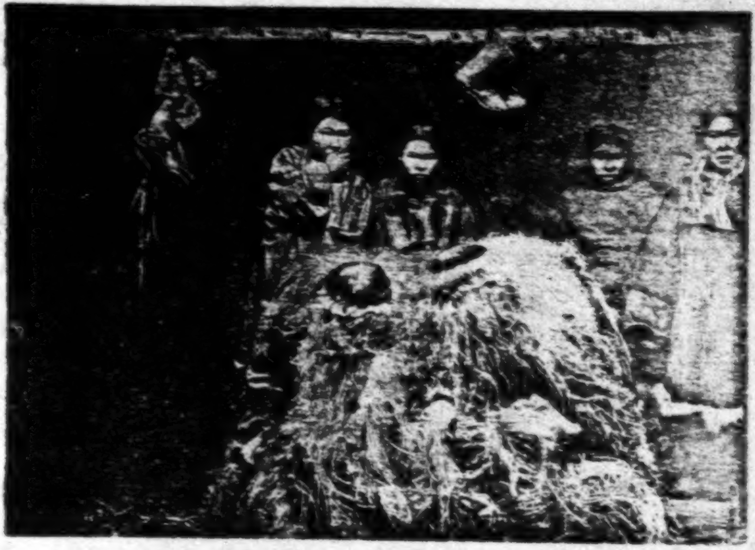

FIG. 1. EQUIPPING THE WHALE FOR THE HOME JOURNEY.

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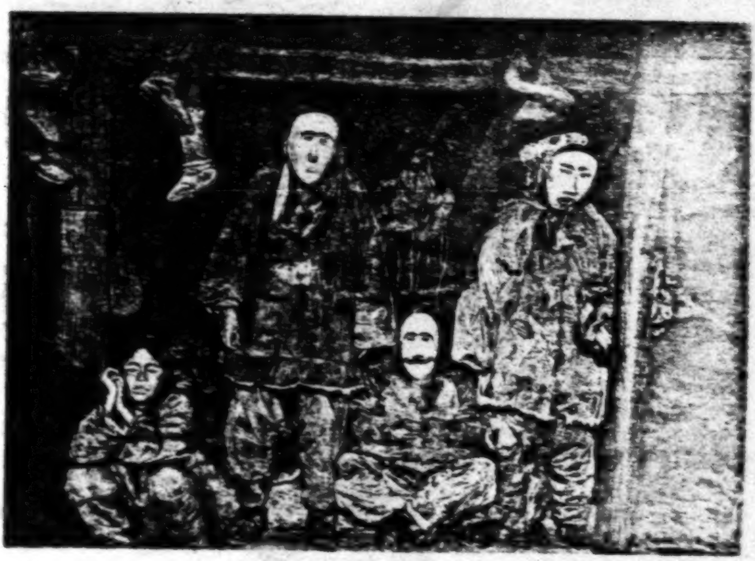

FIG. 2. MASK DANCE.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 74]

796 Both sisters of the owner of the house — Navaqu't (the chief's wife), and Kılu'keña (who was known in the settlement for her skill in incantations) — put on grass masks (Fig. 32). They knelt down before the hearth, bent their heads over the altar so that their masks covered the bags, and pronounced an incantation. Not far from the hearth their brother was standing. He wore a grass collar, but no mask. Being a man with a "strong heart," he was not afraid to meet with face uncovered the spirit of the white whale, which is supposed to be present at the ceremony of the equipment for its home journey; but the women, not being sure of their presence of mind, wore masks.[1] Before the kneeling women, on a separate plate, was a small sacrificial pudding covered with sacrificial grass, for the spirit of the white whale. When the incantation was finished, the women arose and took off their masks; and their brother took the plate with the pudding, and examined it carefully, assisted by the old men. After a long search, they discovered some slight scratches in two places on its smooth surface, and felt perfectly satisfied, taking them for traces left by the spirit, who apparently had received the sacrifice with favor. This indicated that the white whale was going back to sea ot fulfil its mission. The unwillingness of the white whale to return to the sea would be a foreboding of hunger and other calamities. In Tale 20 it is related that Big-Raven's and Miti's fathers, unable to send home the whale, were so frightened on account of the consequences of such an event, that they ran away, no one knows where, deserting their houses, and leaving their small children uncared for.

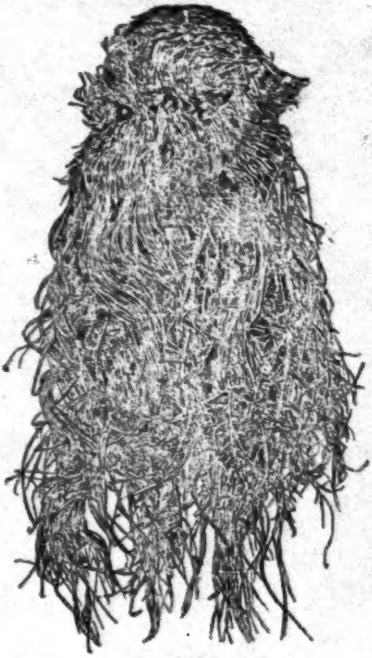

Fig. 32 ([illegible]). Grass Mask.

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[1] It is an interesting fact that the custom among the Yukaghir of wearing leather masks when dissecting the corpses of their dead shamans was explained to me in the same manner. People do not dare to look with uncovered faces at the body of the shaman. We find the same idea among the Aleutians. They believed, that, while the mystic rites of the annual festival in December were going on, a spirit or power descended into the figure which was prepared for the festival. To look at or see him was death or misfortune; hence the Aleutians wore large masks carved from driftwood, with holes cut so that nothing before them or above them could be seen, but only the ground near their feet. A further illustration of the same idea was shown in their practice of putting a similar mask over the face of a dead person when the body was laid in some rock-shelter. The departed one was supposed to be gone on his journey to the land of spirits; and for his protection against their glances he was supplied with a mask (Dall, p. 137).

796 After the favorable reception of the sacrifices by the white whale, the people proceeded to send it home. Two men went out, ascended the roof, and let down into the house long thongs, to which the travelling-bags (Fig. 33) and the heads of the white whale and the seals were tied. Before pulling them up, a preliminary test of lifting them had been made, and it turned out that they were very light. This was the last divination before the final equipment for the home journey of the white whale and the seals. For three days the bags of provisions remained on the roof. Then the puddings were eaten, and the grass bags and masks hung up in the small storehouse. I acquired the latter subsequently for my collection (see Figs. 32, 33). Toward spring they are usually carried away into the wilderness, where they are left on the ground, or hung from the branches of a tree. It is forbidden to burn them.

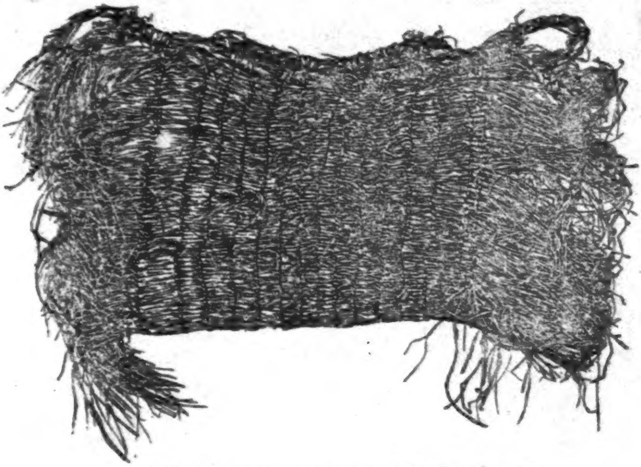

Fig. 33 ($\frac{70}{3370}$). Grass Bag for Whale Festival. Length, 120 cm.

784 171 The following facts are of interest in connection with the festival for "equipping the whale for its home journey." The tendency of "having nothing in common" with the hearth of somebody else is not as strong among the Koryak as among the Chukchee. The family hearth of the Chukchee is sacred, and the fire of one family must not be brought in contact with the fire of another family. The kettle or teapot of one house must not be brought near the fire of another family, not even into another house. It would desecrate and infect the family hearth. Among the Koryak the taboo of "non-communion" with a stranger's hearth is observed in a lesser number of cases. For instance, among the Maritime Koryak the taboo of carrying fire from

one house to another is observed only in summer, since otherwise success in sealing 784
may be brought to an end. But during the whale festival, families that are not 171
interrelated bring into the house where the celebration takes place wood, dishes,
food, and sacrificial grass. They build a fire jointly, and cook together. On [346]
the other hand, before the celebration takes place, all the bedding and the
skin covers of the sleeping-rooms are taken out of the house. Temporarily
the house is thus transformed into a ceremonial house.

In connection with this it may be mentioned, that, during the Koryak fair 527
on the Palpal Mountains, which I visited, the Reindeer Koryak built a common
oblong reindeer-skin tent. Each family covered a part of the tent with their 171
own reindeer-skins. The house formed a long passage, on both sides of which the sleeping-rooms of the separate families were put up. In two places, near the foci of the oval, two hearths were built for general use. The Chukchee families that were present at the fair each put up a separate tent.

Not all the Maritime Koryak have transferred the ceremonies connected 796
with the whale festival to white-whale hunting, as it is done in the villages of Paren, Kuel, and Itkana. The Koryak of Kamenskoye and Talovka told me that they celebrate the equipment of the white whale for the home journey without any particular ceremonies, right on the seashore, the customs being the same as those in practice after the capture of seals. They cut off the head of the captured white whale or seal, put berries in its mouth to feed it, hang sacrificial grass around it, and, turning its face seaward, pat it, and say, —

"I'nnaa	a'tči	vo'ten	aya'yan.	ı'mıñ	qaitumgıya'nvo	h̀ewñava'ta:	mıḷḷalai' kınemık."
"Soon	to-day	with (this)	tide (come).	All	relatives	induce:	come on."

That is, "When the next high tide comes, induce all your relatives to come with you to visit us."

Then they add, "Go around the flippers of those who do not wish to come."[1] Thereupon they turn the face toward the village, and exclaim, "Uph, (he) has come!" (Gık, y'etti!)

The Koryak think that this incantation has the effect of bringing sea-animals with the following tide. Before sending off the head, they cut off a piece of the white whale's or the seal's liver; and the Koryak maintain that the liver of the next animal caught will lack a piece at the same place.

The Reindeer Koryak from the Taigonos Peninsula, a number of whom carry on sea-hunting on a small scale during the summer, after having procured a white whale, offer a sacrifice of a reindeer or a dog to the master of the sea (añqa'ken-etı'nvıla'n). They cut off a piece of fat from the white whale or seal, and, throwing it into the fire, they say, "Come back later on."

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[1] The Koryak words represented by this last sentence could not be literally translated.

796 *The Putting-away of the Skin Boat for the Winter.* — Soon after the whale festival, the Maritime Koryak celebrate the festival of putting away the skin boat. This is called Menaᵋtva´ñtara, which literally means, "Let us pull ashore the skin boat." While the whale festival is celebrated by the entire village, this is a family festival. Every family puts away for the winter its own skin boat. Guests are not invited for that event, and no special food is prepared. This festival is celebrated at the first new moon following the close of the hunting-season. First of all, the covering of seal-skins is taken off the wooden frame of the boat, on the beach. Then the fire in the house is put out. The ashes and all refuse on the hearth are picked up, carried out, and thrown at the foot of one of the guardians of the habitation standing in the settlement, preferably near the one belonging to the family which puts away its boat. It is supposed that by putting out the old fire, and removing the ashes and refuse, all hostile spirits are also removed from the house. Then a new fire is started outside, near the boat, by means of a drill and the sacred fire-board. After a flame has been obtained, a fire is built of alder-branches; and pieces of seal and white-whale fat are thrown into it as a sacrificial offering. During the ceremony the mouth of the sacred fire-board is smeared with fat, its eyes are cleaned with a knife, and they say to it, "Behold! the sea now frozen!" (Qıhiteʼhin a´ñqan geqi´talin!)

When the fire outside has gone out, the frame of the boat is put away on the snow behind the houses. Then the people enter the house and start a new fire inside. In olden times the fire was brought from outside; but at present it is started with a strike-a-light or a match. In those settlements that are nearer to Kamchatka, and which have become more or less Russianized, the drilling of fire on the sacred fire-board is observed as a mere matter of form. The people merely insert the drill with the bow into the little hole of the sacred fire-board; but the fire is really started with a match.

After the new fire has been built on the hearth, the outer entrance-door of the porch is boarded up, covered with earth and snow, and a ladder is put into the smoke-hole. During the summer this ladder is kept on the roof. Its top, which has a carved face, and its foot, are smeared with fat, and charmed by means of an incantation, in order that the ladder may not admit any kalau into the house. The placing of the ladder and the closing of the porch-door take place in those settlements that are inhabited all the year round, as, for instance, in the village of Kuel. In settlements that serve only as winter residences, like Paren, the ladder is not taken out for the summer, and the outer door is never opened.

After the dwelling has been arranged for the winter, a ceremony is performed symbolizing the departure of the boat on a journey out to sea. Forked alder-branches are put on the frame of the boat at the places where the oarsmen sit, and also on the stern, while a bundle of sacrificial grass is hung

796 on the prow. Shaking the grass, the people say, "Well, start off!" Then they enter the house, dress up the sacred fire-board in a toy coat, put around its neck a thong with a harpoon, give it a knife, and carry it outside. The owner of the house says to it, "Now, go to the boat!" (Toq! ʌˤtve'ti qatai'!) Then somebody in the house coughs, as though replying to some one, and says, "Aha! father has returned." The sacred fire-board is then taken back into the house and put away to rest until the following spring. I was unable to find out the significance of this symbolic departure of the boat-frame and sacred fire-board, and the return of the latter into the house. It may be surmised that the spirit of the boat and of the sacred fire-board depart for the sea to stay there for the winter.

796 501 In the village of Kuel, the ceremonies of sending the boat out to sea, and the starting of a new fire, take place independently of each other. The boat is sent to sea immediately after the close of the hunting-season. From the time when the skins are taken off from the boat until the moment when the frame with the sacrificial grass, and the alder-branches as its oarsmen, is placed on the snow, no fire is allowed to burn in the house. The frame of the boat remains on the snow throughout the winter (see Plate VII, Fig. 1).

796 372 In Kuel a new fire is procured from the sacred fire-board after the first new moon of winter. The old fire on the hearth is again put out, and then the new fire is started in the house. Three men without coats, half naked, participate in this performance. One holds the sacred fire-board; another, the upper support of the drill; while the third one works with the drill-bow (Plate VI).

796 *The Launching of the Skin Boat.* — The spring festival of launching the boat is called "Menaᵛ'tɪneyevune," which means literally, "Let us launch the boat," and is also a family festival. The seal-skin cover of the boat is soaked in water and put on the boat-frame, which is placed bottom up. The edges of the cover are turned inside, and tied with straps to the frame. Then a sacrificial fire is obtained from the sacred fire-board, and is kept burning under the upturned boat. Pieces of seal-fat are thrown into the fire as a sacrifice to the boat, and the mouth of the sacred fire-board is smeared with fat. Then its eyes are cleaned with a knife, and they say to it, "Well, your eyes have become clear, the sea is open, look out." (Ģa, ḷeḷa't ečɪha'tbe, a'n̄qan gava'n̄talin, qɪhite'hɪn!) The fire under the boat is allowed to die out, and the upturned boat is left to dry. Then it is launched.

532 *The Wearing of Masks.* — Heretofore it was not known that the Koryak wore masks in connection with their religious ceremonies. Not one of the former travellers makes mention of them.[1] I referred above to the use of

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[1] There are no indications, either in Krasheninnikoff's or in Steller's descriptions of the Kamchadal, that they wore any wooden or grass masks, although Krasheninnikoff does mention that during the fall festival of "purification from sins" those participating in it used to adorn themselves with sacrificial grass, out of which they made wreaths, necklaces, and belts.

W. Jochelson. E-5. [illegible] RV4 Koryak. RV4

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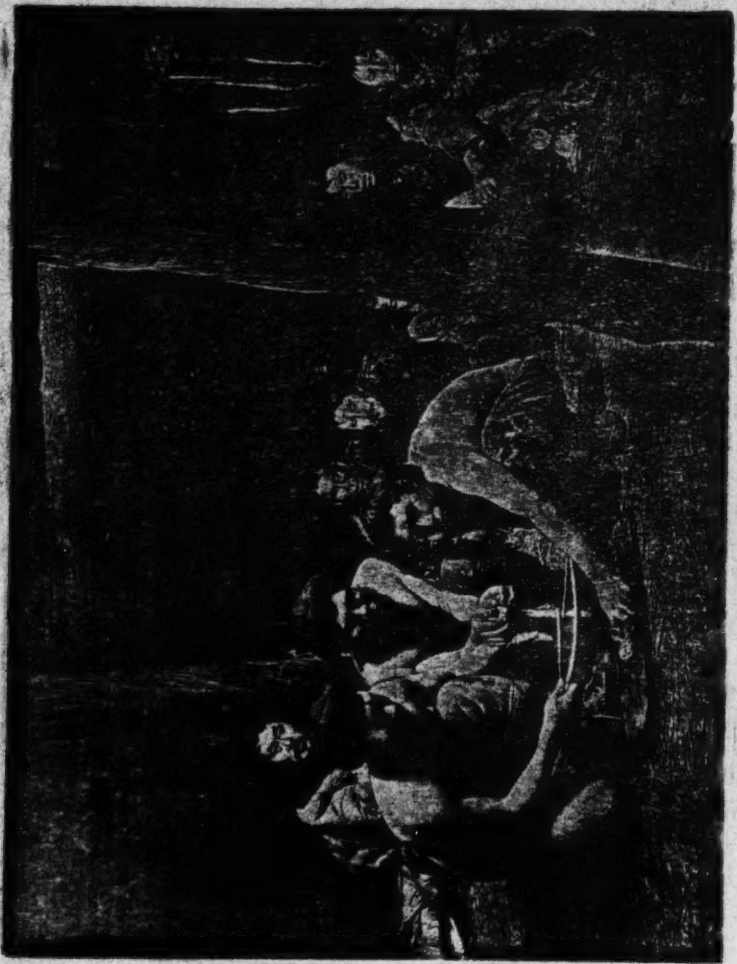

Ceremony of starting the new fire.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 79]

532 grass masks by the Maritime Koryak during the whale festival. I also found wooden masks in use among them. In October, 1900, I sent Mr. Axelrod from the village of Kuel to the winter village of Paren for the purpose of taking anthropometric measurements of the inhabitants who had just moved there from their summer settlement. Mr. Axelrod, on his return, brought back, among other things, a few wooden masks. Since those masks appeared to me to be similar to the crude masks of the northern Alaskan Eskimo, and since the use of masks in general suggested a possible contact between the Koryak and the tribes of the western coasts of America, I went personally to the village of Paren in order to acquire more detailed information regarding the meaning and use of these masks. The settlement of Paren is fifteen miles 221 distant from Kuel. It is situated on the left bank of the Paren River, ten 361 miles above its estuary. The inhabitants spend spring, summer, and autumn on the seashore in the settlement of Khai′mchik, at the mouth of the river Paren. As soon as the hunting-season closes, they move to Paren. While the seashore is altogether treeless, forests grow near the winter settlement, offering some protection against sea gales, and furnishing wood for fuel and building-material.

532 536 In Paren I learned the following about the use of masks, called by the Koryak uḷya′utkoučñin (literally, "wearing of masks;" from u′ḷya, "a mask"). They are worn during the first winter month after the new moon. Their use is partly for religious purposes, partly for amusement, the celebration being a [776] kind of masquerade. The object of walking about in masks and masquerade costumes is to drive away the kalau (kne′ñvit-aita′ti)[1] who have taken possession of the houses during the absence of the people in summer. The masks represent Big-Raven and members of his family, who constantly waged war with the kalau. However, when the masked performers descended into the house where I stopped, they were met with shouts of "Ugh! kalau have arrived!" (Çik, ñe′nvetičñin yelxi′vi!) which was apparently meant either as a joke, or to frighten the kalau that were in the house. There are masks representing men and others representing women. The difference between them is that the former have mustaches, in a few cases also chin-beards, drawn with black paint or a piece of coal, while the latter are not painted at all. In Paren, only young men wore masks, not girls. They were dressed in the most homely manner. They had pulled the sleeves of their shaggy reindeer coats over their legs, and tied them so that the hood dangled behind like a tail; and they wore old greasy leather shirts. They rolled down into the house with great noise, missing several steps of the ladder. They examined all the nooks and corners. Then they commenced a dance, and represented various scenes of the coming winter life, — bear-hunting, sledge-riding, and racing. Plate v, Fig. 2 (see opp. p. 74), represents three masked persons pretending to warm themselves by a wood-

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[1] See p. 27.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate VII.

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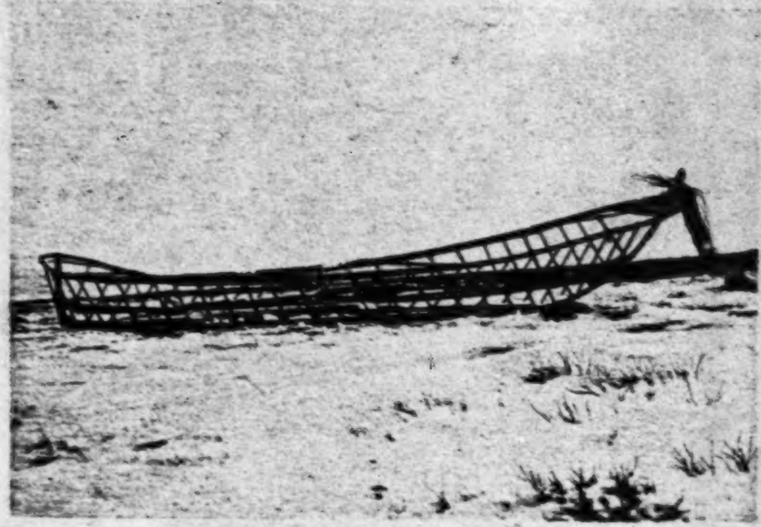

Fig. 1. Boat-Frame, with Sacrificial Grass attached.

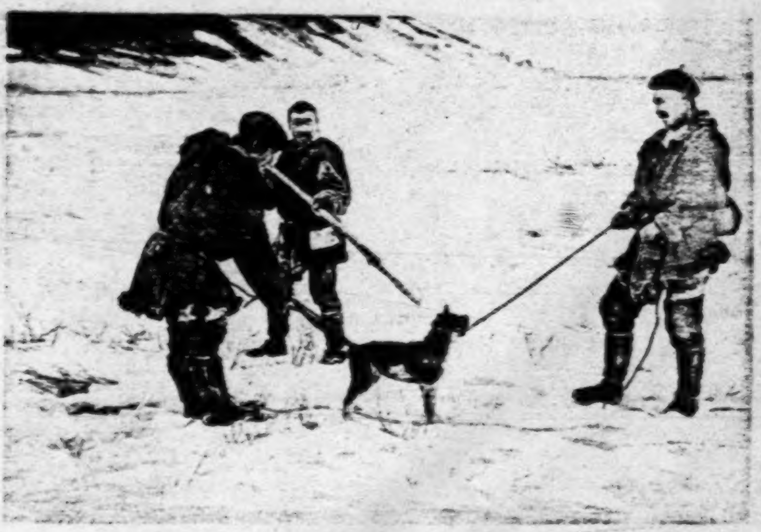

Fig. 2. Sacrifice of a Dog.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 90]

532 pile. They received presents of pieces of sugar, tobacco, and ornaments, from
536 the owner of the house. Thus they visited all the houses of the settlement.

Paren is the only village along the entire western coast of Penshina Bay
171 in which wooden masks are used. The rest of the settlements are occupied
in summer as well as in winter; and the wearing of masks is considered a sin.
532 In Kuel, for instance, the Koryak refused to arrange a "wearing of masks,"
771 as I requested, since it is forbidden. I was told in Paren that the custom of
"wearing masks" is still observed in the settlements of Reki′nniki (Rekı′nnok)
and Podkaghirnoye (Pitka′heñ), along the eastern coast of Penshina Bay. Subsequently Mr. Bogoras sent me a few masks from Reki′nniki. Besides, he found wooden masks among the Alutora Koryak of Baron Korff Bay. Even the small Reindeer camps of the Alutora Koryak, which are inhabited by families some of whose members live in Maritime villages, also have such masks and masquerades. It is noteworthy that the inhabitants of these villages stay there during summer also. According to Mr. Bogoras, the "wearing of masks" in these villages is rather a masquerade. The masks, unlike those from Paren, have pendants attached, consisting of rings, little bells, and other ornaments, or of models of things the masqueraders would like to receive. To one of them (Fig. 34, *a*) are appended

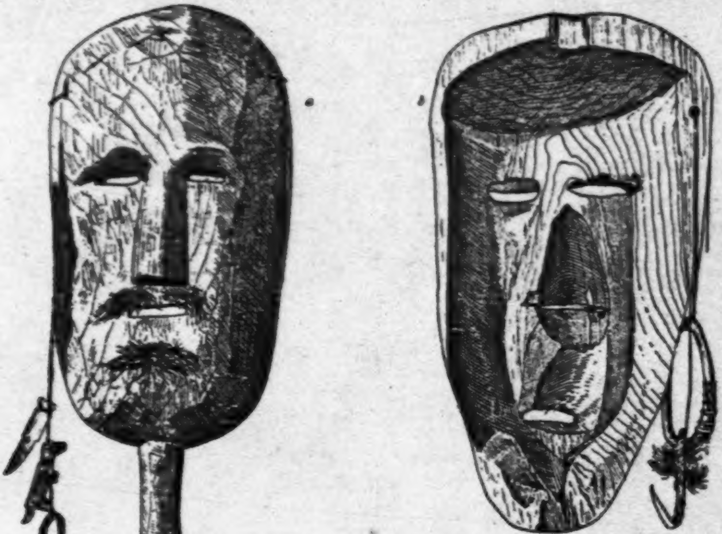

Fig. 34, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Wooden Masks from Alutor Bay.

532 171 (352) 771 carvings representing a dog, a knife, and a ring. In the eastern settlements, both boys and girls wear masks. The masks of the Alutor Koryak have names. Mr. Bogoras has recorded two names: one, that of a woman's mask, — Kïlu′ (the name of Big-Raven's niece); and the other, that of a man's mask, — Amka′vvi. When the masks which represent Big-Raven's children enter a house, they dance, and enact various pantomimic scenes, but do not utter a word, and do not ask for anything; but the pendants on their masks indicate the kind of presents they would like to receive. These pendants very often call for things which, according to local prices, are considered very [431] valuable. These presents are never refused; but later on the donors go into the houses of the masqueraders to get return-presents.

In North America the use of masks by Eskimo and Indians for religious or festive purposes, or for pantomimes, is not confined to the western slope of the Rocky Mountains; masks are found also among the Iroquois, the Pueblo tribes, the prehistoric inhabitants of Florida; and we know that the Eskimo of Baffin Land use leather masks during festivals.[1]

Among the other Eskimo, only the Alaskan tribes use masks. They are also found among the Aleut. From the fact that among the Alaskan Eskimo, masks become more numerous and more elaborate the nearer we approach that part of Alaska inhabited by the Indians of Tlingit stock, Murdoch infers that the former might have borrowed masks of the Indians.[2] I do not undertake to settle this question; but in simplicity and crudeness of finish, the wooden masks of the Koryak are so much like the Eskimo masks of Point Barrow, that it might be supposed that the Koryak and Eskimo masks originated from a common source. It is very strange, however, that the Chukchee, who live between the Koryak and the Eskimo, have no masks.[3]

532 The collection of Koryak wooden masks in the American Museum in New York consists of nine specimens collected by me at Paren, two from Reki′nniki, and two from Baron Korff Bay, obtained by Mr. Bogoras. All the marks an made so that the eyes and month fit the face of the weaver. Fig. 35 represents the masks from Paren. All these masks are very rudely made. Only one of them (Fig. 35, *f*) is finished off somewhat smoothly. The outer edges of all the others are not smooth, but show the marks of the adze. Judging from its size, the mask shown in Fig. 35, *f*, was made for a child. It has no openings for the mouth and eyes. The eyebrows are drawn with black paint. The nose, though not short, is cut off straight at its lower end,

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[1] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 141. The Yukaghir used to wear leather masks when dissecting their dead shamans (see Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 110).

[2] Murdoch, p. 370.

[3] Besides the Koryak and the Yukaghir, whose culture leans toward that of American tribes, and the Siberian Buddhists, some other tribes of northern Asia seem to use masks. Potanin (II, p. 54) mentions that the shamans of the Tchern-Tatars (Altaians) sometimes use masks (koro) made of birch-bark, and ornamented with squirrels' tails to represent eyebrows and mustache.

532

thus representing the characteristic form of the Koryak nose. The groove between the lips apparently represents the teeth, two lines on the cheeks represent tattooing. The eyes are straight, and not narrow. Fig. 35, *d*, represents a mask of a similar character. The masks shown in Fig. 35, *a-c*, have small openings for the eyes and mouth. Eyebrows, upper lip, and chin are painted with coal. The one shown in Fig. 35, *c*, has a cross on the

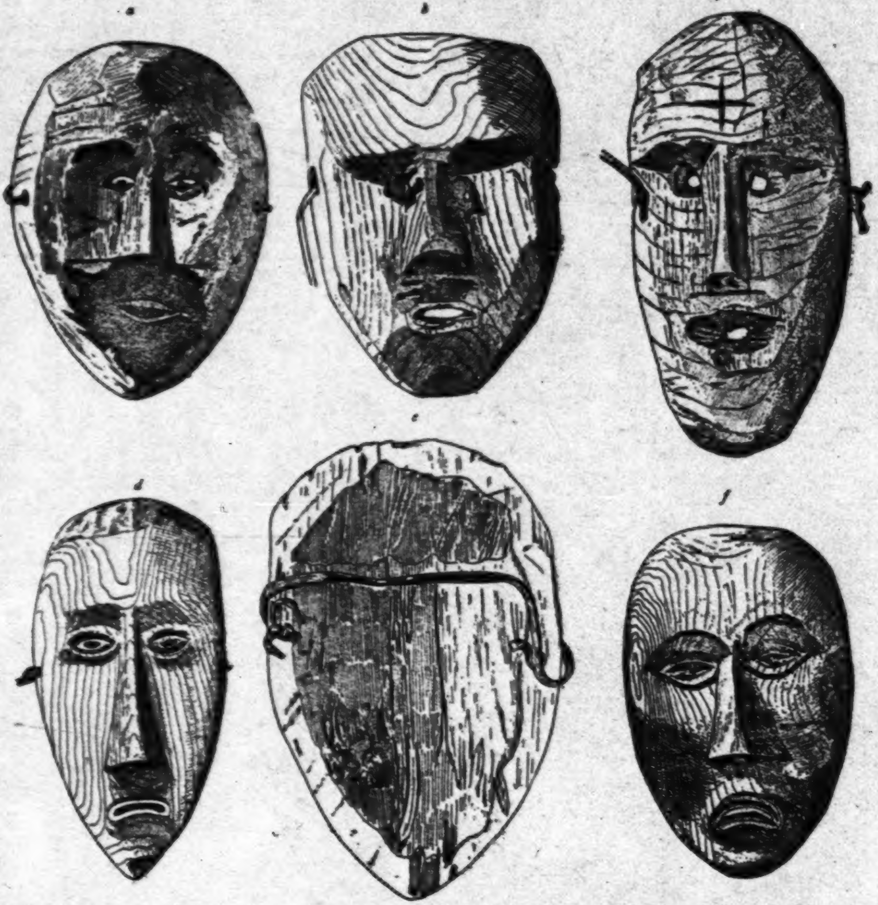

Fig. 35. Masks from Paren (*e*, inner side). *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]), *d* ([illegible]), *e* ([illegible]), *f* ([illegible]).

5

forehead. On the rim, on a level with the eyes, small holes are made for the straps by means of which the masks are tied on. The inner side of the masks is either flat or hollowed out very little (Fig. 35, *e*): thus the mask does not closely envelop the face, and the wearer is able to see the floor on either side. As stated before, the mask shown in Fig. 35, *f*, is finished more carefully, and at the back of it is a depression for the nose.

The masks shown in Fig. 36 are from the village of Reki'nniki. They differ from those from Paren by their large size, pointed chin, and in having ears. Besides this, one, Fig. 36, *a*, has a pendant like the Alutora masks, — in this case a bell, — and its cheeks are painted with ochre. Apparently Fig. 36, *b*, represents a man's mask; and Fig. 35, *a*, that of a woman.

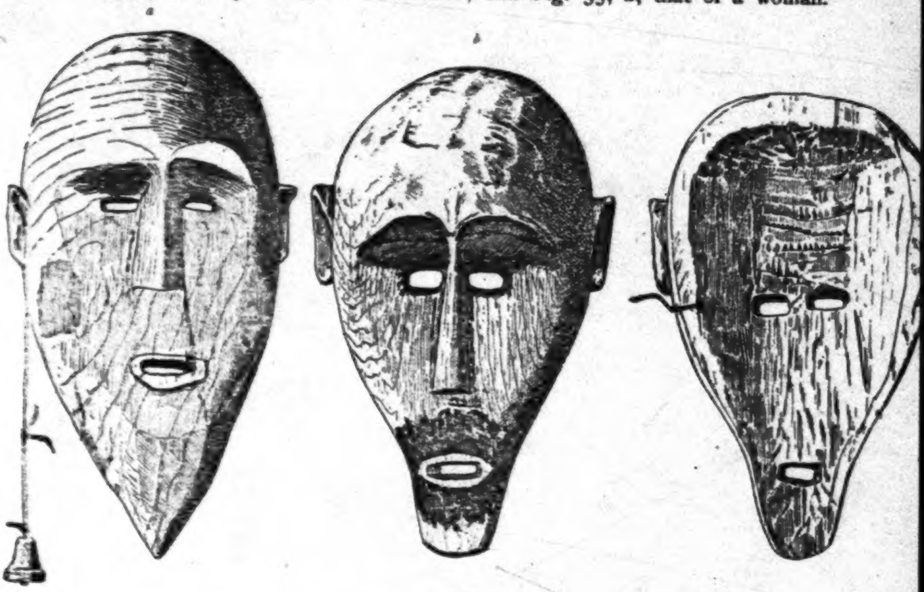

Fig. 36, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Masks from Reki'nniki (*c*, inner side).

The Alutora masks both have pendants. One (Fig. 34, *b*) is painted on the inner side, and is very slightly hollowed, like those from Paren; while the other (Fig. 34, *a*) has hair on the upper lip and a tuft of hair on the lower lip, the hair being driven into the wood. This mask has a wooden handle under the chin, similar to the handles of the Eskimo drums, apparently for the purpose of holding it in the hand. It should be noted here that the Koryak do not attempt to give their masks animal forms.

Fig. 37 represents four masks from Point Barrow, which were collected by Lieut. P. H. Ray's expedition,[1] of which Mr. Murdoch was a member, and are deposited in the National Museum in Washington.

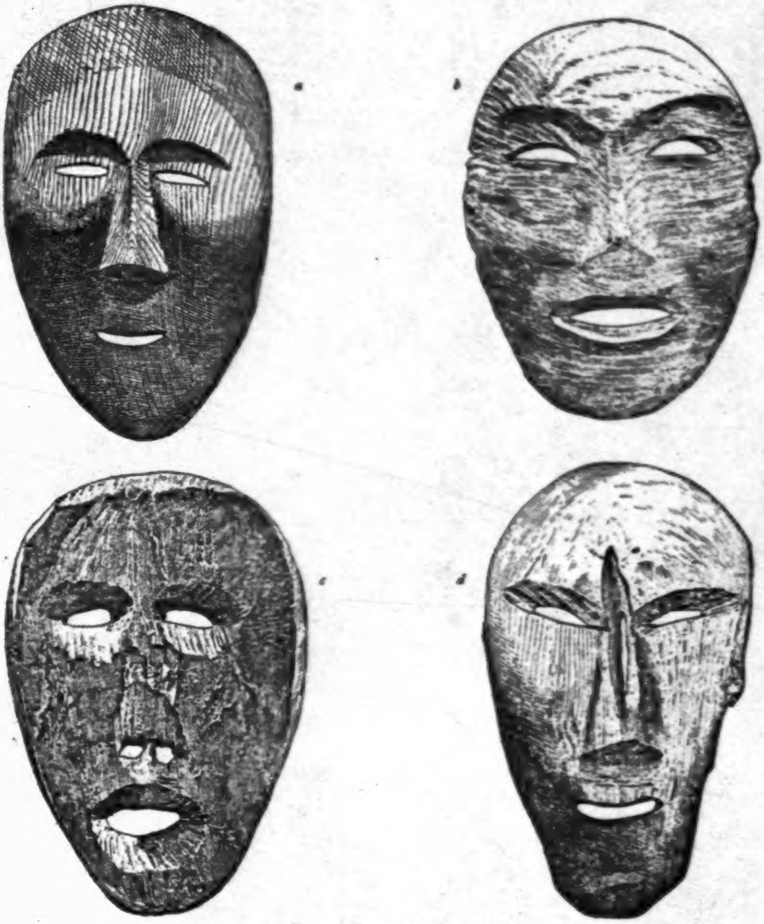

Fig. 37. Eskimo Masks from Point Barrow (*c*, inner side).

These, as well as the other masks from Point Barrow, described by Mr. Murdoch,[2] differ little from the Koryak masks. They are somewhat better

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[1] The International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, 1881-83.

[2] Murdoch, p. 366.

532 171 finished. All of them have openings for the eyes and mouth. The eyes are narrower than on the Koryak masks; and on two of them the outer corners of the eyes are somewhat raised. The face is less oval in form, and the nose is shorter: generally the forms of the Eskimo masks approach more closely the type which is called "Mongolian" than those of the Koryak. Fig. 37, *c*, represents the inner side of one of these masks, and shows that they are just as little hollowed out as those of Koryak make.

532 While in the village of Paren the wearing of masks is practised only during the first winter month after the new moon, in the settlements of northern Kamchatka and in those of Baron Korff Bay the young people, according to Mr. Bogoras, amuse themselves with masks during the entire winter.

New masks are made every fall; and the old ones, which are no longer needed, are thrown away in a lonely place away from the village.[1]

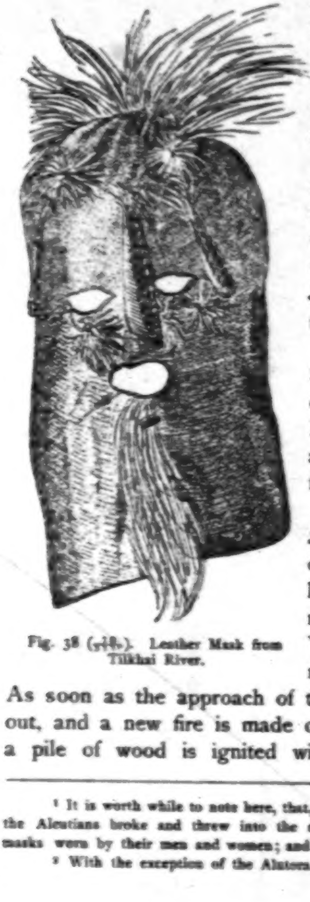

Fig. 38 (1/10). Leather Mask from Tilkhai River.

796 I did not see grass or wooden masks among the Reindeer Koryak.[2] I only found a leather mask (Fig. 38) among the Reindeer Koryak on the Tilkhai River; but they said that it was not used in any ceremony. It represents a cannibal *kala*. Women put on such masks in order to scare the children.

FESTIVALS OF THE REINDEER KORYAK. — Since the time I spent with the Reindeer Koryak did not coincide with the season of their festivities, I had to be contented with such verbal information as I was able to get from the Koryak. The main festivals of the Reindeer Koryak are the following.

Ceremony on the Return of the Herd from Summer Pastures. — The majority of the Reindeer Koryak send their herds, with their sons or herdsmen, to the mountains; and they themselves remain near some river to fish or to go to sea. When the first snow covers the ground, the herdsmen with the herd return to the summer dwelling. As soon as the approach of the herd is noticed, the fire in the house is put out, and a new fire is made outside the house with the sacred fire-board, and a pile of wood is ignited with the new fire. Burning brands are then laid

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[1] It is worth while to note here, that, after the religious ceremonies which used to take place in December, the Aleutians broke and threw into the sea the charms which they had used during the ceremonies, and the masks worn by their men and women; and that every year they made new charms and new masks (Dall, p. 139).

[2] With the exception of the Alutora Reindeer Koryak (see p. 81).

upon boards, and thrown upon the approaching herd. According to explanations 776
given by some of the Koryak, the herd is met with fire in the same manner as relatives and guests are welcomed; while, according to others, the fire signifies the source whence reindeer originated. According to the second version, The-One-on-High took the first reindeer out of the fire. After the fire has been taken out of the house, sacrificial reindeer are slaughtered as an offering to The-One-on-High, and the face of the guardian on the sacred fire-board is smeared with blood, that he may protect the herd from wolves during the winter. Well-grown fawns are selected for this purpose, their skins being used for winter garments.

The Fawn Festival. — In spring, about the month of April, when the fawning-period is over and the reindeer have lost their antlers, the fawn festival is celebrated. It is called ki'lvei. The fire in the house is put out, and a new one is started by means of the sacred fire-board. Then reindeer are slaughtered as a sacrifice to The-One-on-High. In the Palpal Mountains, both the Koryak and the Chukchee pile up the antlers of the killed reindeer. The other Reindeer Koryak do not observe this custom. It seems probable that at an early period this custom was common to all Reindeer Koryak, though the Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula deny ever having had it. However, the former existence of a custom is often disavowed as soon as it has ceased to be in vogue. The owner of the herd beats the drum in order to entertain the fawns. The does, so the official chief of the Taigonos Koryak told me, say, on hearing the drum, "Our master is amusing our fawns."

These two festivals — the end of the fawning period, and the return of the herd in the fall — are the most important ones of the year. On such occasions, toothsome dishes are prepared, and guests from the neighboring camps are entertained; but they are strictly family festivals, nevertheless.

Other Festivals. — The offering of sacrifices constitutes the main feature 796
of all other festivals. These are observed (1) when the sun marks the approach
of summer after the winter solstice — a sacrifice is then offered to the sun; (2) 782
in the month of March, when the does commence to fawn — a sacrifice is offered to The-One-on-High; (3) in spring, when the grass begins to sprout and the leaves appear on the trees — a sacrifice is offered to the earth or to the master of the earth; (4) when mosquitoes put in their appearance — reindeer are then slain as an offering to The-One-on-High, lest the mosquitoes scatter the herd.

Races. — Reindeer races must also be classed among the festivals of the 796
Reindeer Koryak, for they are not a mere sport: they are of a religious
character, like the Greek games. Races are festivals in honor of The-One-on- 526
High. Dog-races and foot-races, on the other hand, are not regarded as religious festivals. Every owner of a large herd arranges races once a year. They usually take place toward the close of winter. The owner of the camp invites his guests from all the neighboring camps. Before the beginning of

796 526 the races, a sacrifice is made to The-One-on-High. Then the race begins; and the winner receives some tobacco, a knife, or some other imported article, as a prize. It happens sometimes that the host sacrifices the racing-reindeer which he has been riding. Before stabbing it, he takes it around the house. In olden times he wore a suit of armor on such occasions. I heard that even now rich people of the Palpal Mountains put on armor[1] when slaughtering sacrificial reindeer during the race festival.

796 *Festival of "Going around with the Drum."* — The Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula told me of a festival which they celebrate yearly after the winter solstice, and which is called Ya'yai-kamle'lehıyñin ("[with] drum around going"). Rich men invite all their neighbors to this festival, offer a sacrifice to The-One-on-High, and slaughter many reindeer for their guests. If there is a shaman present, he goes all around the interior of the house, beating the drum, and driving away the kalau. He searches all the people who are present in the house, and, if he finds a kala's arrow (which is invisible to ordinary men) in the body of one of them, he pretends to pull it out. In this manner he protects them against disease and death. In the absence of a shaman, this act is performed by the host, or by a woman versed in incantations.

Ceremonials Common to both Maritime and Reindeer Koryak. — The ceremonies performed after hunting wild reindeer or other land-animals are the same among the Maritime and the Reindeer Koryak. They are particularly elaborate after successful bear or wolf hunting. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to witness them personally; and the following descriptions are based on verbal information obtained from various persons.

The Bear Festival. — The bear is equipped for the home journey, like the whale; and the home-sending is called Ke'vñınačixtathı'yñın ("Bear-service"). When the dead bear is brought to the house, the women come out to meet it, dancing, with fire-brands. The bear-skin is taken off with the head; and one of the women puts on the skin, dances in it, and entreats the bear not to be angry, but to be kind to them. At the same time some meat is put on a wooden platter, and they say, "Eat, friend!" Fig. 39 shows a wooden figure representing the bear during the festival. It is fed in the same manner as the wooden whale during the whale festival.

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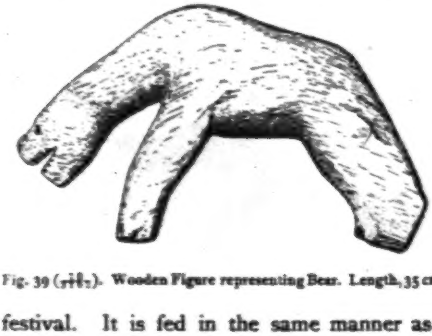

Fig. 39 ([illegible]). Wooden Figure representing Bear. Length, 35 cm.

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[1] Suits of armor are preserved by many of the wealthy Reindeer people as heirlooms in remembrance of the ancient war times.

On the day when the bear is equipped for the home journey, the Maritime Koryak prepare puddings for it, travelling-provisions, just as has been described in connection with the whale festival. They plait a grass bag, and put the puddings into it. The Reindeer Koryak slaughter a reindeer for the bear, cook all the meat, and pack it in a grass bag. The bear-skin is filled with grass, taken out and carried around the house, following the course of the sun, and then sent away in the direction of the rising sun. The fact that the bear is sent toward morning dawn indicates that the Koryak consider the spirit of the bear as benevolent. The stuffed bear and the bag are put on the platform of the storehouse; and after a few days the skin is taken back to be tanned, and the puddings are eaten. 796

The Wolf Festival. — After having killed a wolf, the Maritime Koryak take off its skin, together with the head, just as they proceed with the bear; then they place near the hearth a pointed stick, and tie an arrow, called iᵉlhun or eᵉɭgoi, to it, or drive the arrow into the ground at its butt-end.[1] One of the men puts on the wolf's skin and walks around the hearth, while another member of the family beats the drum. The wolf festival is called eᵉɭhŏ′gıčñın; that is, "wolf-stick festival." 796 825

The meaning of this ceremony is obscure. I have been unable to get any explanation from the Koryak with reference to it. "Our forefathers did this way," is all they say. I have found no direct indications of the existence of totemism among the Koryak; but the wearing of the skin of the wolf and of the bear during these festivals may be compared to certain features of totemistic festivals, in which some members of the family or clan represent the totem by putting on its skin. [771]

The wolf festival differs from the bear festival in the absence of the equipment for the home journey. The reason is this, that the bear is sent home with much ceremony, to secure successful bear-hunting in the future, bear's meat being considered a delicacy, while the festival serves at the same time to protect the people from the wrath of the slain animal and its relatives. The wolf, on the other hand, does not serve as food, but is only a danger to the traveller in the desert. He is dangerous, not in his visible, animal state, — for the northern wolves, as a rule, are afraid of men, — but in his invisible, anthropomorphic form. According to the Koryak conception, the wolf is a rich reindeer-owner and the powerful master of the tundra. A traveller who has lost his way may stray into a settlement of wolves, and become their prey. The wolves avenge themselves particularly on those that hunt them.[2] The Reindeer Koryak have still more reason to fear wolves, since their herds are always exposed to their dangerous attacks. According to the conception of the Reindeer Koryak, the wolf is a powerful shaman, and he is regarded as an evil spirit hostile to the reindeer, and roaming all over the earth. In

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[1] See p. 43.

[2] Tale 84.

796 tales he is not called by his usual name, Eʷgɪlñın, but Umya'ɪlhın ("broad-soled one") or Ña'ĭñımosa'n ("one who keeps himself outside").

825 After having killed a wolf, the Reindeer Koryak slaughter a reindeer, cut off its head, and put its body, with that of the killed wolf, on a platform raised on posts. The reindeer-head is placed so as to face eastward. It is a sacrifice to The-One-on-High, who is thus asked not to permit the wolf to attack the herd. Special food is prepared in the evening, and the wolf is fed. The night is spent without sleep, in beating the drum and dancing to entertain the wolf, lest his relatives come and take revenge. Beating the drum, and addressing themselves to the wolf, the people say, "Be well!" (Nıme'leu gatva'ñvota!) and addressing The-One-on-High, they say, "Be good, do not make the wolf bad!"

Practices in Connection with Fox-Hunting. — When a captured fox is brought into the house, it is soothed like a child. While pulling off its skin, and cutting the joints of the legs, they say in a pitiful tone, "Eh, what a lean one!" to which some one replies for the fox, "I will soon send you a gray fox." A grass mat is put around the body like a coat. The male fox is given a little wooden knife, and the female a thimble and needle-case; then it is placed on the platform of the storehouse.

SACRIFICES.

782 The sacrifices offered by the Koryak to the supreme and other supernatural beings may be divided into two classes, — bloody and bloodless ones. It is remarkable, that, among the tribes of the northwestern part of North America, we find only bloodless offerings to the deities, consisting of food, ornaments, and other trifling gifts.[1] These sacrifices, however, play a secondary part. Among the Eskimo, the most effective means of guarding against misfortune consists in the observance of various taboos; and a frank confession by the person who transgressed a taboo[2] serves as the best propitiatory measure. Among the Indians, purification, prayers, and incantations are the most effective means of gaining the good-will of the supernatural powers. Of course we find all these among the Koryak also; but sacrifices play the most conspicuous part in their religious life. It seems justifiable to assume that bloody sacrifices are connected with the pastoral life of the Reindeer tribes, just as we find the same custom among the cattle-raising tribes of Siberia generally, and among the Reindeer peoples in the north of Siberia, as the Samoyed and Ostyak. It is probably not a mere accident that in the myths recorded by me, mostly offerings of reindeer are mentioned;[3] but at present

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[1] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, pp. 129, 146; Teit, pp. 344, 345; Boas, Bella Coola Indians, p. 29.

[2] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 147.

[3] A dog-sacrifice is mentioned in but one tale, No. 92. It should be noted that the tales do not mention at all sacrifices to evil spirits (kalau).

it is difficult to tell whether the Koryak made offerings of dogs prior to the time when a part of them began to keep reindeer-herds. The dog-raising Eskimo do not slaughter dogs as a sacrifice to the spirits.[1] Neither Steller nor Krasheninnikoff mentions that the Kamchadal dog-breeders offered any sacrifices of dogs. 782

On the other hand, however, in North America, east of the Rocky Mountains, the Iroquois Indians make sacrificial offerings of dogs; the Sioux also used to sacrifice dogs as well as make bloodless offerings;[2] and the dog-raising Yukaghir[3] of northeastern Siberia, and the Gilyak[4] of Saghalin and of the Amur River, killed dogs as sacrifices to their deities or to their dead. The Gilyak, the Ainu, and some Tungus tribes of the Amur region, make bloody sacrifices, killing bears during their well-known bear festivals.[5] 782 171

If we now proceed to compare the nature of the bloody sacrifices of the Koryak with those of the Siberian tribes, whose culture is of decidedly Asiatic type and shows no American affiliation, and whose source of subsistence is cattle-raising, we shall find certain marked differences.

Among the Buryat and the people of the Altai Mountains in southern Siberia, bloody sacrifices are still practised. Such sacrifices were formerly made in the country of the Urankhai (Soyot) and all over lamaistic Mongolia; but, according to Potanin,[6] they have been abolished through the efforts of the lamas.

The custom of offering bloody sacrifices is even now in existence among the Yakut, in spite of the fact that they were converted to Christianity from a hundred and fifty to two hundred years ago. But while the Altai[7] people, like the Koryak, offer sacrifices to benevolent as well as to malevolent deities, to U'lgen· and Ye'rlik, the Yakut slaughter horses and horned cattle to malevolent spirits (abasy') only.[8] They offer bloodless sacrifices exclusively, not only to the creative forces (ayi'), but to the "masters" (iččí') as well. They make libations of kumiss to the head of the creative deities, Lord-Bright-Creator (Ayi'-Uru'ñ-Toyo'n); while animals are merely consecrated to him, but not slaughtered. Consecrated animals are not made use of. In olden times, rich Yakut consecrated to him entire droves of horses, which were driven

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[1] It is worthy of note here, that Turner (p. 196) says, "The tail of a living dog is often cut from the body in order that the fresh blood may be cast upon the ground to be seen by the spirit who has caused the harm, and thus he may be appeased." This seems to be a bloody offering.

[2] Dorsey, pp. 426, 459, 522. "Mr. W. Hamilton," says Dorsey (p. 426), "who was a missionary to the Iowa and Sac Indians of Nebraska, saw dogs hung by their necks to trees, or to sticks planted in the ground, and he was told that these dogs were offerings."

[3] See Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, pp. 98, 110, 122.

[4] See Schrenck, III, pp. 765, 766.

[5] Ibid., pp. 696-737.

[6] Potanin, IV, p. 78.

[7] Ibid., IV, p. 91.

[8] Trostchansky (p. 105) gives the following reason why the Yakut offer bloody sacrifices exclusively to malevolent spirits (abasy'). The latter kill human beings in order to eat their souls (kut), which serve them as *food*; and the sacrifice serves as a substitute. The abasy' gets the kut of the animal instead of that of a human being.

782 away eastward in the direction of the rising sun.[1] The Buryat also offer
bloody sacrifices to eastern Teñrii (evil deities) only.[2] On the contrary, the
171 Samoyed, like the Koryak, sacrifice reindeer to the benevolent as well as to
the malevolent deities.[3]

The Koryak, as we shall further see, offer bloody sacrifices mainly to the Supreme Deity, to the sun, the "masters," the spirits of killed animals, to sacred rocks, in some cases to figures of kalak, and to the kalau (evil spirits). Formerly the Reindeer Koryak used to kill reindeer in honor of their dead also.

The conclusion may be drawn from the above, that, while among the Yakut and Buryat the cult of the evil principle has gained the upper hand over that of the creative forces, among the Koryak the cult of the benevolent spirit is more conspicuous.

782 Sacrifices are preventive, to avert a possible calamity or malady; propitiatory, to remove a disaster which has already befallen; and for giving thanks, in gratitude for benefits received. Thus sacrifices are offered not only at certain set times, but also on any and all occasions which may call for them. For instance, sacrifices are offered to secure a happy journey, that the hunt may prove successful, that a patient may be cured, that a storm may abate, that a famine may come to an end, or in gratitude for a happy consummation of a journey, for a recovery from disease, or for a successful hunt.

Not unfrequently a sacrifice is promised to the Supreme Deity conditionally, to be offered during a certain festival. As proof of such a promise, some kind of a bright-colored rag is sewed with sinew-thread to the ear of the promised animal; and the promised reindeer or dog is called ina'tiplın ("sewed or basted to").

Almost all sacrifices are made by the family or the individual. Only the sacrifice offered to the guardian of the settlement may be considered as a sacrifice for the inhabitants of the entire village.

Bloody Sacrifices. — While the Maritime Koryak kill only dogs as a sacrifice, the Reindeer Koryak slaughter reindeer as well. Dogs are killed by the Reindeer Koryak mainly as a sacrifice to the kalau. A reindeer offering is regarded as a more appropriate sacrifice. A white reindeer is looked upon as an offering particularly gratifying to the Supreme Being.

As a rule, when the Koryak offer sacrifices to the kalau, they do so with unconcealed reluctance. The sacrifice to the kalau is the price paid for preventing their attacks upon human beings. Some blood from the wounds of dogs or reindeer sacrificed to the Supreme Being is sprinkled on the ground

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[1] Among both the Kamchadal and the Thompson Indians we find the custom of consecrating to an idol or to a spirit a certain portion of land, in which they abide. The Kamchadal did not hunt, or gather berries, around the place where the sacred posts (see p. 38, Footnote 1) were standing (Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 103); also, among the Thompson Indians, "roots, etc., growing near a haunted or mysterious lake should not be dug or gathered" (Teit, p. 345).

[2] Mikhailovsky, Shamanism, p. 89.

[3] Potanin, IV, p. 697.

as an offering to the kala, with the words, "This blood is for thee, kala." 782
Otherwise the kala might intercept the sacrifice, and prevent its reaching the
Supreme Being, who resides in the sky. Figs. 40 and 41 are reproductions 782
of sketches made by the Maritime Koryak Yulta, of Kamenskoye, and illustrate
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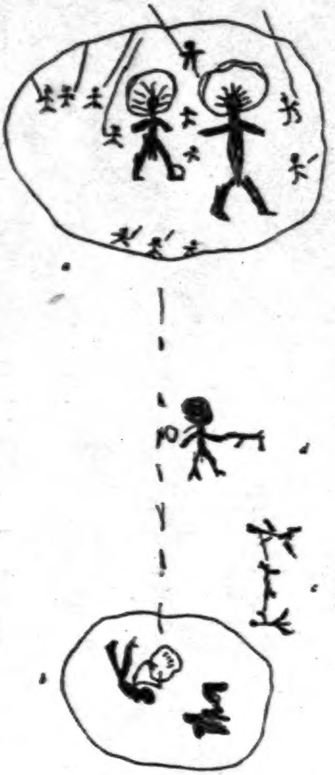

Fig. 40. Koryak Sketch illustrating a Kala intercepting a Sacrifice. *a*, the Supreme Being, his wife, and souls hanging in the house; *b*, shaman beating drum, and dying patient; *c*, sacrifice of a dog; *d*, kala intercepting sacrifice.

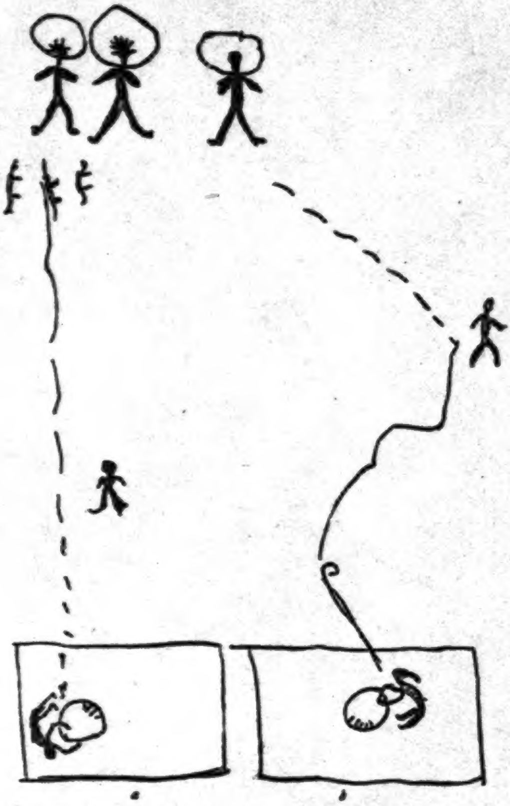

Fig. 41. Koryak Sketch representing, *a*, Sacrifices reaching Heaven; *b*, Girl invoking Cloud-Man (see p. 26).

these ideas. Fig. 40 shows a kala intercepting the sacrifice, and the patient, who is treated by a shaman, dying; while Fig. 41, *a*, represents the sacrifices reaching heaven, and the patient being cured. The sacrifices offered to the Supreme Being are placed eastward, facing the rising sun; while those offered

532 to the kala face toward the setting sun.[1] The kalau come from this side.
782 They sleep during the day, and after sunset go out hunting human beings. But at the same time I was told of kalau which come from the direction of Kamchatka, or from the east. Other kalau live in a subterranean kingdom. The blood from the wounds of animals sacrificed to the Supreme Being is sprinkled on the ground as an offering to them.

782 Sacrificial animals are killed by being stabbed in the heart with a spear. Dogs are killed in the following manner. One man holds a strap which is tied to the dog's neck; and another one stands back of the dog, holding it by a strap which encircles the hind part near the hind legs. The animal is thus held, unable to move. Frequently the dog does not suspect what is going to happen, wags its tail, and fawns upon the man in front, thinking that he is playing with it, or that he is about to hitch it to a sledge. A third man, who stands to the left of the dog, suddenly thrusts a spear into its heart (Plate VII, Fig. 2). It is considered a good sign if the dog is quiet before the blow, and does not resist. A long spear is therefore used, and not a knife, so that the animal may not be frightened. An unsuccessful blow is regarded as a bad sign. The men who are holding the dog pull the strap taut while the animal is writhing in convulsions, then they let it drop on its right side. In some places two men hold with their hands the dog that is to be killed; they lift it in the air, and a third one stabs it with a spear. An unsuccessful blow is regarded as a sign that the deity does not wish to accept the sacrifice: therefore the striking of the blow is intrusted to an experienced and skilful man. I recall, that, in the settlement of Paren, an excited young Koryak came running to me with a deep bite on his leg. He had held by its head a dog that was to be sacrificed. The old man who was to kill the dog did not hit the heart at the first stroke; and before he was able to strike the second deadly blow, the dog managed to bite the leg of the Koryak who was holding its head. This sacrifice, which was offered on the occasion of the illness of a boy, was looked upon as not accepted by the deity; and another sacrifice was required, if the boy was to recover. The dogs killed as an offering to the Supreme Being are hung on a post, the upper pointed end

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[1] The creative deities of the Yakut are also supposed to reside in the east; and the chief of the upper evil spirits, Great-Lord (Ulu' Toyo'n), occupies the western part of the sky. Among the Altai people (Potanin, IV, p. 79) the skins of animals sacrificed to the benevolent deity (U'lgen·) are placed head eastward; while the skins of animals sacrificed to the chief of the evil spirits (Ye'rlik) are placed head westward. The same is true among the Samoyed. When they stab a reindeer in sacrifice to the benevolent deity Nu'ma, they put the killed animal head toward the east; but when the animal is sacrificed to the malevolent deity Av-Vesaka, head toward the west. After eating the meat of the sacrificed reindeer, they put the head on a post, turning it toward east or west according to the deity to whom the offering is made (Potanin, IV, p. 697). Among the Buryat, on the contrary, the benevolent Teñrii occupy the western part of the sky; and the evil Teñrii the eastern (Agapitoff and Khangaloff, p. 4). It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Bella Coola Indians place the evil in the west, and the good in the east. They regard the earth as an island swimming in the boundless ocean, and believe that when the mythical giant moves our earth westward, we have epidemics; when he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears (Boas, Bella Coola Indians, p. 37).

of which is thrust under the dog's lower jaw, so that its muzzle points up to the sky, the ventral side eastward. A collar of sacrificial grass is put around the dog's neck. The post with the dog hanging from it is driven into the ground or snow, not far from the house; or a long pole with the sacrifice is placed close to the house, so that the dog hangs over the roof (Plate VIII, Fig 1). In Kamenskoye, only the heads of the sacrifices are hung upon poles; while the carcass, after the skin has been pulled off, is thrown away. Since the majority of dog-offerings are made in the interval between fall and spring, the dogs slaughtered during that time remain hanging for a long time, usually through the entire winter, until spring. Then they are skinned, and the carcass is thrown away.

The dogs sacrificed to the master of the sea are left on the seashore, the muzzle facing the sea; those offered to the mountains or rocks, called "grandfather" (apa'pel), are placed on the summit or slope of a hill; and the sacrifice offered to the kalau is left on the ground with the muzzle pointing westward. Sometimes the offering intended for evil spirits is placed in the direction of the road to be followed during a journey.

Dogs sacrificed to the village guardian are sometimes hung up on the guardian itself (Plate IX, Fig. 1).[1] Reindeer sacrifices are also stabbed with a spear attached to a long shaft, and not with a knife (as is usually done when reindeer are slaughtered for food), in order to avoid frightening the reindeer, which is required to stand still during the immolation. The reindeer designated as a sacrifice is caught, as usual, by means of a lasso. After it has been caught, it is held with the hands, the lasso is taken off of the antlers (or of the head if caught in the spring, when the antlers have been shed), the end of it made into two, and tied over the fetlock-joints of the hind-legs of the animal (Plate X, Fig. 1). Then the reindeer is let go, and the man holding the lasso drives it to the house. There he forces the animal to stand quiet by pulling the lasso taut. At the same time, another man, usually the owner of the reindeer, thrusts his spear into the animal's heart. Frequently the hobbled reindeer drags the man who holds it about a considerable time before the latter succeeds in bringing it to a stop at the proper place. The reindeer should fall on its right side, the wound upward, otherwise the offering is regarded as unwelcome to the deity: therefore the man who holds the lasso, which is tied around the reindeer's hind-legs, pulls to the left. Then the body is made to fall to the right. Blood from the wound is sprinkled on the ground as a sacrifice for the kalau (Plate X, Fig. 2).[2] If the sacrifice is offered

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[1] See also p. 37 and Fig. 4.

[2] The photographs illustrating the reindeer sacrifice were obtained in the following manner. I asked the people of a camp on the Topolovka River to pose in the various positions of the sacrifice, and to let me take photographs of the scenes. I was told that this might be arranged with a dog sacrifice, but that such a posing for a reindeer sacrifice would be a sin. I offered to pay for the reindeer. The Koryak then consented to slaughter a reindeer as a sacrifice. I gave them two bricks of tea and two bundles of tobacco, and also left the sacrificial meat at their disposal. In the settlements of the Maritime Koryak, however, I was told that it is forbidden to represent the immolation of a dog without making a real sacrifice.

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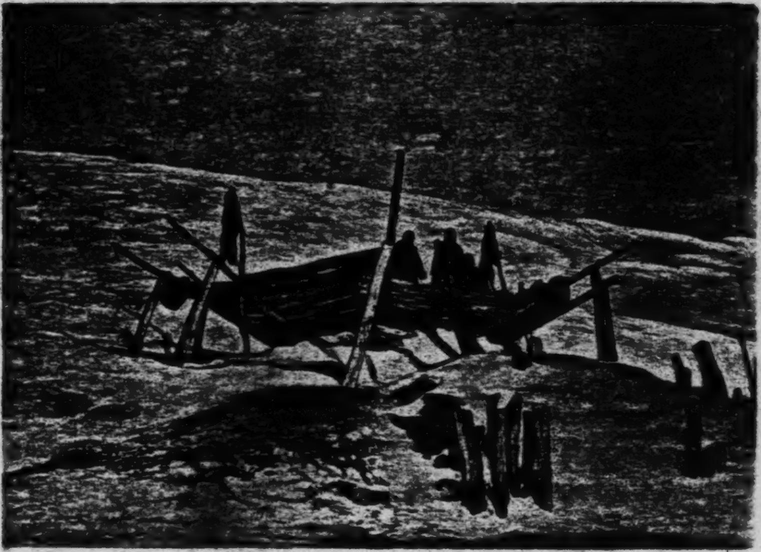

Fig. 1.

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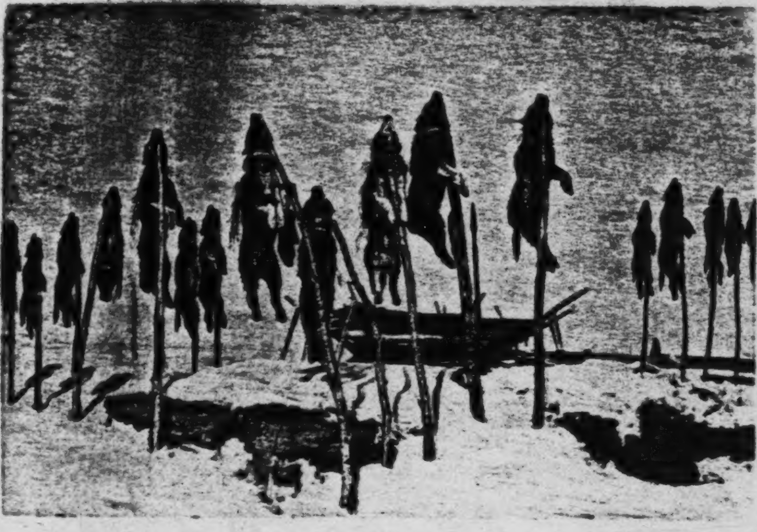

Fig. 2.

Underground Houses, with Sacrificed Dogs.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 95]

782 while the people are moving from place to place, or during a fair, the blood is sprinkled in all directions. The antlers of the sacrificial reindeer are hung on a bush or on rods. In spring, when the reindeer have no antlers, the sincipital bone is hung up; and when fawns have been sacrificed, their entire heads are displayed (Plate XI, Fig. 1; see also Plate IX, Fig. 2). At the Koryak fair on the Palpal Ridge I noticed that the fœtuses taken out of the wombs of slaughtered does were offered to the owner of the place. In order to deceive the deity, they were held just as though they were alive, and stabbed with a spear; and to simulate their death-agony, the fawns were shaken about. Frequently wooden or snow images of reindeer are thus offered as substitutes for real sacrifices.

The Reindeer Koryak make dog-offerings mainly to the kalau; and the stabbed dogs are placed on the ground with muzzle pointing westward, or in the direction in which the people are going to travel, that the evil spirits may cause them no harm.

Substitutes for the real animals are sacrificed when reindeer can ill be spared. This substitute must not be considered entirely as an imposition on the deity. The faith in the existence of a vital principle, and of its power to manifest itself in any object of animal form, is so strong, that the substitution is largely a self-deception. According to Tale 94, the Supreme Being discovers that a sacrifice has been offered to it, only when the sacrifice, or, rather, the soul of the sacrifice, rises to heaven. The Supreme Being hears a noise outside, sends out his son, Cloud-Man, to look; and the latter returns, saying that the white reindeer of Big-Raven, that is, the white reindeer sacrificed by Big-Raven, have come.

The offering of a reindeer as a sacrifice practically differs in no way from the mere slaughtering of a reindeer. The person who offers the sacrifice eats the meat, and thus sustains no loss. But it is different with a dog-offering,
435 which entails a loss on the owner. The only useful article that he obtains through the sacrifice of the dog is the skin, which is used for clothes; but the value of a dog-skin is less than one-tenth that of the dog. I paid two rubles for an entire suit made of dog-skin, while a dog of average value costs ten rubles.

The cult of the Maritime Koryak involves considerable expense. From fall until spring they kill so many pups and grown dogs that they are unable to replenish their teams from natural increase; and as soon as winter travel begins, they are compelled to buy driving-dogs in the Russian settlements. The following incident will give an idea of the number of dogs sacrificed annually by the Maritime Koryak. In the month of March I rented twenty sledges in Paren for the purpose of carrying my collection to the mouth of the Gishiga River. A month later I again passed through Paren, and was surprised at the number of dog-sacrifices which I found hanging there. All

I. Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI

Plate IX

The Koryak

[Facing p. 96:A]

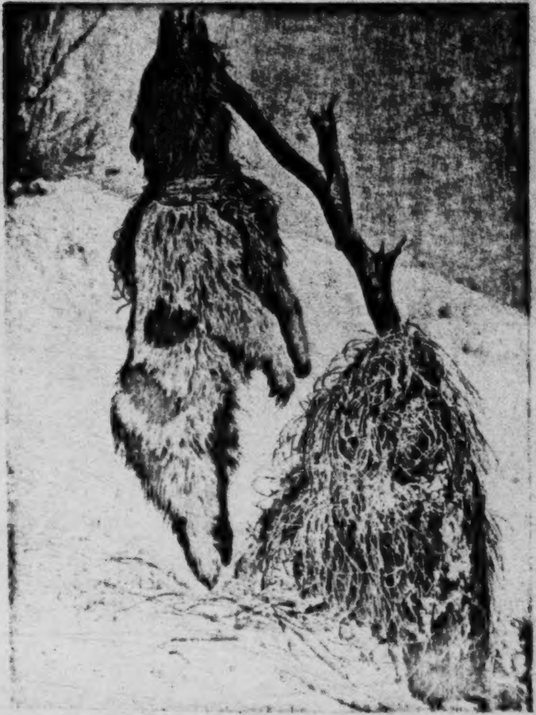

FIG. 1. VILLAGE GUARDIAN, WITH SACRIFICED DOG.

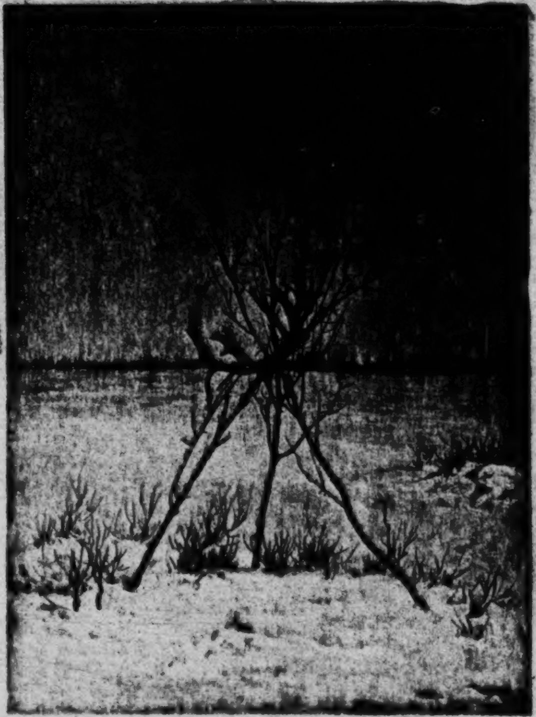

FIG. 2. SACRIFICIAL REINDEER-ANTLERS.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

~~Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI.~~ Plate X.

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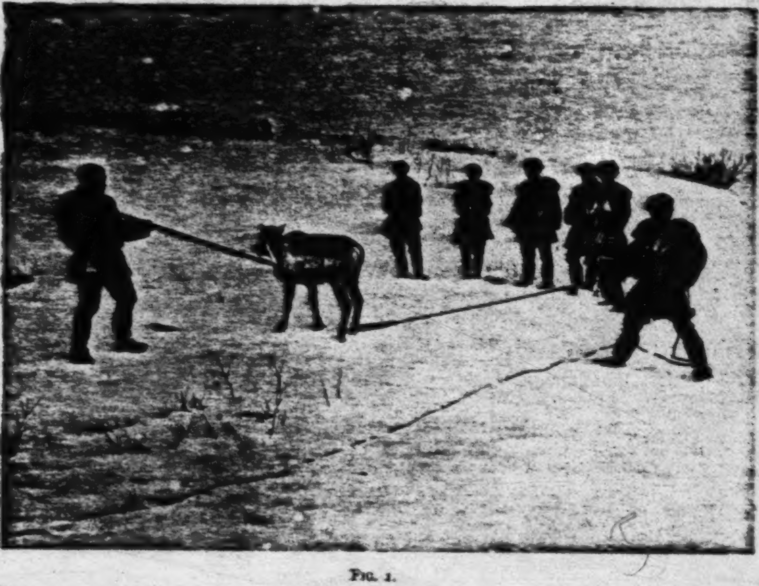

FIG. 1.

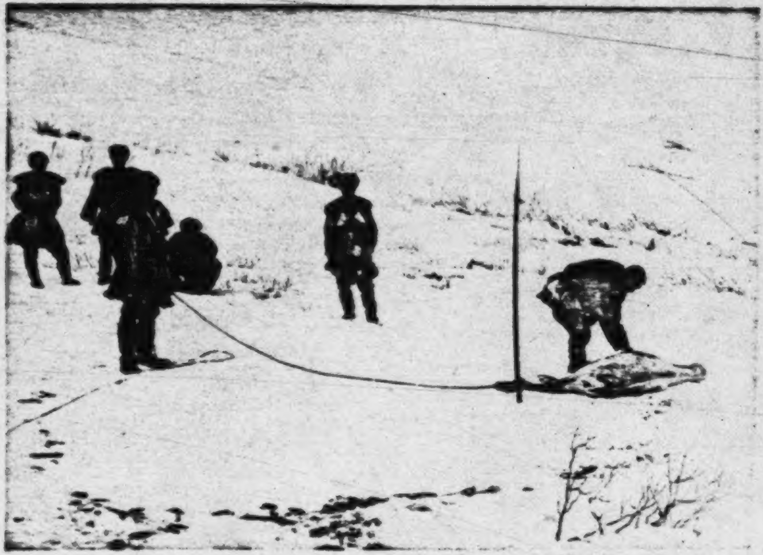

FIG. 2.

SACRIFICE OF REINDEER.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 96: B]

I: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XI.

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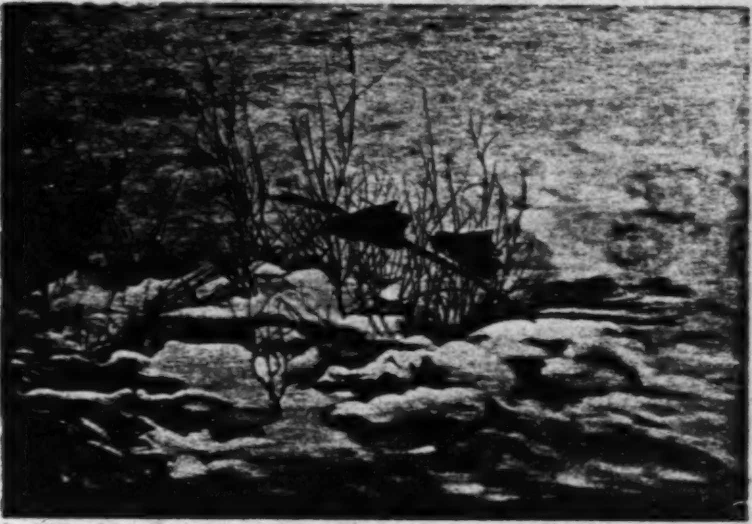

Fig. 1. Sacrificial Heads of Reindeer-Fawns.

778

Fig. 2. Sacred Hill.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 96:C]

782 along the bank of the Paren River were stakes driven into the snow, with dogs hanging on them, their muzzles pointing upward and the ventral side of the body facing east. In the light of the spring sun, this long row of dog-sacrifices offered a queer and sad sight. Part of this row is represented on Plate VIII, Fig. 2. I found out that the greater part of the dogs had been killed by the drivers of the sledges which I had hired, in gratitude for their safe return from the Russian settlement Gishiginsk, and to guard their village against the spirit of measles, which a year previous had come to them from that little town. Since every driver charged me but six rubles[1] for the drive to Gishiga, the sacrifice cost him more than he had earned.

Of course, from their own point of view, the Koryak have just as much right to sacrifice their dogs for the sake of their own welfare as we have to kill cattle to support our existence; but I never felt so sad on account of human delusions as when, approaching the settlement, I suddenly saw several dozen stakes with needlessly killed animals hung to them.

Only in the village of Big Itkana had I an opportunity to witness the offering of bloody sacrifices to the kalaks representing guardians of the settlement (see Fig. 4 p. 37; also Plate IX, Fig. 1).

778 782 Sacrifices offered to the sacred hills and rocks (apa'pel, "grandfathers") — which are regarded as guardians of roads, and protectors of hunting — are placed on their summits or slopes. These may be dogs, or antlers of sacrificed reindeer. Plate XI, Fig. 2, (opp. p. 96), represents the sacred hill, situated on the seashore, close to the settlement of Mikino, in the direction of Kamenskoye. One of my drivers told me that this "grandfather" was very favorable to him. Once, when passing by, he had thrown a puppy to him, and on his way back he was met by a gray fox which was running to him, and which he killed with a stick.

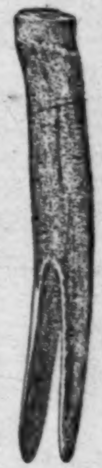

Fig. 42 ([illegible]). Bone Comb for preparing Sacrificial Sedge-Grass. Length, 22 cm.

782 314 Bloodless Sacrifices. — Bloodless sacrifices in the form of sacrificial grass, berries, blubber, meat, tobacco, tea, sugar, and other edibles, also of ornaments, are made to the fire, to the "owners," to the dead, and to the kalak-idols. Only the guardian of the settlement sometimes receives a dog-sacrifice. Besides this, the antlers of wild reindeer are piled up in front [321] of it, since they are also regarded as sacrificial offerings (see Plate XII, Fig. 1).[2]

Sacrificial sedge-grass is in use only among the Maritime Koryak. They comb it with a bidentate bone comb (see Fig. 42), which renders it as soft as flax, and make wreaths and necklaces out of it. According to Kraheninnikoff, the Kamchadal used sacrificial grass for the same purpose.

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[1] The distance between Paren and Gishiginsk is a hundred and fifty verst, or ninety-nine English miles.
[2] See also p. 37.

Ir Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1906 RY4 Koryak RY4

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Plate

778

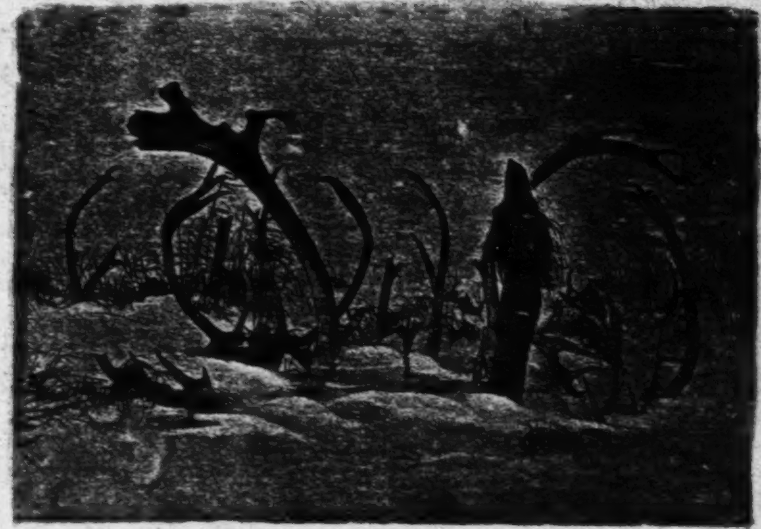

Fig. 1. Village Guardians, with Sacrificed Reindeer Antlers.

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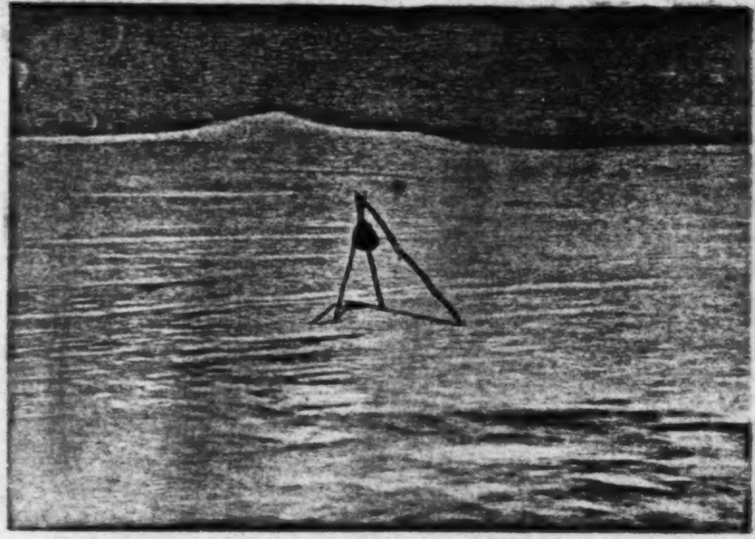

Fig. 2. Disposition of After-Birth.

The Koryak

[Facing p. 97]

782 While the sacrificial shavings (ina′u) of the Gilyak and Ainu are in themselves
314 sacred, the sacrificial grass (lau′te) of the Koryak, as such, is not sacred. It serves as clothing in ceremonial dances, and as dress and ornaments of the guardian figures. This grass, after having been charmed by incantations, is also used for medical purposes.

782 Food and ornaments are offered to guardian figures or charms, to sacred hills, to the fire, and to the dead. Meat and parts of killed animals are placed in front of the guardian figures, but usually they are simply smeared with fat. Tea, tobacco, scraps of woven fabrics, printed calico, or red cloth, and other trifles, are put upon the sacred hills. After every successful hunt, some meat and fat are thrown into the fire.

The feeding of the fire (Enalva′theñin) is a necessary attribute of the cult of the household hearth, and in some cases it seemed to me as though, through the fire, offerings were thus made to the Supreme Being. On the Taigonos Peninsula, when a drum was once brought out to me in the open without a cover, one of the women threw a piece of fat into the fire, lest The-One-on-High should send a storm for the transgression of the taboo. The dead are given presents, which they are supposed to take to relatives who have previously died; and these gifts are to be regarded as offerings.

PRAYERS IN CONNECTION WITH SACRIFICES. — Prayers addressed to deities and spirits during the ceremonies of sacrificial offerings are not lengthy. Generally they say, "This for thee" (Vo′tto gı′ñkın), without mentioning the name of the deity to whom the sacrifice is offered.[1] I will give here some prayers pronounced during sacrificial offerings, which I had a chance to hear.

During my sojourn on the Tılkhai River, the official elder of the Reindeer Koryak slaughtered a reindeer to The-One-on-High, that his reindeer-does might be safely delivered of their fawn; and he said, "Well let us live, Existence!" (Nıme′leu mıtvala′ikın, Vahı′yñın!) While offering a reindeer to the kala, he said, "This for thee, that thou mayst not be wrathful."

When the Reindeer Koryak smear the sacred fire-board with fat, they usually say, "Take good care of the herd!"

A Koryak in the settlement of Big Itkana killed a dog before starting on a journey, and said, "Take this, Thou-on-High!" (Vayo′ Gičhola′ıtıñ!) And when he sprinkled the blood on the ground, he said, "Take this, kala!" (Vayo′, kala!)

Soon after the winter solstice, the official elder (Russian, starosta) of Kuel offered a dog-sacrifice to the Sun, and, appealing to him, he said, —

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[1] Jevons (p. 245), in quoting Bastian (Der Mensch, ii. p. 109), who apparently borrowed the following from Krasheninnikoff, says, "The Koreks slaughter a reindeer or dog, put its head on a pole facing east, and, mentioning no name, say, 'This for thee: grant me a blessing;'" and he sees in this fact a survival of the custom of offering the totem animal itself as a sacrifice, when there was therefore no need of mentioning the name of the god. Of course, in this case the conclusion is incorrect, since the Koryak know to what deity they offer the sacrifice.

782

539

"Wu′tına	gıñkına′yit,	ti′tkıtit,	aᵉtta′pil	tɛ′ñtıñin."
"This	in thy side,	Sun,	a little dog	(I) delivered."

In Kuel, the Koryak Qaivi′lok smeared the guardian of the nets with the blubber of a seal which he had caught, and said, —

"Qakıntatva′tıtkın	qo′npıñ	eᵉna′an	mıtčı′nyıt."
"Give luck	always	thus	(I) will proceed."[1]

When the official chief of the Reindeer people of Taigonos went down to the sea in the summer to hunt seals, he killed a reindeer, and, addressing the sea, said, —

"Añqai′tıñ	qoyā′ña,	aᵘḷḷai	ha	gı′čɛ.	Ala′pka	gı′mma	yaq	yakyula′itın?"
"(To the) sea	(a) reindeer,	Oh, mother,	yet	thou.	(If) not lookest	I	how	for life?"

In free translation this prayer means, "To the sea (I offer) a reindeer; yet thou art our mother. If thou wilt not look, how shall we live?"

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[1] That is, smear.

VI. — BIRTH, DEATH, AND FUNERALS.

775 Birth. — Before a child is born, the Supreme Being sends into the
mother's womb the soul (uyi'čit) of some deceased relative of the child to be
842 born. The length of life of each soul is determined beforehand. Souls are
hanging on the cross-beams of the house of The-One-on-High. The duration of the earthly life of the future possessor of the soul is marked by the strap which is attached to the soul's neck or thumb. The shorter the strap, the shorter will be the life of the new-born. A drawing made by the Koryak Yulta, already described (see Fig. 40, p. 93), illustrates the Koryak idea of souls hanging in the house of the Supreme Being.

851 As soon as a child is born, it is given the name of the dead relative
whose soul has been reborn in it. The father of the new-born uses a divining-
553 stone called Little-Grandmother (An·a'pel) to discover whose soul has entered
774 the child. The divining-stone is hung by a string to a stick, the latter is
lifted, and the stone begins to swing; or it is hung from a tripod made of
787 small sticks. The father of the child enumerates the names of the deceased relatives on his and his wife's side. When the name of the relative whose soul has entered the child is mentioned, the divining-stone begins to swing quicker. Another way of determining the identity of the soul is by observation of the behavior of the child itself. A number of names are mentioned. If the child cries while a name is pronounced, it shows that it is not the name of the soul reborn in the child. When the proper name is pronounced, the child stops crying, or begins to smile. After the name has been given, the father takes the child in his arms, carries it out from the sleeping-tent into the house, and says to his people, "A relative has come" (Qaitu'mñin ye'ti). On one occasion during our stay in the village of Kamenskoye, a child was named after the deceased father-in-law of Yulta's son. The latter lifted the child, and said to the mother, "Here, thy father has come!"

If a mistake is made in divining the identity of the soul which entered the new-born child, something will ail the child after it has been named. Then this mistake may be corrected, and its name is usually changed by means of repeated divination.

Neither I myself nor my wife was present at a confinement, nor did we witness the divining while the child was named.[1] What I am going to describe here is recorded from what the Koryak have told me.

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[1] In every village, I made inquiries about pregnant women, asking them to call my wife when the confinement should take place, that she might become acquainted with the Koryak methods of midwifery; but the Koryak concealed all births from us. On two occasions women were confined in the villages where we were staying, but we learned of it only *post factum*.

746 774 After confinement, the woman is regarded as unclean for a month. During this time she must not take off her shoes in a strange house, nor should she bare her feet in her own house in the presence of strangers. For a year following confinement, she is expected to observe the following food taboos. She must not partake of ringed seal, white whale, fresh fish, or raw thong-seal. She is forbidden to eat whale-meat in the fall, but may do so in the winter. She may eat the boiled meat of a thong-seal caught in the river, but not if it be caught in the sea. A woman, after confinement, is permitted to eat reindeer-meat in any shape or form. There is no doubt that these taboos are intended to prevent the unclean woman from coming in contact with animals that serve as the source of subsistence of the tribe; but it is a striking fact that the taboos are observed in reference to sea-animals only. Other taboos are for the protection of the child. Children in general, and the new-born in particular, are, more than grown-up people, subject to the danger of becoming the victims of the kalau. Children's souls are very shy and inexperienced. The least fright may cause them to leave the body, and, after they have once left, they are unable to find the entrance that leads back into the body. They are also apt to lose their way. Therefore during the entire winter the new-born child must not be taken out of the house, where it is under the protection of the family guardians. In case of absolute necessity, the mother must keep it in her bosom under her coat, and must not take it out when in a strange house. Only after the spring equinox may the child be taken out of the house in safety. The after-birth is put in a bag and hung on a pole some distance away from the village (Plate XII, Fig. 2, opp. p. 97).

761 DEATH. — As with all other primitive people, death does not appear to the Koryak as a natural process, — most people are killed by the kalau, — but it happens that the Supreme Being and other supernatural beings may bring about the death of man as a punishment for an infraction of a taboo, or for a failure to offer sacrifice. Shamans frequently inflict death upon men. On the other hand, there is a tradition according to which it was Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) that caused people to die.

775 The soul (uyi'čit), or, to be more exact, the chief soul, of the man, frightened by the attack of the kalau upon it, deserts the body, and rises to the Supreme Being. According to some tales, the kala himself pulls the soul out of the human body, and sets it free to go off to the sky, in order to possess himself of the body or of the other souls of the deceased.

774 761 Though a man cannot live without a soul, there is apparently some other vital principle, or a secondary soul. I did not learn its name, and heard nothing definite relating to this accessory soul; but some vital principle[1] is

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[1] Mr. Bogoras says of the Chukchee (Chukchee Materials, p. 17), that they have five or six souls (uwi'rit). Many North American Indians believe that man has two or more souls, while the Yukaghir believe that he has three. As to the Yukaghir, I admit that the conception of these souls has been borrowed by them from the Yakut, with whom each of the three souls has a name of its own.

774 761 implied in the words wuyı'vı ("breathing") and wu'yıl-wu'yıl ("shadow"). Furthermore, the demarcation between life and death is very ill defined. The dead body is believed not to be deprived of the ability to move. The deceased may arise, if he is not watched. On the Taigonos Peninsula, the Reindeer Koryak told me that a Koryak, by name Ei'gelin, died a few years ago. It so happened that everybody in the house went to sleep, then he arose. When the people awoke, and saw that he was standing, they stabbed him with their knives; but he merely laughed. Then they tried to club him, but were unable to kill him. They dragged him to the fire, but could not burn him. He walked from house to house, saying, "Here, I am leading Ei'gelin." Finally a Russian undertook to burn him. He was given reindeer and a sledge, then he cut Ei'gelin to pieces and carted them away to be burned.

775 The soul does not leave earth at once. The person may be dead, but his soul is soaring high above him. The soul resembles a small fire. It is outside of the body during illness. If the illness is slight, the soul keeps close above the patient; and if it is severe, it is higher up, and farther away from him. Powerful shamans are able to cause the soul to return, and thus restore to life a person that has died recently. The Koryak Yulta, from Kamenskoye, told me that his father had died twice. The first time he died at sunset. A shaman, summoned from the Livaty settlement, spent all night beating the drum; and toward sunrise Yulta's father revived. He lived for a long time after that. After his recovery he told the people that he had been walking all alone in the other world for a long time. Finally he beheld a house, and near it he saw his fellow-villager Qatče'pin. He asked him, "How didst thou get here?" and Qatče'pin replied, "I sold to the Russian chief two dogs that I had promised to offer to the Supreme Being. On account of this I died." It so happened that Qatče'pin died the same night; and when Yulta's father revived, wood was being piled up for burning Qatče'pin's body.

776 761 Often death is brought about by attacks of the kalau, and it is believed that the kalau cut their victims. It is not quite clear how this is believed to be done. On the one hand, the kala seems to eat human flesh in the most material way, tearing out pieces of flesh from live people, and devouring their internal organs. The Koryak say that he likes human liver particularly well. On the other hand, the body of the deceased, before it is burned, does not show any signs of having been touched by any one. According to the Chukchee conception, evil spirits steal the soul (uwı'rit) in order to eat it, and they fatten it before feasting on it.[1] We find this conception in a clearer form among the Yakut. The evil spirits eat the soul kut, one of the three souls of men.

775 The Koryak have also a double conception of the country of the shadows. While the soul rises to the Supreme Being, the deceased and his other soul,

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[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 17.

or his shadow, depart into the underground world of the shadows, — ancient 775
people, people of former times (Peni′nelau). The entrance into this country is guarded by dogs. If a person beat his dogs during his life, he will not be admitted. These dog-guardians may be bribed, however. For this purpose, fish-fins are put into the mittens of the deceased, that they may give them to the dogs that guard the entrance of the world of the shades. The Peni′nelau live in the underground world in villages, just as human beings live on earth; and relatives live together in the same house. Every new-comer joins his own relatives. The inhabitants of the underground world take care of their relatives on earth by sending them animals, which they kill, and other kinds of food-supply; but they also punish them if they are displeased with them for one reason or another. Presents for dead relatives are put on the pyre when the body of a deceased person is burned. In Tale 43 it is stated that the deceased sent a kala to kill the inhabitants of a village because the young people used to play at night, and disturbed the old people.

As may be seen from many tales, the road leading from earth to the underground world seems to close soon after the passing of the dead. The deceased pass underground through the pyre, and the road closes behind them. In Tale 112 Big-Raven's (Quikınn·a′qu) daughter purposely permitted herself to be eaten by a cannibal in order to reach the country of the shades, and to bring back, before the road closed again, all the people that had been eaten by the cannibal.

The shadow of the dead, though not visible to all, is conceived of as an absolutely material double of the dead person. It is distinct from the body, of which only the bones are left if the person was eaten by the cannibal kala, or the ashes if the body was burned on the funeral pyre. In former times, communication between our world and the world of the dead was more frequent and less difficult than it is now. Men used to go down on purpose, or strayed there by accident, entering through a crevice in the ground, and came back again. At present, only shamans descend into the underground world.

In olden times, children killed their aged parents. This custom, which 888
still prevails among the Chukchee, is now completely abandoned. In some places, even the recollection of this custom has disappeared. The Maritime Koryak, for instance, deny ever having done so. They insist that this custom prevailed only among the Reindeer Koryak.

The relatives take good care of a dying man. If he is able to eat, he 763
is given the choicest pieces. If the agony lasts long, he is turned on his left side, because they think that thus he will die sooner. If there is another patient in the same house with the dying man, the soul of the former is tied, to prevent its joining the departing soul. For this purpose, the patient's neck is fastened to the bands of the sleeping-tent by means of a string; and the string is charmed so that it may detain the soul.

763 The person is declared dead when breathing ceases. Then word is sent from the house where the deceased is lying to all the inhabitants of the village. This is done in the following manner. The messenger ascends to the entrance of each house, and shouts, "Set out a noose!" (Nupā'lhata!) This is done for the purpose of preventing the spirit of death, or the spirit of the deceased, from entering into other houses. The messenger is asked from within the house, "Who is dead?" and he tells who has died, and goes away. Thereupon a blade of grass or a splinter, which represents a noose, is placed near the head of the ladder. One of the relatives of the deceased holds the head of the dead on his knees until all the inhabitants of the village have been informed. Little children are kept in their mother's or grandmother's arms. After all the neighbors have been informed, the deceased is placed on his bed. In Kamenskoye I was told that the deceased is laid by the side of his former bed. Somebody closes his eyes, and his face is covered with a fur robe. It is a sin to look at the face of a dead person.

Among the Reindeer Koryak, as soon as some one dies, a messenger is sent to the neighboring camps, informing them of the death that has occurred. The sleeping-room cover is removed from over the deceased in the house of the Reindeer Koryak, and the body is covered with a blanket.

764
171 FUNERALS. — The Koryak dispose of their dead by burning.[1] The Kamchadal, according to Krasheninnikoff, prior to embracing Christianity, threw away their dead to be devoured by dogs. The Chukchee, to the present time, use both methods of disposing of the dead. They are either burned, or kept to be devoured by wild beasts. The Yukaghir formerly placed their dead on platforms raised on posts.[2] The Kerek who live near the mouths of the rivers emptying into the Pacific Ocean, between Capes Anannon and Barykoff, and who have no timber or driftwood for building a pyre, let their corpses, dressed in funeral attire, down into the ocean. They tie the deceased on a long pole, tow it out into the sea, and then push the body into the water with staffs.

764 In former times, all work in the entire settlement was stopped before the burning of the dead. No one went hunting or sealing, nobody went to fetch wood, and the women did no sewing. At present this custom is not observed

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[1] Owing to this circumstance, it is impossible to procure Koryak skulls. In the spring of 1900 an epidemic of measles was ravaging the Koryak camps, carrying off numerous victims. Several large families were reduced to only one member. In some camps of the Reindeer Koryak there were so many dead, and such a small number of people who were in good health, that the latter were unable to burn all the dead. They would therefore carry their dead into the wilderness, where they would leave them, together with the reindeer sacrificed to them. Unfortunately it was very difficult to find the remains of the corpses, because, during the entire period of my stay in that region, the whole country was covered with deep snow. Moreover, the Koryak concealed the place whither they had taken their dead. Thus it happened that I found only one whole skull and parts of two others.

[2] Both the Yukaghir and the Koryak forms of funeral occur among the North American Indians. The custom of throwing away the dead to be eaten by dogs is met with, according to Prshevalski and Potanin, among the northern Mongols, and in ancient times used to be practised by the Parthians, the Hyrcanians, and the Persians (Jevons, p. 203).

in all the settlements. Only in the house where the body lies is no work 764
done, except the preparation of the pyre and of the funeral clothes for the dead. People from other houses come to assist in this work. The men help in preparing the pyre, and stay up during the night, while the women help in sewing the funeral clothes.

Before being burned, the body is clothed in special, beautifully embroidered 764
funeral garments. The coat is made of the skin of white fawns (thus white
appears to be the color appropriate to death); and it is nearly covered with 281
embroidery, especially in front, done with sinew-thread, dyed reindeer-hair, and 531
often also with silks of various colors obtained from Russian traders. The funeral garments are also trimmed with fringe and strips made of the soft downy hair of the young seal dyed red, and with little tassels of colored sinew-thread and hair from the reindeer's mane. They are ornamented, besides, with black and white stripes and pieces of soft skin, — the black being from young seals, the white from dogs' necks, — also with a border of black and white checks made of the fur of fawns' legs. The trousers and shoes, as well as the quiver for the arrows and the bow-case, and the cap and belt, are ornamented in the same manner. The lower edge of the coat, the sleeves, and the hood are edged with white dog-fur.

The coat of the woman differs from that of the man in that it is made of reindeer-skin with the hair side in. The hide is dyed brown with a solution of alder-bark in urine. The designs on the woman's coat are less complicated, and the embroidery less elaborate, than those on the man's. The way in which these clothes are made will be described in detail later on. Figs. 43-55 show funeral suits of a man and a woman, and a child's funeral cap.

Since it takes a long time to embroider and ornament such a coat, — a woman may be working on one coat an entire winter, — these garments are prepared in advance. Every Koryak has his funeral garment ready, but not entirely finished. It is a sin to finish funeral clothes completely, as, in such case, the person for whom they are intended will die soon. Thus the coat is made ready except the edge of the hood; the boots have no soles; the belt, no buckles, etc.; and after a person dies, a good deal of work remains to be done before the deceased is fully prepared for his journey to the other world. The women of the neighboring houses, under the supervision of some old woman, help in this work. Their final work is done openly, while the preparatory sewing and embroidering of the funeral clothes are done in secret. The women work on funeral clothes mostly at night, when everybody is asleep, or in the daytime if there are no strangers in the house. If a person comes into the house when a woman is sewing on these garments, they are concealed in a bag or under a blanket; for if any one should notice that funeral garments are being made, one of the inhabitants of the house would have to die. On the other hand, funeral garments should be as nice as possible, that the deceased

J: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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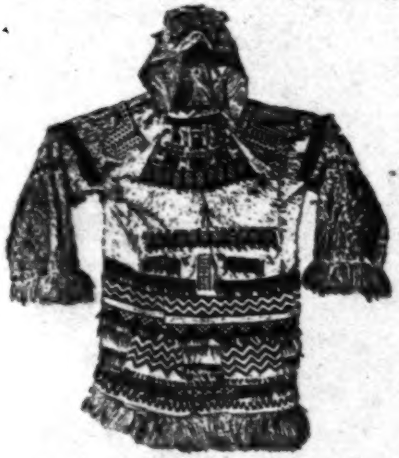

Fig. 43 ([illegible]). Man's Funeral Coat, Front View.

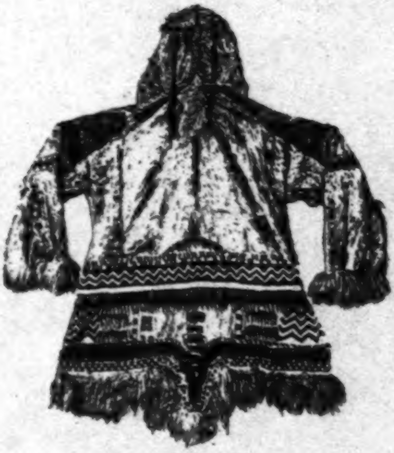

Fig. 44 ([illegible]). Man's Funeral Coat, Back View.

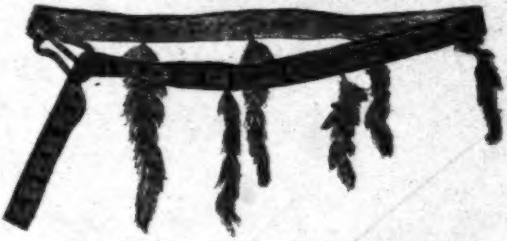

Fig. 46 ([illegible]). Man's Funeral Belt.

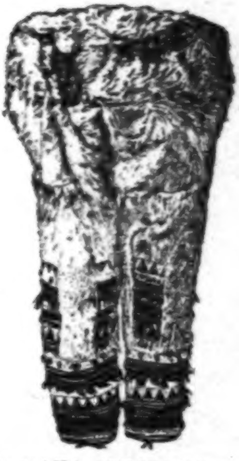

Fig. 45 ([illegible]). Man's Funeral Trousers Back View.

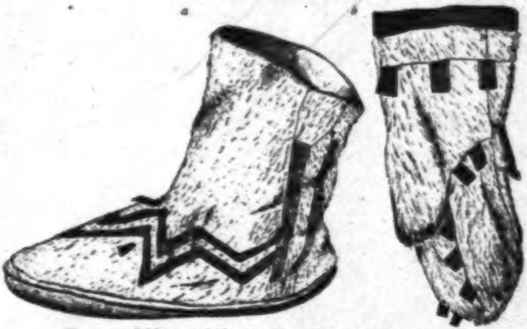

Fig. 47, a ([illegible] a), b ([illegible] a). Man's Funeral Shoe and Mitten.

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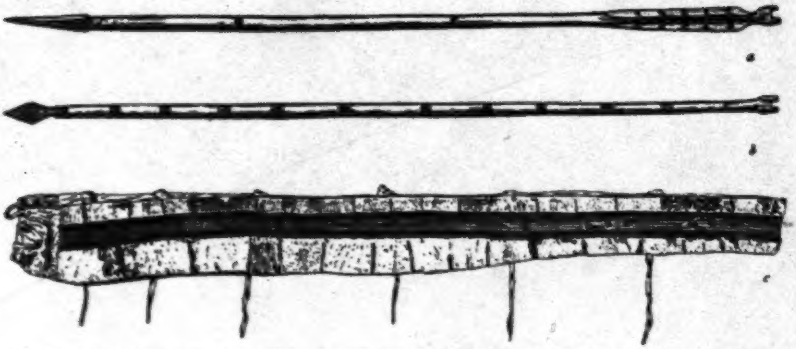

Fig. 49, *a* ($\frac{70}{1087}$ b), *b* ($\frac{70}{3871}$ c), *c* ($\frac{70}{3872}$). Funeral Arrows and Bow-Case. Lengths, 53 cm., 76 cm., 164 cm.

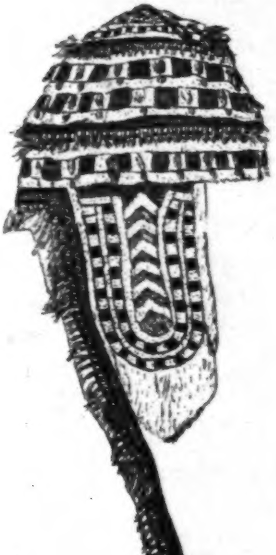

Fig. 48 ([illegible]). Man's Funeral Cap.

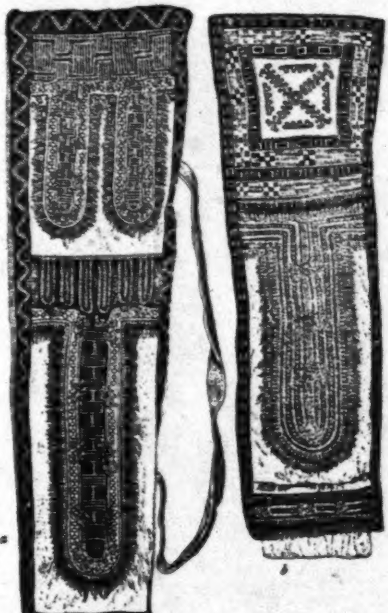

Fig. 50, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Funeral Quivers. *a*, Complete quiver (length, 81 cm.); *b*, Embroidered front part of a quiver (length, 71 cm.).

764 may have no cause for being displeased with his relatives for not providing
531 him well for his journey. The Koryak of some villages expressed to me
their sorrow at having been unable to dress properly their dead who died
281 during the epidemic of measles, which was raging before my arrival, since they had had no time to prepare the required funeral garments. One Koryak was taken ill while travelling, and died in a Russian village near Gishiga. The Russians buried him in a grave in his travelling-clothes. His relatives did not know afterwards what to do with his funeral costume. Being afraid that he might come to get it, they decided to send it to the Russians of the house in which the man died, and thus relieve themselves of their responsibility before the deceased. The Russians did not wish to accept it; but the Koryak who had brought it left it on the floor of the house, and drove away. Subsequently I bought this costume for our collection.

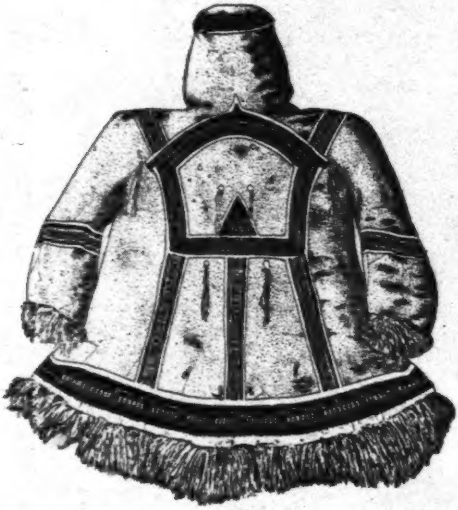

Fig. 51 ([illegible]). Woman's Funeral Overcoat, Back View.

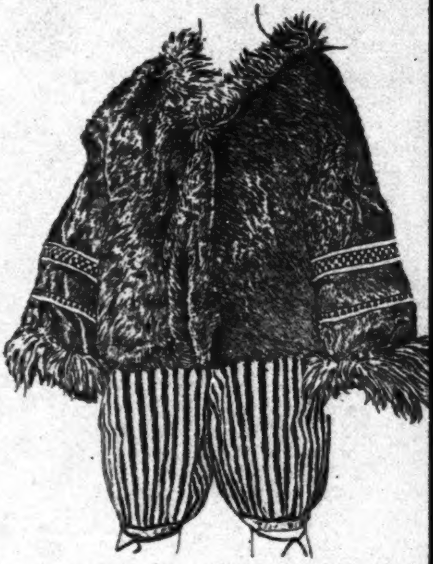

Fig. 52 ([illegible]). Woman's Funeral Suit.

531 Since the women of the Reindeer Koryak are less skilful in embroidering
432 than those of the Maritime people, most of the Reindeer Koryak buy the
ornamented parts of funeral garments of the Maritime Koryak. It is considered
764 a sin to give away or to sell ready-made funeral clothes. They must not even be carried into a strange house. Only in case a person dies in a neighboring house, and his funeral clothes are not ready, is it admissible to give

531 432 764 or sell garments in which the deceased is to be clad. The costume is finished, however, in the house of the deceased. At first none of the Koryak were willing to sell me their funeral clothes. In Paren they were unwilling even to show them to me, considering it a sin. At first, their only reply to all my questions referring to this subject was, that they had no clothes ready. The first costume I succeeded in buying was in Kamenskoye; but matters there were facilitated by the fact that I lived in a separate house (I settled down in the hut of the cossack who is living there by order of the authorities), and the clothes were brought without the knowledge of the other people. In another settlement, when funeral garments were brought to me for sale, I had to go outside to buy them, since the owners of the house in which I stopped did not wish to have the clothes taken in.

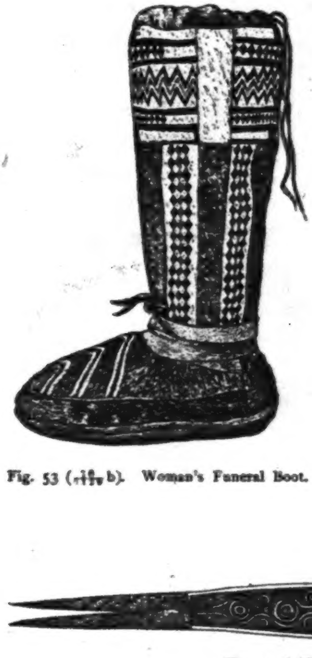

Fig. 53 ([illegible] b). Woman's Funeral Boot.

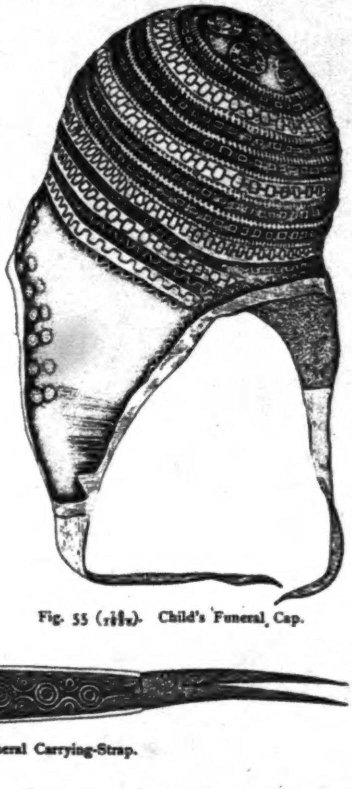

Fig. 55 ([illegible]). Child's Funeral Cap.

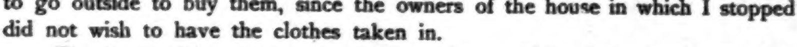

Fig. 54 ([illegible]). Woman's Funeral Carrying-Strap.

764 The deceased is not kept in the house long. If the clothes can be finished,

764 and fuel provided quick enough, the body is burned on the same day that the person died; otherwise the burning takes place on the second or third day.

While the deceased remains in the house, the people keep awake. The women work on the funeral garments; and the men, in order to keep awake, [77] play cards. At the present time, card-playing, which was, of course, borrowed from the Russians, seems to be considered a necessary part of the formalities to be gone through with in the house of the deceased. The Reindeer Koryak play on the body of the deceased, entertaining him in this manner. While the dead person is in the house, he is considered as a member of the family, and the people try to make it appear as though nothing had happened. It is supposed that he is participating in the meals of the family and in card-playing. It is therefore forbidden to wail for the deceased before he has been taken out. The women weep softly, quietly wiping away their tears.

The deceased is dressed in the funeral garments just before he is taken out. The people put on the clothes in a peculiar manner, to indicate that the dressing of the dead is different from the dressing of living people. For instance, the left-hand mitten is put on the right hand, and *vice versa*. The cap is put on with its front backward. When hitching up the reindeer which carry the body to the pyre, the Reindeer Koryak put the collar over the right shoulder of the animal, while in ordinary driving it is put over the left shoulder. Before dressing the deceased, one of his nearest relatives — mother, husband, or wife — wipes his face with wet moss, without, however, looking at his face. I had a chance to witness personally the burning of a baby girl who had died soon after birth. After she was dressed, her grandmother took her in her arms and rocked her as though she were alive. Another woman, versed in incantations, waved over the child a little stick to which wool of young seals was tied. In this manner she was driving away the dogs that are believed to guard the entrance into the country of the shades. Then she put a fin of a dried fish into the tiny mitten to give to the guardian dogs. Thereupon [775] she took a little forked alder-branch, charmed it, and gave it to the dead child as a protector (ine′njulaᵋn) and guide on her way. A child may easily lose its way to the other world, and the guardian dogs of the other world are more dangerous to it than to a grown-up person.

The grandmother took the child out, carrying it in her arms; but while she was ascending the ladder, a pole was put down from above through the entrance, and placed alongside of the ladder. It is assumed to be the ladder which the dead child uses. This pole was drawn up while the grandmother was ascending the ladder, and thus they pretended to pull out the little girl.

If a grown person dies, a strap is tied under the arms of the body, which, supported by a relative who ascends the ladder, is drawn out together with the pole, which is supposed to serve the deceased as his ladder. The Reindeer Koryak do not carry out their dead through the usual door, but under the edge of the tent-cover, which is lifted up. The ladder used by the dead person, that is the pole, must not be burned, but is thrown away.

The burning-place is not far from the settlement. There is usually a certain place where the bodies are burned. Some families have their particular burning-places. The Reindeer Koryak also burn their dead near camp.

After being taken out of the house, the body is put on a sledge and tied with straps to prevent its getting up. The Maritime Koryak usually draw the sledge themselves; but when there is no wood near the settlement, dogs are hitched to the sledge, and the body is taken to a place where wood can be obtained. On that part of the seashore of the Maritime Koryak which I visited, however, there is driftwood almost everywhere in close proximity. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, hitch the team-reindeer of the deceased to the sledge. These are slaughtered at the pyre, that he may have reindeer in the next world. The meat is eaten by the relatives and neighbors that assemble at the funeral, while the bones are burned on the pyre. Among both the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak it is customary for the neighbors to conduct the body to the burning-place. In some places — as, for instance, in Kamenskoye — women do not go along. During the burning of the child before referred to, I saw only two old women. One of them was the same who had pronounced the incantations, and the other was the dead girl's grandmother; and even they left before the pyre was lighted.

The ceremony of burning the child proceeded in the following manner. The grandmother carried the dead child in her arms, followed by the woman mentioned above, who was loaded with various bundles and bags. Next came the men and boys. Every one of them carried a log for the pyre. The burning-place (Me'lgene) was a quarter of a mile from the settlement. When we arrived at the burning-place, the pyre was being built up of rows of driftwood crossing each other at right angles. The new-comers piled up on it the logs which they had brought along. Two holes were dug near the pyre. The woman conjuror put into one of them the placenta of the girl, and covered it with snow and earth, that the dogs should not dig it up. In the other hole were placed a bag containing the scraps left from the funeral garments, the sweepings from the house, and everything left of the child's things and bedding, so that she should have no cause to come after them. The little girl's body was placed on the pyre, on the right side, as is done with all the dead. Then the straps that tied the legs and the arms were cut. Near the child was placed a piece of steel for striking a light, a woman's knife, an embroidered strap for carrying the woman's bag, a needle-case, needles, a comb, and some little bells. They put bracelets on her hands, and ear-rings under her cap. The old woman put also a piece of fat by the side of the body. It was to serve as provisions for the deceased. Alongside of the corpse, the old woman conjuror placed a large leather bag with presents for those who had died the preceding year.

764 year. Since during that period there had been an epidemic, and many people
had died, many gifts were sent. This was the first burning after the epidemic
769 was over, and every family made use of this opportunity of communicating with the country of the dead, and of sending something to a deceased relative. Every present was wrapped up separately in a piece of bright printed calico or red cloth, and charmed by the conjuror, who in her incantations enumerated for whom each gift was intended. The following articles were among the presents: sugar, tea, tobacco, larch-gum, beads (large and small), bread and biscuit that I had given them at their request, and reindeer meat and fat. Two agaric fungi were sent to one old man who had been very fond of agaric intoxication. No clothing was among the presents, and no fish or seal-meat, or anything connected with hunting at sea or with fishing in the river Apparently the Koryak, like the Eskimo, believe that everything relating to the dead must be kept away from the sea-mammals. After the presents had been given, the women went away, and the men started a fire a little aside from the wood-pile, and with it lighted the pyre in several places. The first fire-brand was placed by the official chief of the settlement (see Plate XIII, Fig. 1).

764 When the clothes were burned, and the child's head appeared, her grandfather took a pole, and, thrusting it into the body, said, "Of yonder magpie pricked" (A'ñaḷan vakı'tha tı'npınen); or, in a free translation, "This is the magpie of the underworld, which pricked." He imitated the actions of the magpie of the world of the dead, in order to inform the deceased that she was passing to another world, and must not return to the house. The further actions of the dead girl's grandfather had the same end in view. When the flames of the pyre were dying away, he broke some twigs from the alder and willow bushes that were growing near by, and strewed them around the pyre. These twigs represented a dense forest which was supposed to surround the burning-place. We left the place while the pyre was still burning. Before leaving, the grandfather went around the pyre, first from right to left, and then from left to right, in order to so obscure his tracks that the deceased would not be able to follow him. Then, stepping away from the pyre toward the houses, he drew with his stick a line on the snow, jumped across it, and shook himself. The others followed his example. The line was supposed to represent a river which separated the village from the burning-place

775 All these actions are identical with episodes in the tales of the "magic
flight." After being taken out of the house, the deceased is apparently regarded
171 as a spirit hostile to the living.

The question why and how dead persons become dangerous to those to whom they were near and dear in life, is one of the most difficult ones in ethnology. Fear of the dead is known among all peoples. I did not hear among the Koryak any tales of a direct transformation of a dead person into an evil spirit or kala; but the Chukchee have such tales, and they may also

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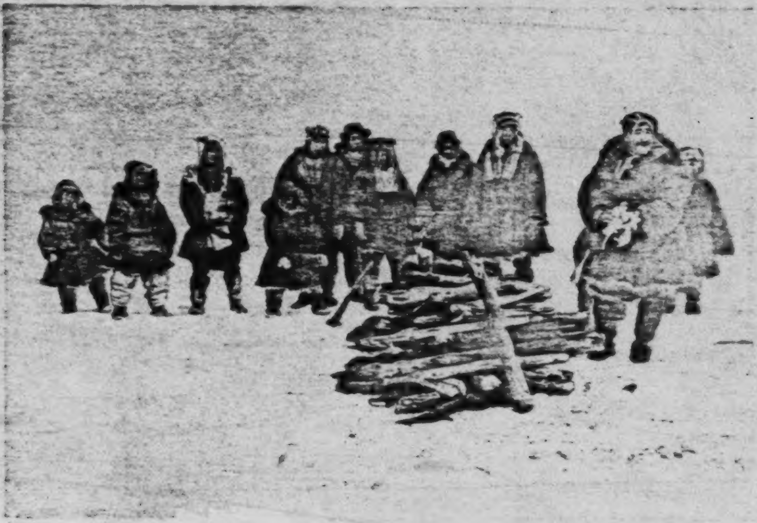

FIG. 1. CREMATION OF A CHILD.

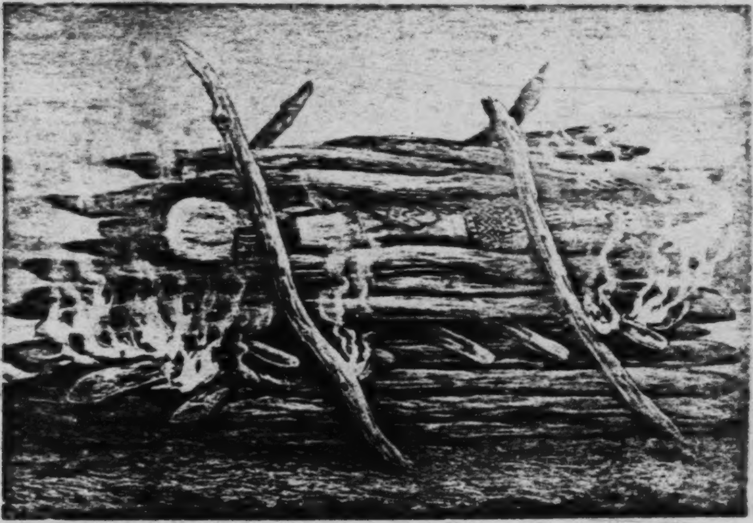

FIG. 2. FUNERAL PYRE.

The Koryak.

[facing p. 112]

775 171 be found among both North American and Siberian tribes, and in many other parts of the world. The Tupilaq[1] of the Eskimo, and the ghosts of the Indians, are equally pernicious to men. The Yakut,[2] Buryat,[3] Altaians,[4] and Mongol[5] hold similar ideas. They believe that souls of certain dead ones turn into evil spirits, which are particularly dangerous to the relatives of the deceased. Such souls are called yör by the Yakut, dakhu'l by the Buryat, usyu't by the Altaians, and evil oñon by the Mongol.

764 The Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Ridge dissect bodies before burning them, in order to find out what ailed them. Apparently this custom was in vogue among other Koryak as well. The Chukchee proceed in the same manner. The usage prevailing in some places, — for instance, among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula and the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay, — of piercing the abdomen of the corpse with a knife when it is lying on the pyre, and of stuffing the wound with some rags, in cases where death was caused by some internal disease, is to be regarded as a survival of this custom. According to the explanation of the Koryak, this is done for the purpose of guarding the child, which later on receives the soul and the name of the deceased, against the disease of which the departed died.

Immediately after the body has been taken out of the house, the bedding of the deceased is removed, and the place of the dead one is taken by some other inhabitant of the house. For ten days his place in the house must never remain empty, that the kalau may believe they were not successful in their "hunt" among the inmates of the house. The person who occupies the place of the deceased is called by the name of the family guardians, Ine'njula'n. If he leaves the house, somebody else takes his place. In some villages a bundle of grass which has been formed into the shape of a human body, and represents Ine'njula'n, is put in the place of the deceased.

765 Ten days after a death, the Maritime Koryak beat the drum, thus expressing their grief for the deceased. The Reindeer Koryak beat the drum immediately after the funeral. I was told in Kamenskoye that all the inmates of the house where a death occurred, and brothers of the deceased, although living in other houses, wear for ten days after the burning charm bracelets or necklaces braided of sinew-thread and hare's hair as guardians against the spirit of the dead.

769 Annual obits for the dead are still observed by the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Mountains. They consist in the slaughtering of reindeer in honor of the dead, and the piling-up of the antlers on their "graves;" that is, on the burning-places of their relatives. The antlers represent the reindeer-herds

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[1] Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 591; and Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 131.

[2] Trostchansky, pp. 82-87; Sieroszevsky, p. 622; Jochelson, Wandering Tribes, p. 34.

[3] Agapitoff and Khangaloff, p. 24.

[4] Potanin, IV, p. 130.

[5] Mikhailovsky, Shamanism, p. 17.

769 which are sent to the dead in the next world. At present the Reindeer Koryak of Taigonos content themselves, on the whole, with sending presents to the next world by those who have died recently, as is done by the Maritime Koryak. I have not observed any other manifestations of an ancestral cult among the Koryak. There are indications that other forms of disposing of the dead once existed. Two small rough wooden carvings representing female
766 figures (Fig. 56) — one with a child on her back, and the other one with two children (one on her back, and the other at her breast) — were obtained
778 by Mr. Bogoras of two Koryak women from Alutor, who laughed, when giving them away to him, as one would laugh at a thing which has lost all its sacredness. According to the statement of these women, however, the figures represent their female ancestor, who was buried, or, to be more exact, who was left dead in her house, together with her child. That such a form of disposing of the dead was in existence in olden times, may also be observed from the myths[1] and from one tradition about Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu), according to which he requested his children to leave him alone in his house after his death.

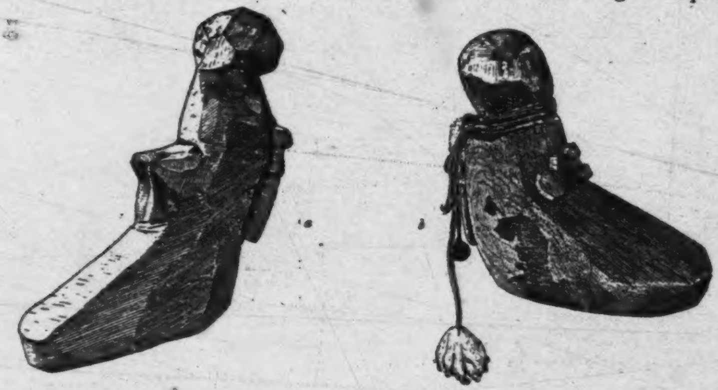

Fig. 56, a ([illegible]), b ([illegible]). Wooden Figures representing Female Ancestors. Length, 20.5 cm., 20 cm.

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[1] Tale 65.

VII. — GENERAL VIEW OF NATURE.

My studies of the religious life of the Koryak, and of their conception of the universe, lead me to think that their conception of nature approaches very closely the ideas of the Indians of the North Pacific coast. At the same time, however, the religion and the myths of the Koryak contain traces of Asiatic and Eskimo ideas. 774 772

The Koryak view of nature is most primitive. Not only all visible objects, but also the phenomena of nature, are regarded as animate beings. This idea of a vital principle residing in objects and phenomena of nature is essentially an anthropomorphic idea.

Everything visible in nature, and everything imaginary, — that is, all that is within and beyond the limits of our visual powers (as, for example, animals, plants, stones, rivers, a wind, a fog, a cloud, luminaries, spirits, and deities), — are thought of as material beings of anthropomorphic form. These anthropomorphic ideas are often schematic and incomplete. This is shown by the wooden images of "guardians." Since the Koryak have attained quite a high degree of skill in carving figures true to nature, and in endowing them with motion and life, we cannot help being surprised at the crudeness of the outlines of their wooden representations of the "guardians." This apparently corresponds to their vague anthropomorphic notions of invisible objects as they present themselves to their mind. [532]

On the other hand, this vagueness of their notions does not prevent them from being material. To their minds it is an undoubted fact that objects and phenomena of nature conceal an anthropomorphic substance underneath their outer forms. At the period of the appearance of man on earth, — that is, at the time of Big-Raven, which corresponds to the mythological age of the Indians of the Pacific coast of America, — the transformation of animals and other objects into men was quite a natural occurrence. All objects appeared in two states. One corresponded to the exterior form of things, serving as a cover; and the other, to the interior, anthropomorphic form. Every object may turn into a human being by casting off its outer shell. The myths of both the Koryak and the Pacific coast Indians are full of such episodes. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the ermine, the mouse, the raven, and other animals, are described as taking off their skins and becoming men. In the same manner the Fog people come out of a dispersing fog,[1] and a cloud turns into a Cloud-Man. By casting off their hard exteriors, stone hammers turn into Stone-Hammer people, who go fishing.[2] Fishes, also, take on the form of human beings. 773

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[1] Tale 94.

[2] Tale 48.

At that time, man also possessed the power of transforming himself. By putting on the skin of an animal, or by taking on the outward form of an object, he could assume its form. Big-Raven and Eme'mqut turned into ravens by putting on raven coats. Kílu', the niece of Big-Raven, put on a bear-skin and turned into a bear.[1] Eme'mqut put a dog's skin on his sister, and she became a dog.[2] Eme'mqut and his wives put on wide-brimmed spotted hats resembling the fly-agaric, and turned into those poisonous fungi.[3] The belief in the transformation of men into women after putting on woman's clothes, and *vice versa*, is closely related to this group of ideas.

The episodes of the mythological age must be interpreted in the light of this general anthropomorphic idea of nature. Thus Big-Raven associated with animals as though they were human; the Kamchadal Raven (Kutq) had intercourse with various kinds of inanimate objects to satisfy his lust;[4] and Big-Raven's daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut married a fog, a cloud, a stick, a tree, birds, fishes, and other animals.[5]

When objects assume a human form, or *vice versa*, the incongruity of size in the two states does not seem to be noticed. The little ermine or mouse becomes a man; a spider turns into an old woman; and Big-Raven transforms himself, not only into a raven, but into a reindeer-hair.[6]

Although transformations, or the passing of objects from one state into another, are implicitly believed in, it seems to be held that some of the properties characteristic of one state frequently remain after the object has been transformed into another. The sketch shown in Fig. 57, made by the Koryak Ka'mmake, and representing Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) as a raven, retains some human features, as, for instance, the upright position and the arms.[7]

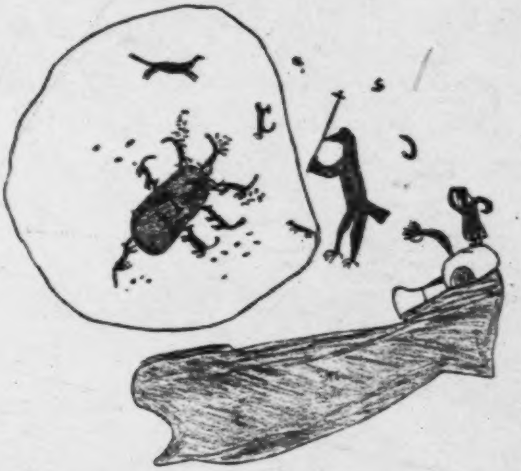

Fig. 57. Koryak Sketch illustrating the Tale of Big-Raven and Fox-Woman.

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[1] Tale 5.
[2] Tale 4.
[3] Tale 12.
[4] Steller, p. 263.
[5] See Tales 4, 33, 47, 55, 66, 81, 84, 86, 114.
[6] Tale 9.
[7] This sketch illustrates Tale 96.

In one story[1] a man whom Big-Raven made of a wiping-rag has the peculiarity of constantly moving his bowels; and in other tales[2] Raven-Man and also Big-Raven cannot break away from the raven's habit of devouring excrement. The Stone-Hammer people retain hard heads. Illa' knocks them against each other for his amusement.[3] One part of Tale 4 (p. 133) is particularly interesting in this respect. Looking for his sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Eme'mqut finds her in the village of the Cloud people, and notices that the people there, their reindeer, their houses, the pots that are hanging over the hearth, expand and contract like clouds. 773

In the time of Big-Raven there was no sharp distinction between men, animals, and other objects; but what used to be the ordinary, visible state in his time, became invisible afterward. The nature of things remained the same; but the transformation of objects from one state into another ceased to be visible to men, just as the kalau became invisible to them. Only shamans — that is, people inspired by spirits — are able to see the kalau, and to observe the transformation of objects. They are also able to transform themselves by order of the spirits, or in accordance with their own wishes. There is still a living anthropomorphic essence concealed under the visible inanimate appearance of objects. Household utensils, implements, parts of the house, the chamber-vessel, and even excrement, have an existence of their own. All the household effects act as guardians of the family to which they belong. They may warn their masters of danger, and attack their enemies.[4] Even such things as the voice of an animal, sounds of the drum, and human speech, have an existence independent of that of the objects that produce them. In Tale 16, Big-Raven sells his daughter to a seal for a song, which the last named spits into the mouth of Big-Raven. 773 822

At the time of Big-Raven there existed a number of beings possessed of particular supernatural powers. The first place among these belongs to the Supreme Being, known under various names, — the tribal deity that supervises the universe. 773 776

Another supernatural personage is Big-Raven himself, who is considered as the first man, the ancestor of the race, who set the universe in order.

The kalau, which are endowed with peculiar powers, represent the evil principle of primitive dualism.

The Supreme Being, who is generally rather inactive, assists only on rare occasions in man's struggles with the kalau. Their attacks are warded off mainly with the help of the family and individual guardians and charms. It seems to me that the living, anthropomorphic essence of the guardians is sent to defend man, and that it attains its power by means of incantations connected with the name of the Creator, that is, of Big-Raven. In this lies mainly the importance of Big-Raven in the religious life of the Koryak. During his life,

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[1] Tale 60.

[2] Tales 42, 47.

[3] Tale 48.

[4] Tale 22.

776 Big-Raven carried on an incessant struggle with the kalau, and now he guards his children against them.

773 There are some cases in which the invisible living essence of an object offers itself to a person as his guardian. Krasheninnikoff's tale of the "Stone Wife"[1] may be classed among such phenomena. It is told in this story, that a Koryak once picked up a stone in his pathway. The stone blew at him. He was frightened, threw it away, and afterward began to feel ill. Then he searched for the stone, took it along, and called it his wife. Thereupon he recovered from his illness.[2] Another example of objects offering themselves as guardians may be found in the worm amulet.[3] In this case an incantation cannot be dispensed with, since it increases the power of the guardian who has offered his services. It should be remarked, however, that an incantation does not possess unlimited power; and from time to time the Koryak must repeat the incantations over their guardians, that they may retain their power.

The shaman spirits (e'ñeñ[4]) belong to the class of guardians who offer their services to certain persons who afterwards become shamans; but they are more powerful than other guardians.

Side by side with the animate and anthropomorphic essence of objects and phenomena of nature in general, are also the owners or masters (e'tɪns) ruling over certain classes of things, or over large objects. The Supreme Being is also an owner, since he is the master of the upper world, of heaven. The master of the sea, and the master of the forest or river, are also called e'tɪns. Pičvu'čin, the god of hunting, who is common to the Koryak, the Kamchadal,[5] and the Chukchee,[6] is the master of wild reindeer and other wild animals.

As stated above, the idea of "masters" is to be regarded as a higher stage of religious consciousness as compared with that in which the animate essence of the object is identified or merged with the object itself. The idea of masters or owners is very little developed among the Koryak. It has attained a higher degree of development among the Chukchee, and a still higher one among the Yukaghir, who believe that not only classes of objects, but also individual objects, have masters, who are called Po'gil (*pl.* Pogi'lpe).

The identification of an object with its living essence is common to the Koryak and to the Indians of North America. The idea of "owners" is found among the Eskimo, who call the owner inua, as well as among other Siberian 776 tribes. In discussing the Koryak myths I shall point out the identity of the 773 elements of which they are composed with episodes from Indian myths, and how insignificant is the number of Siberian-Asiatic ideas in the Koryak tales. I will not attempt to draw any positive conclusions in regard to their religious conceptions, but will offer here some comparative material to students better acquainted with Eskimo-Indian beliefs. I consider the concept that the kalau form a separate class of beings absolutely hostile to men, as due to the influence of the Asiatic dualistic conception of supernatural powers. The North American Indians believe that dwellers of the sky, and cannibals evilly disposed toward men, reside side by side with benevolent agents in one and the same sky.[1] The Eskimo "master" may become a tornaq, a spirit which may be a guardian of man, or hostile to him.[2] It is true that many Koryak guardians are called kalak or kamak, and correspond in this respect to the Eskimo tornaq; but the class of kalau which commit exclusively evil acts does not seem to occur in American mythologies. The evil kalau correspond exactly to the Yakut abasyla'r. The Yakut evil spirits (abasyla'r) are cannibals, and particularly soul-eaters; and their characteristic peculiarity, like that of the Chukchee kelet and the Koryak kalau, is that they are fond of human liver.

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 222.

[2] The tornaq of the Eskimo are very much like this kind of guardian. They live in stones which roll down the hills during the thawing of the snow. These tornaq ask the Eskimo they meet with, whether they wish to take them as their guardians. In case of an affirmative reply, the stone rolls over, accompanying the man (Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 591); but the tornaq is regarded as an owner (inua) residing in the stone. It is worthy of note here, that stones play the rôle of guardians also among the Indians. The Teton, a division of the Dakota, regard certain small stones as mysterious, and it is said that in former days a man had one as his helper or servant (Dorsey, Teton Folk-Lore, in American Anthropologist, Vol. II, 1889, p. 153).

[3] See p. 43.

[4] At present the Koryak also call the Christian God by the name e'ñeñ.

[5] Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 102) calls it Pila'hčač; and Steller (p. 266), Billukai or Billučet.

[6] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 628.

For purposes of comparison I will state here briefly the classification of 776 supernatural beings of the Yakut, so far as it is known from my own investigations and from those of other authors. 171

The religious system of the Yakut is well developed. The class of creative and benevolent deities are called creators (ayï'). They live in the sky, on its eastern side. The majority of them have special names and functions. The Supreme Being and the chief of the benevolent deities is called Lord-Bright-Creator (Ayï'-Urü'ŋ-Toyo'n). He also personifies the sun. The Chukchee idea of va'irgin[3] apparently corresponds to the Yakut ayï'.

Abasy' (*pl.* abasyla'r) is a word which indicates everything evil and harmful in nature[4] and spirits hostile to men. Abasyla'r are divided into "upper," living in heaven, occupying its western part, and having Great Master or Great-Lord (Ulu'-Toyo'n) as their chief; "middle," living in the "middle place" (orto'-doidu'), that is, on earth; and "lower," inhabiting the lower (allarä'-doidu'), subterranean world.

Ičči' ("owner") corresponds to the Eskimo inua; but not all objects have ičči', only the more insignificant ones. They are rather malevolent than benevolent by nature, and approach closer the abasy' than ayï'.

Taŋara' is a word which at present indicates heaven, the Christian God, and images of the saints of the Greek-Catholic Church (icons); but formerly,

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[1] Boas, Bella Coola Indians, pp. 30, 36.

[2] Id., Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 236.

[3] See p. 24.

[4] See Pekarsky, p. 3.

776 171 before the Yakut had embraced Christianity, it was applied to household guardians and charms.

The Yakut shamans are divided into kind shamans (ayi′-oyuna′) and evil-minded ones (abasy′-oyuna′); and their guardian spirits are accordingly either creative deities or evil spirits. Owing to the decline of professional shamanism among the Koryak, this division is not marked, but it does exist among the Chukchee.

821 773 Among the objects believed by the Koryak to be endowed with particular power is fly-agaric (wā′paq, *Agaricus muscarius*). The method of gathering and the use made of this poisonous fungus will be described later on. It may suffice here to point out the mythologic concept of the Koryak regarding fly-agaric. Once, so the Koryak relate, Big-Raven had caught a whale, and could not send it to its home in the sea. He was unable to lift the grass bag containing travelling-provisions for the whale.[1] Big-Raven applied to Existence (Vahɪ′yɪñɪn) to help him. The deity said to him, “Go to a level place near the sea: there thou wilt find white soft stalks with spotted hats. These are the spirits wā′paq. Eat some of them, and they will help thee.” Big-Raven went. Then the Supreme Being spat upon the earth, and out of his saliva the agaric appeared. Big-Raven found the fungus, ate of it, and began to feel gay. He started to dance. The Fly-Agaric said to him, “How is it that thou, being such a strong man, canst not lift the bag?” — “That is right,” said Big-Raven. “I am a strong man. I shall go and lift the travelling-bag.” He went, lifted the bag at once, and sent the whale home. Then the Agaric showed him how the whale was going out to sea, and how he would return to his comrades. Then Big-Raven said, “Let the Agaric remain on earth, and let my children see what it will show them.”

The idea of the Koryak is, that a person drugged with agaric fungi does what the spirits residing in them (wā′paq) tell him to do. “Here I am, lying here and feeling so sad,” said old Euwinpet from Paren to me; “but, should I eat some agaric, I should get up and commence to talk and dance. There is an old man with white hair. If he should eat some agaric, and if he were then told by it, ‘You have just been born,’ the old man would at once begin to cry like a new-born baby. Or, if the Agaric should say to a man, ‘You will melt away soon,’ then the man would see his legs, arms, and body melt away, and he would say, ‘Oh! why have I eaten of the agaric? Now I am gone!’ Or, should the Agaric say, ‘Go to The-One-on-High,’ the man would go to The-One-on-High. The latter would put him on the palm of his hand, and twist him like a thread, so that his bones would crack, and the entire world would twirl around. ‘Oh, I am dead!’ that man would say. ‘Why have I eaten the agaric?’ But when he came to, he would eat it again, because sometimes it is pleasant and cheerful. Besides, the Agaric would tell every

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[1] See pp. 75, 76.

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man, even if he were not a shaman, what ailed him when he was sick, or explain a dream to him, or show him the upper world or the underground world, or foretell what would happen to him."

The Koryak tales, as well as my other records of Koryak beliefs, offer but scant material relating to their ideas of the creation of the world.

According to the Kamchadal traditions,[1] Raven (Kutq) created the earth; according to one of them, he made it out of his son Simskalin; while another states that he carried the earth down from the sky with the help of his sister, and set it firmly in the sea. In the Koryak tales, only one name is met with which has any relation to the creation of the earth: it is that of Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta), who married Big-Raven's daughter.[2] The Koryak ideas of the form of the universe are also very vague. The Chukchee believe that there are nine worlds, one above the other.[3] The Koryak, like the Bella Coola Indians, think that there are five worlds; namely, our earth (Nuta'lqen), two worlds above it, and two below. The lower of the two upper worlds is inhabited by the Cloud people (Ya'hala'nu); while the upper one is the abode of the Supreme Being. Of the underground worlds, the upper one is inhabited by the kalau; and the lower, called Eñna'nenak or Ñe'nenqal ("on the opposite side," "yonder"), is occupied by the shades of the dead, the Peni'nelau ("ancient people").

According to some informants, there is still another underground world, the one nearest to the earth, inhabited by people like those living on earth.[4] From other informants I was led to conclude that the two upper worlds are merged into one, which is inhabited by the Supreme Being and the Cloud-Dwellers (I'ye-nımyı'sa'n, "inhabitants of the heaven village"). The lower worlds are also merged into one, lower village (taivıvo'laken), in which there are separate sections for the kalau, the dead, and other inhabitants.

The underground kalau ascend from their world to our earth, and reach the lower world again, through the hearth-fire of human dwellings. The dead descend to the world of shades through the fire of the burning-place.

In the mythological age of Big-Raven, men could ascend to heaven, and get down into the underground world, with great ease. Now only shamans are capable of doing it. The kalau and other spirits have become invisible to common people, and their arrows can be discovered only by shamans. On the other hand, there are tales according to which men who visit the underground world are invisible to spirits. This calls to mind episodes in Indian tales relating to the arrows of men, which are invisible to spirits.[5] On the Kolyma River, I recorded an interesting tale relating to this subject. It was told by a Yakut; but I am inclined to think that the story was borrowed from the Yukaghir. "In the winter a hunter fell into a crevice in the earth formed

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 100.
[2] See Tale 111.
[3] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. XII.
[4] See Tale 110.
[5] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 87, 94, 99, 140, 190, 238, 254, 289.

773 by the frost,[1] and got into the underground world. There he found Yakut people, like those on earth. They had the same kind of horses, just the same horned cattle, the same kinds of houses, stalls, and storehouses; and the people were just the same. He went into a house, and found the people eating. He greeted them; but, instead of responding to his greeting, the host looked about the house, and said, 'What kind of an abasy′ (evil spirit) is talking here?' Thus the new-comer discovered that he was invisible. As he was very hungry, he went up to the table and helped himself to meat, fish, and frozen cream out of dishes and wooden plates that were standing there, so that their contents disappeared rapidly. The host scolded his children for eating so much, saying that everything was disappearing very quickly. One of these children was a pretty young girl. Having satisfied his hunger, the Yakut sat down near her, embraced her, and, following the Yakut custom, smelled of her. All of a sudden the people noticed that the girl began to writhe, and that she had an hysterical fit. As soon as the Yakut left her alone, she quieted down. At night he lay down by her side, and when he embraced her she again fell into a fit. On the next day a shaman was called, who donned his attire and began to beat the drum. Then the Yakut sat down near the girl and embraced her, and again she writhed and screamed. Suddenly the shaman said, 'I see! it is a spirit from the middle earth above us, who is strangling her.' He made his conjurations, and finally entered into negotiations with the Yakut, asking him what he would like to have to leave the girl alone. The Yakut replied that he would leave the place if they gave him a black fox. The shaman gave him the fox, and exorcised him. Then he took him out of the house and showed him how to get out to the earth; and thus, after prolonged wandering, the Yakut returned home and told of his experience."

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821 The luminaries are supposed to be beings of the same kind as men. As stated before, the Sun (Ti′ykitiy) is regarded as a deity, and is frequently identified with the Supreme Being; but in the tales he is regarded rather as a country inhabited by the Sun people, particularly by Sun-Man, his daughter and son.[2] In the incantation on p. 62 a woman of the country of the dawn is mentioned who is regarded as the sun. On the other hand, it is told that the Sun was swallowed by the raven.[3]

In some tales the Moon is described as a man;[4] in others, as a woman[5] whom Eme′mqut takes for his wife. In still another tale we meet with a Star-Man.[4]

I recorded the following names of stars: —

1. Ursa Major, Elwe′kyeñ ("the wild reindeer-buck") and Elwe′eñen ("wild reindeer star").
2. The Pleiades, Ke′tmet ("little sieve").

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[1] In the cold of winter, when there is little snow, the surface-soil cracks, and forms wide rents, which in spring are washed out by the melting snow, and become regular ravines.

[2] Tales 12, 21.

[3] Tale 82.

[4] Tale 114.

[5] Tale 29.

3. Capella in the constellation of Auriga, Yeke´ñelaqlın ("driving with reindeer"). 773
4. The belt of Orion, Ena´nvenanāña ("the handle of a scraper") or Ulvei-yinitilaᵋn ("he who carries the bow across"). 821
5. The Polar Star, Ačka´p-aña´ĭ ("nail-star").
6. The Morning Star, Pe´geten ("suspended breath").
7. The Milky Way, Yaʷveyem ("clay river").

Fig. 58 represents a map of the starry sky drawn by the Koryak Ače´pin of Kamenskoye. In addition to the Milky Way, he seemed to know the following constellations and stars only: (1) Ursa Major, (2) the Polar Star, (3) the Pleiades, and (4) Orion. Besides, the last two constellations are placed on the left side of his map, instead of on the right. Apparently Ače´pin, who drew that map, made a mistake when transferring the stars from the vaulted sky to the map.

The wind and the fog are also regarded as men living in settlements. Thus Wind-Man is called Kıtı´hımtılaᵋn or Kıtıy-nı´myisaᵋn ("inhabitant of the village of the winds"); while Fog-Man is called Yıña´mtılaᵋn, and Fog-Woman, Yıña´m-ña´ut.

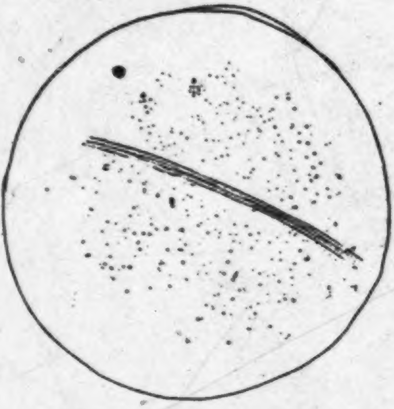

Fig. 58. Koryak Sketch representing Star Map.

773 177 There is no doubt that the primitive views of nature held by the Koryak are gradually breaking down. In spite of the fact that the Koryak come in contact only with the lowest representatives of Russian civilization, and that even the formal side of Christianity is being adopted by them very slowly, the new ideas presented in the mode of life of the Russians are destroying the Koryak beliefs at an ever-accelerating rate. Their religion is dwindling down to the mere observation of rites and of taboos the meaning of which is gradually being lost; and their religious myths are changing into meaningless tales and fables, or are being forgotten entirely.

778 177 It is very interesting to note that a critical attitude toward the ancient customs does not find equal expression in all places. For instance, the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula have assumed a critical attitude toward the sacred fire-board. Their official chief told me that he has no longer a sacred fire-board, that he prefers to have real shepherds for his herd. He considers the drum, however, not only a family guardian, but also the guardian of the herd. I was unable to acquire for the collection an old drum from the Taigonos

778 Koryak. In Kamenskoye the sacred fire-board is still treated with respect; but the significance of the drum as a sacred heirloom of the family has declined,
177 and I was able to acquire drums for the collection, all of which are ancient family drums. I have said before that indifference toward old customs may be observed more clearly in places nearer Kamchatka than in those near the Russian settlement on the Gishiga River. Near Kamchatka, for instance, in Kamenskoye, families may be found, which, though not baptized, show an inclination to acquire Russian customs. There are a few such families in Kamenskoye. They try to establish friendship with the Russians, and criticise
771 their own customs without constraint. Thus the old man Yulta told me, as a proof that dog-sacrifices do not serve any useful purpose, how his people were
177 once chasing in a skin boat after a whale, and could not come near enough to throw the harpoon. Then they killed a dog as a sacrifice; but the whale got still farther away from them. His scepticism, however, did not prevent him from killing a dog the next day, on the occasion of his son's departure. In the entire settlement, which consisted of thirty families, there is only one Koryak, Qači'lqut, who has adopted Christianity. To welcome a Russian he puts on a fur jacket made after Russian fashion; and when he comes to a Russian house, he makes the sign of the cross with an air of great importance before the images of the saints of the Greek Catholic Church without knowing, however, how to fold his fingers properly. Nevertheless he has two wives, and kills dogs as sacrifices to The-Master-on-High. When I asked him once how it was that he, a Christian, made dog-offerings, he replied, that since he became converted, he killed only puppies, but not large dogs. This was a half-serious reply; it would seem that he thus thought to reconcile the two religions. All this, however, tends to the destruction of the former religion; and were it not for the low level of culture among the Russian settlers themselves, and the ignorance of the local orthodox clergy, the Russianization of the Koryak would proceed at a much more rapid rate than it does at present.

162 According to the census of 1897,[1] out of a total of 7530 Koryak, 3387 were baptized; i. e., 45 per cent. They were distributed among the districts
771 as follows: —

	Christians.	*Pagans.*
Gishiga	1416	3018
Petropavlovsk	1727	948
Okhotsk	244	0
Anadyr	0	177

Of course a great many of the baptized are Christians only in name.

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[1] See Patkanov, p. 21.

VIII. — MYTHS OF THE REINDEER KORYAK OF THE TAIGONOS PENINSULA.

Camps on the Topolovka, Kilimadja, Chaibuga, and Avekova Rivers.

1. Sedge-Man's Daughters.

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Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut lived alone in the wilderness. Their mother used to carry food to them. They never saw their father's house: they were quite young when they were taken to the wilderness. They only knew their mother. All they knew of their father and their brothers was what their mother had told them.

One day Eme'mqut went out into the wilderness. Suddenly he noticed a house. Two girls, Sedge Man's (Velaute'mtıla'n) daughters, were living there. The younger sister came out, and said to Eme'mqut, "Let us have a shooting-match, and try to hit each other." — "I have not come here to shoot at you," replied Eme'mqut. "I went out into the wilderness, and came upon your house by chance." She said, "Go home and get your bow. People don't come to us without purpose. Whoever comes has to have a shooting-contest with us."

Eme'mqut went home, and took Illa' and Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu) along. "Come on!" he said to them. "There are two girls who wish to have a shooting-game."

The three of them went. They arrived at the house of the girls, and the contest began. Both sides used up their arrows, and not one was killed on either side. Then the elder sister said to the younger, "Get the arrow with the mouth." She got the arrow. The older sister shot it, and the arrow pierced the three men at once. Then the elder sister said, "Come, let us now put an end to all their relatives, that they may not come to us also." They went and killed Creator (Tenanto'mwᴀn), his wife, and all their relatives. Then they returned home.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut were sitting in their hut, waiting for their mother; but she never came. The girls were starving, but did not know where to go and find out about their parents.

One day, while Yiñe'a-ñe'ut was sitting in her hut, an earth-spider crawled from her forehead down to her chest. She took hold of it, threw it on the ground, and said, "Have you no other place to crawl about?" As soon as the spider fell on the ground, it turned into an old woman, who said to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, "I have come with news for you, and you throw me to the ground." — "Why did you come crawling upon my face, and not in the proper way?" rejoined Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. The old woman said then, "Sedge-Man's daughters killed your brothers, your father, mother, and all the rest of your folks." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut asked, "How shall we live now?" — "Kill those girls, and then bring your people back to life; but first of all get their arrow that has a mouth."

They accompanied the old woman. First they went to their father's house, and found all the people killed. On the following morning they started off to the two sisters. They arrived there when the sisters were still asleep. They entered the house, found the arrow, and concealed it. Then they went outside and shouted, "Girls, come out! We have come to have a shooting-match!" The two sisters did not come out, but said, "Girls, why should we fight? Better come in: let us live together." But Yiñe'a-ñe'ut said, "You killed our brothers and parents. We will not live with you: we will fight with you."

Those girls came out of their house, and their shooting-match with Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and her sister began. They shot off all their arrows, but no one was killed on either side. The two girls said, "Girls, let us stop shooting: let us live together." — "No," replied Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, "we will not stop now; let us finish first." Then those girls said, "Let us have a contest in shamanistic skill."

The elder of the two girls pronounced an incantation, and the sea rose, and flooded the earth. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and her sister had snowshoes on, and they were raised up with the water; but the two girls were drowning. The elder one ceased her incantation, and the waters receded. Then Yiñe'a-ñe'ut began in her turn. A storm broke out, and the snow drifted, and covered up the girls. They implored her, saying, "Stop; let us live together." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut caused the storm to stop; but she said to the girls, "I will not live with you. I want to finish our combat: let us fight again." She ordered Čan·a'i-ña'ut to get the arrow with the mouth. "Get it quick!" she said. "It is time to put an end to them, else they will keep annoying us for a long while." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut took the arrow and bewitched it, saying, "Just as you used to serve them, serve me: pass through one, and enter into the other."

The arrow went flying, and killed both sisters at once. Then Yiñe'a-ñe'ut revived her brothers. When they arose, Eme'mqut asked, "And where are those girls?" Yiñe'a-ñe'ut replied, "You were unable to master these women, and I killed them." — "Bring them also back to life," Eme'mqut said. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut revived the girls, and Eme'mqut married the elder one, who said to him, "Why have you married me? My brothers will come and kill you and me." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut went home, and restored all her people to life. Čan·a'i-ña'ut remained with her brothers.

Then they went to visit his wife's father. As soon as her brothers saw Eme'mqut, they killed him; but Yiñe'a-ñe'ut came at night, and revived him.

On the following morning his wife's brothers said, "It seems to be impossible to kill him."

After that they lived in peace, and called on each other. That's all (o'pta).

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Avekova River, June, 1901.

2. The Dogs of Creator.

Once upon a time Eme'mqut went with his folks and his guests to participate in reindeer-races. Only the Dogs were left at home. After the departure of their masters, the Dogs arranged a feast. They brought a leather bag filled with seal-fat into the house, put on fur coats in which dead people are burned, and beat the drum. They dipped the drum-stick into seal-oil, and poured seal-oil over all the fur coats. They cooked some seal-meat, and put it on a wooden platter. The Dogs said to one another, "Let some one divide the meat evenly." But a little Puppy that was among them said, "No, let us rather rush upon the meat all at the same time: let every one get as much as he can take hold of." The Dogs did so. They threw themselves upon the platter. Of course, the big Dogs took the largest part, and the little Puppy got a very small share. The Puppy went outside and sat down in front of the house, while the rest of the Dogs still continued beating the drum. Suddenly the Puppy noticed that his masters came driving back. He howled in order to warn his comrades; but the other Dogs did not believe the Puppy, and continued beating the drum. Thus their masters found them in the house. They threw them out of the house. The Dogs grew angry, and ran away into the wilderness.

Creator (Tenanto'mwan) said to Eme'mqut, "Go with your wife to look for the Dogs." They drove off on reindeer-sledges. A violent gale with drifting snow broke out. Eme'mqut and his wife lost their way, and came to the house of a kala. Eme'mqut's wife said, "I will go and see who lives there." She climbed up on the underground house, looked into the opening, and saw an old man on the crown of whose head were two lakes with two ducks swimming in them. She went down from the house, and said to her husband, "We have come to the house of a kala. The old man has two lakes on his head, with two ducks swimming in them."

Suddenly the bear-dog commenced to bark. The old man's sons looked out from the house, and, seeing Eme'mqut and his wife, they said, "Food has come to us of its own accord." — "What kind of food?" said Eme'mqut's wife. "I am your sister." The young men ran to their father, and said, "The newly-arrived woman says that she is our sister." The old kala said to his sons, "Go and ask her who her father is." They went and asked her. She replied, "My father has two lakes on his head, with ducks swimming in them." The kala's sons reported her reply: and, after having thought for a while, the old man said, "Oh! I remember now. I was once eating some marrow, then I put it away for a while; and when I wished to take it again, the marrow was gone. That marrow must have become a daughter of mine. Go out and tell them to come in." Eme′mqut and his wife entered the house. The kalau set human flesh before them. The woman said to the old man, "Your son-in-law does not eat human flesh: give him some reindeer-meat." They cooked some meat for him, and she made believe that she was eating human flesh; but, as a matter of fact, she did not put it into her mouth, but into her sleeve. Thus they staid at the kala's house for two days. Then the gale ceased, and they drove home. That's all.

Told by Ty′kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Avekova River, June, 1901.

3. Eme′mqut in Search of his Brother.

Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀn) lived in affluence. He had a large herd of reindeer. His sons, Eme′mqut and Big-Light (Qeskɪn·a′qu), always staid in the pasture-ground. They would come home only in the daytime, and at night they would go back to watch the reindeer. One morning Eme′mqut woke up among the herd, and discovered that his brother was not there. He looked for him among the reindeer, but did not find him, and thought that he must have gone home alone. He went home and said to his folks, "Has brother been here?" They replied, "He left last night, and we have not seen him since."

Eme′mqut travelled all over the country, making inquiries, but could not get any information about his brother. When he was returning home, he noticed a small house in the wilderness. He entered, and found an elderly woman in the house. She asked Eme′mqut, "Why did you come here? No one ever comes to me." — "I am driving all over the country, looking for my brother. Thus I happened to come upon your place." — "You will not find him," she said. "If you will not betray me, I will tell you where your brother has been taken to." — "I will not tell on you," Eme′mqut answered. "The kalau have killed your brother, and carried him off to the other side of the sea, to their settlement (kala′-nᴇ′myičan). My brothers live there too; but I have been carried into the wilderness, that I should not tell any one that your brother had been killed. When you go there, take along some bracelets and needle-cases as presents for the girls. They will then tell you just where your brother is."

Then Eme′mqut went home. His father met him, and said, "You must have discovered something, since you have been away such a long time." —

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"Yes," he replied, "I have been told that the kalau killed my brother." His father said, "Don't go to look for him. He was killed, that cannot be helped. They will kill you too." — "Let them kill me," Eme'mqut replied. "If they have killed my brother, let them kill me too."

Eme'mqut took long walks in the wilderness, and climbed mountains, in order to develop his strength. He would carry huge stones on his shoulders until he became exhausted; he would support heavy weights on his outstretched arms; he would pull up trees, and break tree-trunks with his fists. Then he said, "I am a strong man: now I will go to the kalau."

He made some bracelets and needle-cases, and started. On his way he stopped at the house of the woman who had given him information before, to inquire about the trail. She said to him, "Don't go! They will kill you." — "I shall go, anyway. Tell me the way," he said. Then the woman said, "Go straight ahead. Soon you will see some old human bones; then you will pass some fresh human bones; then you will drive over the bodies of people who were killed long ago, finally over bodies of people just killed; then you will see the village in which my brothers live; and beyond that is the village of the kalau."

Eme'mqut went. Soon he saw piles of old human bones, then there were fresh bones on the trail, then decaying bodies of people; finally he saw the fresh bodies of people recently killed. At last he saw a settlement. Seeing that Eme'mqut was driving up to them, the old men from the settlement said to their sons, "Somebody is coming! Let us have a ball-game, boys, to meet the guest." They began to play. Eme'mqut arrived, and joined the game, and none of them was able to match him. Then they stopped playing. The old men asked him, "What have you come here for?" — "I am looking for my lost brother," he answered. "Nobody has ever come here: he is not here," the old men said.

They entered the house, and gave Eme'mqut to eat. When they were about to go to bed, Eme'mqut went out. Then he overheard a conversation between two girls, who did not notice his presence. One of them said, "Eme'mqut has come to-day, and the kalau are going to kill him to-morrow."

Eme'mqut went up to the girls, gave them bracelets and needle-cases, and asked them about his brother. "It is true," they said, "the kalau killed your brother, and carried him away to their settlement." Eme'mqut returned to the house and went to bed. When he arose in the morning, the old men said to him, "The kalau are coming. They will kill you."

The kalau arrived, and began to play with the people. One of the old men said to Eme'mqut, "Let me hide you in my belt, that they may not kill you." The old man concealed him in his belt, and began to fight with the kalau. When the kalau struck a man over his head, his skull broke to pieces. Suddenly Eme'mqut freed himself from the old man's belt, and joined in the x 773 539 fight. He hit the kalau over their heads; and as soon as he struck at a head, it would fly off. Thus he killed all the kalau. Then he said to the people of the settlement, "Come on to their village. Let us put an end to them: otherwise their children will grow up, and will kill people." They went and killed all the women and children with their clubs.

Eme′mqut said to the old people, "Take all their things, and I will only take my brother." He soon found his brother's flayed body. His skin was spread over a bed, like a reindeer-skin. He took the skin along, and drove away.

Eme′mqut looked for a shaman to revive his brother. He was unable to find one for a long time. Finally he found Broad-soled-One's (Umya′ılhın)[1] daughter. "I will try to revive a wild reindeer from one of its vertebræ," she said, "and then I will restore your brother to life." She began her incantations over the vertebra, and suddenly a wild reindeer got up and ran away. "Now," she said, "I know that I shall be able to revive your brother too." Eme′mqut took her home. There they spread a white reindeer-skin, put Big-Light's skin on it, and covered it with another reindeer-skin. Broad-soled-One's daughter began her incantations. First, two legs appeared from under the skin, then arms, then a head was thrust out, then the skin cover began to rise. Finally Big-Light arose. They poured blood of a freshly slaughtered reindeer over his head, then he was given the marrow to taste, and they asked him, "Do you taste the marrow?" — "No," he replied, "it is just like a piece of wood." Then they poured more reindeer-blood over his head, and again gave him some marrow to taste. "Well, do you taste it now?" — "Yes," he said, "the marrow tastes just as sweet to me as it used to be when I was watching the reindeer-herd."

Thus Big-Light was completely restored to life. He married the shaman girl, and they lived comfortably. That's all.

Told by Ty′kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Avekova River, June, 1901.

4. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and the Cloud People.

It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀɴ) lived. His son Eme′mqut once said to his sister Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, "Let us go and hunt wild reindeer." While they were preparing to go, Miti′ said to her daughter, "Here, take this dog-skin. When your brother starts from your camp to go hunting, and leaves you alone in the tent, let him throw this skin over you. Then you will turn into a dog. Then the young men who may happen to come up to your place during your brother's absence will not want to marry you."

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[1] A name of the wolf used in tales (see p. 89).

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Eme′mqut and his sister left and went hunting. They put up a tent and settled down there. Every time, before Eme′mqut left the tent, he would put the dog's skin over Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, and she would be transformed into a dog.

Once Eme′mqut, after having killed a reindeer, met Envious-One (Nɪpa′ĭ-vatɪčñɪn), who was also out hunting. Envious-One said to Eme′mqut, "We go out hunting, and are unable to procure any wild reindeer, while you always succeed in killing some." — "If you are unable to get them yourselves, you may take some of my meat," replied Eme′mqut. Envious-One said, "I will go with you to your tent, and will take the meat from there." They went. Envious-One entered Eme′mqut's tent, and, seeing the dog, he said, "What a nice dog you have!" But Eme′mqut only said, "What is the use of looking at the dog? Better eat, and take some meat home."

Envious-One ate, put some meat into his bag, and carried it home. At home he said, "We are unable to kill any wild reindeer, but Eme′mqut kills them. He has also a fine dog at home."

Envious-One got up the next morning, and went to Eme′mqut's tent while the latter was away. The dog was tied to a post. He played with it, took off all his clothes, and kept on fooling with the dog. Suddenly it broke loose, and ran away.

The dog ran and ran until it was exhausted. Then it stopped, took off its skin, and became Yiñe′a-ñe′ut again. She looked, and noticed that the place around her was strange to her. She went farther, and soon came up to a tent. She entered, and found there a girl by the name of Cloud-Woman (Ya′hal-ña′ut). Cloud-Woman asked her, "Where are you going?" Yiñe′a-ñe′ut replied, "I was turned into a dog. Envious-One came and played with me; but I did not care for him, so I broke loose and ran away." Cloud-Woman said, "Well, let us live here together. Some people are serving for me at home; and my brothers have placed me here while the people are serving there." Thus the two girls settled down together.

Eme′mqut came back from his hunt, and found only a remnant of the strap. The dog was not there. "Envious-One must have been here, and must have tried to play with her, so she broke loose and ran away," thought Eme′mqut. He went home and told his father that his sister had run away, apparently to escape Envious-One, who must have been in the tent during his absence. To this Creator replied, "It is hard to look for her now, during the summer. Wait until winter comes, then you may look for your sister."

Summer passed away; and as soon as snow had fallen, Eme′mqut began to drive about to all the camps of the Reindeer people, but he could not find his sister anywhere.

One day when Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and Cloud-Woman were sitting in their house, a violent storm broke out; but, instead of snow, reindeer-hair was falling down. Cloud-Woman said to Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, "Hide yourself. It is my younger sister who is coming. If she sees you, she will tell brother about you when she gets home. He will marry you, and I shall again be alone." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut hid herself. Cloud-Woman's sister came. Cloud-Woman said to her, "Why have you come so early?" Her younger sister replied, "Why don't you love me any more? Heretofore you used to say all the time, 'Stay with me, stay with me!' and now you don't want me to come. It seems that you have a friend here." — "How can any one be here?" replied Cloud-Woman. "You always come just for a short time, and just unsettle me. I feel still more lonesome afterwards, when I am left alone. I feel much better if I am left alone altogether." Her younger sister went home and said to her mother, "There seems to be some one with sister. Heretofore, when I used to go to her, she would beg me to stay, and now she chases me away." — "Why, who can be with her?" said her mother. "I suppose that she wants you to return to me soon to help me around the house."

After a long time had passed, Cloud-Woman's sister came to visit her again. Again she came preceded by a violent storm of reindeer-hair. As before, Cloud-Woman asked Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to hide herself. She did so, but in her hurry forgot to hide the work on which she was engaged. Cloud-Woman's sister came, and said, "I told you that there must be some one with you here. Here she has left her sewing." — "Who should be here with me?" replied the older sister. "This is my work. I am working on two pieces at once. When I get tired of one, I take up the other." — "No," replied the younger sister, "I know your work. You don't embroider as well as this. These are fine stitches, while yours are large and far apart." The younger sister staid there a little while, and went home. She went to her mother, and said, "Surely some one is stopping with sister. I saw some very fine and close sewing there. Sister cannot embroider so well." But her mother said, "Perhaps it is just as your sister has told you. She makes fine stitches until she begins to feel lonely, and then, when she gets tired, she begins to make her stitches far apart."

In a few days Cloud-Woman's sister came to her suddenly, without being preceded by a storm, and there she found Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. "Well, sister," she said, "was I not right when I said that you had a friend?" — "Yes, that is true," Cloud-Woman answered, "but don't tell at home that you have seen my friend here with me." — "I am not going to tell," said her sister. The three girls spent the whole day together. When it became dark, the younger sister went home. Before she had left, her elder sister warned her again, saying, "Don't tell anything at home, else they will take away my friend from me, and I shall again remain alone. Now you may come here every day."

When the younger sister arrived in the settlement of the Cloud people, her mother asked her, "Why did you stay so long with your sister?" — "Because I found a girl at her house. She tried to hide her from me. She says that she is Creator's daughter." Her mother said to her, "Don't tell your brothers about it." — "No, I won't," the girl replied.

Soon her brothers came. The girl said to her mother, "Cover me up with something. I have a very strong desire to tell my brothers about Yiñe'a-ñe'ut." Her mother covered her over; but soon the girl came out from her hiding-place, and said, "Mother, I will tell them." Her brothers heard it, and questioned her. Then she told them what she had seen. She said, "Creator's daughter is stopping with our elder sister, but she asked me not to let you know about it."

When all had gone to bed, the oldest of the brothers, Cloud-Man (Ya'hala'n), descended into his elder sister's house, awakened Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and inquired where she had come from. Cloud-Woman awoke, and asked him what he had come for. He replied, "I want to marry your friend, and take her up to our settlement, together with you, so that you may not be left alone any more." Cloud-Man took the two girls and carried them up.

Down on earth Eme'mqut had visited all the villages and camps, and could not find his sister anywhere. Finally he ascended to the village of the Cloud people, to the place whence clouds descend to the earth. When he arrived, he was invited to a ball-game. They played a football-match, and no one was able to match him in power, or skill in handling the ball. "Stop playing," said old Cloud-Man to his sons, "you are unable to overcome the visitor."

Eme'mqut stopped outside to look at the reindeer-herd. Suddenly he noticed that the herd began to decrease in size, then it increased again, contracting and expanding like clouds. He looked at the tent, and it also contracted and expanded. He went inside, and saw that the kettles over the fireplace also contracted and expanded continually, like clouds. He asked his sister whether she liked the country. She answered, "At first everything appeared to me as it does to you now; but soon I became accustomed to the country, and things don't appear to be now increasing in size, now decreasing."

On the following morning, Eme'mqut went down from the Cloud settlement and returned home. His father and mother asked him, "Well, have you found your sister?" — "Yes, I have," he replied. "Is she getting along well there?" asked Creator. "She says that she is getting along well; but everything in her country is continually changing its size," said Eme'mqut. "That is the way of the Walking-Cloud-Men (Ilyuyiñe'mtila'nu)," said Creator. "No, she will not like it there. I will cause her to come down to the earth."

Creator took an old bear-skin, and beat it with a stick. At once a violent wind-storm broke out, with a heavy fall of snow. It drove the moving clouds, and tore out Yiñe'a-ñe'ut from among them. She fell down to earth, and happened to strike the house of two kalat,[1] two cousins. One of them hunted human beings; the other one, wild reindeer. The latter said to his cannibal

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[1] Kalat is the dual form of kala (*pl.* kalau).

773 539 cousin, "Go and see what it was that knocked against the roof of our house." He went, saw the girl lying there, and at once began to lap her with his tongue. He intended to eat her up, and did not return to the house for quite a while. Then his cousin, whose name was Evi´kala‛n, went out, looked at the girl, and pushed away the cannibal, saying, "Don't touch her. We will rather both of us marry her." The cannibal consented. They brought Yiñe´a-ñe´ut to her senses, and lived with her. But the cannibal still desired to eat her. Every time the three went to bed, he would attempt to lap her; but Evi´kala‛n always restrained him.

One day the two cousins went away hunting. Before leaving, Evi´kala‛n said to Yiñe´a-ñe´ut, "Each of us has a mother, and both are cannibal women. If they should come here during our absence, hide yourself, else they will eat you."

They went away. After they had left, Yiñe´a-ñe´ut went out, and heard the voices of women. One of them said, "If my son has killed a man, he surely will have left some flesh for me." — "My son does not eat any human flesh," said the other, "and I shall find nothing." — "I will divide with you if I find any human flesh."

Yiñe´a-ñe´ut went into the house. There was a large stone in the house. She entered it, and hid in it. When the women entered the house, they said, "It smells of a human being here." They searched everywhere, and the scent led them to the stone. They bit it, but were unable to bite through. Finally they left and returned home.

When her husbands came, Yiñe´a-ñe´ut told them that their mothers had been there, and had come pretty near eating her. Evi´kala‛n said to his cousin, "Go and bring some reindeer. We will drive our wife to our mothers'. We will let them know that she is our wife." The cannibal brought the reindeer; and the two cousins took their wife to their mothers, and said to them, "This is our wife." — "Then she must have been in the stone," they said. "Had we known that, we should not have touched her: it is a shame to eat one's own daughter-in-law." They staid with their mothers. Soon a son was born to Yiñe´a-ñe´ut. She said to Evi´kala‛n, "If it were not that my other husband is a cannibal, I should have asked you to take me to my father's village; but I am afraid that he may eat some one there." — "Let us go," said Evi´kala‛n. "If cousin should touch any one there, I will kill him. I will cause him to die a cruel death."

They started off. When they arrived at Creator's house, the cannibal went up to all the people to lap them; but Evi´kala‛n restrained him. At night, when every one had gone to bed, Creator heard some one approaching stealthily. It was the cannibal. Creator ordered him to go to bed, and not to touch people.

On the next day Creator prepared a seal-stomach; and at night, after

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all had gone to sleep, he caused the cannibal to fall sound asleep, then he cut open his belly, took out his cannibal-stomach, and put the seal-stomach in its place.

On the following day the cannibal arose with the rest of the people. He ceased to throw himself upon people, and stopped eating human flesh. "Now," said Creator to his daughter's husbands, "you may call on me often."

Thus they lived: they would go home, and then again go visiting Creator. That's all.

Told by a Reindeer Koryak, in camp on Avekova River,
June, 1901.

5. Eme'mqut and Grass-Woman.

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) lived. His son Eme'mqut was making snowshoes for himself. When he had finished them, he said, "I am going to try my snowshoes." He put them on and went up the river. Suddenly he noticed two underground houses. The old Root-Man (Tatqa'hıčñın) was outside, planing a sledge-runner with an adze. Seeing Eme'mqut, he said, "Ehe! a guest has come! let us go into the house." They went. The old man ran ahead, and said to his daughters, "Wash yourselves. A guest has come, and he will laugh at you because you are so dirty." At once the girls set about washing themselves, and in the mean time Eme'mqut entered. Some of the girls had time to wash only half of their face. Eme'mqut sat down. Root-Man's wife said to her daughter, Grass-Woman (Veᵘai), "Go and fetch some dried fish for the visitor." Eme'mqut only looked at Grass-Woman, when he fell in love with her. He tried to woo her then and there. He served Root-Man for Grass-Woman, but he could not take her. Her father was willing, but she resisted. Whenever Eme'mqut attempted to take her, she would run away.

Eme'mqut's father thought at home, "Where may Eme'mqut have gone to? He went out for a little while, and has not come back." Eme'mqut was still serving and working for Grass-Woman, but could not get her. Then he went home for a time. When he got home, his father asked him, "Where have you been all this time, Eme'mqut?" He replied, "I have been working at Root-Man's for Grass-Woman, but I cannot get her. She does not let me take her. Big-Raven said, "Whom shall I send to get the bride?" Kılu' offered her services, saying, "I will go. Sew me up in a bear-skin." They undressed her, cooked some fish-glue, and glued a bear-skin to her body. They glued a seal-stomach filled with blood to her in place of a tail. She was also given an iron crutch. Kılu' started off to Root-Man's house. She got upon the roof of the underground house, knocked with her crutch over the ladder, and it broke in two. She shouted into the house, "Hei! where are you?" Root-Man replied, "Here we are! Come in." Kīlu′ entered, and said, "And where is Grass-Woman? She did not wish to marry Eme′mqut, because she wanted me to come and get her." Kīlu′ broke all the chamber-vessels with her crutch, and said, "If you don't give me Grass-Woman, I will break your heads just as I have broken these vessels." The seal-stomach thawed off in the house, and the blood commenced to run from it. They said to Kīlu′, "What is it that is running from your tail?" — "Quick, quick! give me Grass-Woman. The blood is running from my tail, because I have such a strong desire to have Grass-Woman. Let me have her quick, and I will go home." Grass-Woman was given to her. Kīlu′ took her home, and gave her to Eme′mqut. Eme′mqut married Grass-Woman because she ceased to resist him.

They tried to take off the bear-skin from Kīlu′, but were unable to do so. Then they cut it off with a knife, and took it off with pieces of Kīlu′'s flesh hanging to it. Her entire vulva was torn off with the skin. Kīlu′ cried from pain. Then Big-Raven said to his sister Xe′llu, Kīlu′'s mother, "Cure Kīlu′." Xe′llu sang her incantations over her, and all the wounds healed up, only the torn vulva did not grow up again. Kīlu′ said to Eme′mqut, "You have a good time with your wife now, and I am left without a vulva." — "Never mind, you will get along without it. At least, you have no pain now."

Once Eme′mqut said to his wife, "I will take you over to your parents. They must be thinking that Bear-Man (Keiñı′mtılaᵋn) has taken you away, and married you." They drove to Root-Man's. When the latter saw Eme′mqut, he asked, "And where is Bear-Man?" — "That was not a man," Eme′mqut replied, "but my cousin Kīlu′. She carried away Grass-Woman for my sake." Eme′mqut remained with his father-in-law until spring, and then he returned home to his father's. Thus they lived; and Kīlu′ remained without a vulva. That's all.

Told by Ty′kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Avekova River, June, 1901.

6. Big-Raven's War with the Chukchee.

Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) and his son Eme′mqut lived by themselves. Great-Cold (Mai′ñi-ča′ičan[1]), Kīlu's father, lived with them. There were many empty underground houses near by. Eme′mqut would ask his father, "To whom do these empty underground houses belong? Where did their inhabitants go to?" Big-Raven would tell him, "When I was a little boy, and just commenced to understand things, these houses were standing empty here." Thus Eme′mqut was unable to find out what kind of people had been living there.

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[1] Also Čaičan·a′qu.

Eme'mqut began to go out hunting. When the new moon gave sufficient light, so that the night was not quite dark, he would return late. Once he did not come back for a long time. Creator (Tenanto'mwᴀɴ)[1] said to Great-Cold, "While Eme'mqut is away, let us warm our wounds at the fire. He always asks me to whom the empty houses belonged." They took off their fur coats and warmed themselves at the fire. Meanwhile Eme'mqut came back from hunting. He looked into the house, and noticed that the old men were all covered with wounds, apparently caused by arrows. He descended into the house, and asked his father, "Who has wounded you?" Then the old men replied, "It is nothing. We were ill, and the wounds have remained." — "No, you lie," said Eme'mqut: "these wounds are from arrows."

"You are right," replied Creator. "They are caused by arrows. There were many people around here. The Chukchee killed all of them. This is the reason that there are so many empty houses here. However, they were unable to kill us two; but our wounds have not healed up yet."

They went to bed; but Eme'mqut could not sleep, he kept thinking of the Chukchee. He got up and went outside, put on his snowshoes, and started up the river. Thus he walked until morning, and then until the following evening. Finally he saw the Chukchee camps. They had fire in their tents. He turned into a fog, looked into one of the tents, and watched the people. Two old men were warming themselves near the fire, and their sons were sitting on one side. The oldest one, a red-faced man, was sharpening his axe. He said to his brothers, "Why don't you grind your axes? People will go wood-cutting to-morrow, and your axes are dull, and you will cut less than the others." The old men who were warming themselves at the fire talked among themselves. One of them said, "My old wounds are beginning to itch." Their sons asked the old men, "Do you know why they are itching?" The old men said, "In olden times, wounds would itch before a battle: we don't know what it may mean now." Then their sons asked the old men again, "Did you ever make war against any one?" They replied, "Yes, we did. This is the reason that there is only one house left there down the river. We made war against them. Now, you have grown up, and Big-Raven's children have grown up."

Eme'mqut heard it all. He waited until all had gone to bed, entered the tent, took an axe, and cut off the head of the man who had been sharpening his axe before. Then he took the head, went home, set it on a pole, and put it out in front of the house. Then he re-entered the house and went to bed. In the morning, when the people got up and went outside, they asked, seeing the head, "Who could have put up such a handsome head here? It must have been a strong man." Big-Raven replied, "Who else but Eme'mqut could have done it?" Big-Raven wakened Eme'mqut, and asked him, "Did x773 539 you kill any one?" — "Yes, I did," he answered. "Why did you kill him?" cried the people. "Now they will kill us all." — "Let them kill us," said Eme'mqut. "They have killed all our people, and we do not enjoy living in loneliness."

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[1] Creator and Big-Raven are one and the same person (see p. 17).

Thus they awaited the arrival of the Chukchee.

In the Chukchee tent the father of the killed man woke up at night, and said to his wife, "Give me some water to drink." She replied, "Take it yourself. The pail of water is not far from you." He stretched out his hand, and touched a pool of blood. "Why, the floor is wet," he said. "The water must have spilled over." Then he found the pail with his hand, and noticed that it was full of water. He lighted the lamp, and beheld his son lying there without a head. His wife said, "You said last night that there was just one house left now in Big-Raven's village, and that you had killed all the rest of the people there. Eme'mqut must have kept in hiding here, and heard everything. It must have been he who has killed our son." Then the father of the killed one said, "Come on! let us go and kill them all."

At night all the Chukchee got ready, armed themselves, and started off. They were expected at Big-Raven's house, and Kilu' would go out every once in a while to see if they were coming. Suddenly she entered, and said, "Many sledges are coming." The women took berries, roots, meat, and fat from the storehouse, saying, "Let us eat our supplies while we are alive." Suddenly they heard the voice of the old Chukchee: "Well, Creator, you have not taught your son that he must not kill people. Now come out: we will kill you all." Creator said to Eme'mqut, "You did not mind me. Go out alone. Let them kill you first, then perhaps they may spare the others."

When Eme'mqut got ready to go out, Big-Raven offered his son a suit of iron armor; but Eme'mqut refused to take it. "I will go just as I am," he said. He took just his lance, and ran up to the roof of the house. Then in haste he descended to the ground, not by the ladder, but by sliding down a house-post. The Chukchee rushed at him with their lances; but he disappeared under the ground, and the Chukchee just thrust their lances into the ground. Then the Chukchee fell down, one after another. Eme'mqut thrust out his lance from under the ground here and there, and thus killed off all the Chukchee. Then he came out from under the ground, and climbed up on the roof of the underground house. When the people inside heard some one on the house, they said, "Now, they are coming to kill us!" but suddenly they heard Eme'mqut's voice, saying, "Come out, Kilu', and take off the nice clothes from the killed people!" She went out and took off the clothes of the Chukchee.

Then Eme'mqut said, "Let us go to their camp and kill their women and children. If we leave them alive, the sons of the killed men will make war upon us when they grow up. Let us put an end to them all."

Eme'mqut, Illa', and Big-Light (Qeskın-a'qu) started off to the Chukchee camp, and with their clubs killed all the women and children. They gave the reindeer of the Chukchee to Illa', for he was a poor man and had no reindeer of his own. They drove the herd home.

After that Big-Raven lived comfortably, and no longer feared the Chukchee. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Avekova River, June, 1901.

7. Creator, Miti', and their Dogs.

Creator (Tenanto'mwᴀɴ) and his family lived by themselves. His son Eme'mqut, his daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, his nephew Illa', and his niece Kĭlu' were grown up.

Once Creator said, "Let the children marry among themselves, since there are no other people in the neighborhood. Let Eme'mqut take Kĭlu', and let Yiñe'a-ñe'ut marry Illa'." Thereupon Eme'mqut and Illa' married their cousins. Then Creator said to Eme'mqut and Illa', "Go into the wilderness, hunt, and live for yourselves there; and Miti' and I will remain here."

The young people moved away, and Creator staid far from the sea. He used to go hunting every morning. Once upon a time he said to his wife, "I am too lazy to go to the shore every day to hunt. I will move over to the sea, and you may stay at home. Cut off your vulva and make a little dog of it, so that it may be your comrade; and I will cut off my penis and also turn it into a little dog to run errands for me."

Creator went to the sea. After he had left, Miti' cut off her vulva and turned it into a little bitch. Creator came to the shore, and cut off his penis and turned it into a dog. He said to the dog, "I forgot to bring my harpoon-shaft. Go to Miti', and tell her to give it to you." The little dog started, and ran to Miti', but could not say anything. It only tried to creep under her fur coat. At once she guessed that it was Creator's little dog. She went to her husband to find out what he wanted. She asked him, "Was it not your little dog that came running to me?" — "Yes, it was," replied Creator. "I sent him for my harpoon-shaft." — "I could not make out what he wanted. He simply tried to creep under my coat. You should have made a talking dog of him, the way I did with my little dog. Then he would have been able to carry out your orders."

Then Creator endowed his dog with the faculty of speech. From now on he used to send him often to Miti' on errands, and he was able to carry out all his orders.

Once Eme'mqut said to his wife, "Let us go and see how the old people

x773 are." They went. They drove up to Creator's underground house, and noticed
53·7 outside a chained dog, which barked at them. Kɪlu′ laughed at the dog. Then Miti′ came out, and said, "Don't laugh. Creator and I have grown old. We needed some one to run errands for us: therefore I cut off my vulva; and Creator, his penis; and we made talking dogs of them, and they run all our errands for us." Then Eme′mqut said, "We will not leave the old folks alone any more. Let them go with us."

Creator and Miti′ restored their dogs to their original shapes, and put them back in their places. Eme′mqut took his parents along, and went off with them into the wilderness.

After some time a number of Reindeer people came to Eme′mqut. Among them was Envious-One (Nɪpai′vatɪčñɪn), with his wife Wild-Reindeer-Woman (ᴇlvi′-ña′ut). Envious-One said to Eme′mqut, "Let our wives try a contest. Let them pass water, and we shall see who will produce the longer stream." Eme′mqut agreed. Wild-Reindeer-Woman passed water first, and her stream reached out far; but Kɪlu′ beat her. Then Envious-One said, "Now, let them show their shamanistic skill. Let us see which is the better shaman." Wild-Reindeer-Woman practised her art first, and wild reindeer and all kinds of beasts appeared. Then Kɪlu′ beat the drum, and the sea began to fill the underground house. With it came many sea-animals. The water rose so high, that the people were almost drowned. Then Envious-One cried, "That is enough! It seems that Kɪlu′ is a better shaman." She stopped beating the drum, and the water receded. The seals remained in the house, and were killed; and Eme′mqut gave a feast. That's all.

Told by Kučă′ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

8. Eme′mqut's Wife abducted by a Kala.

Eme′mqut married Grass-Woman (Veʸ′ai). She was a shaman. Once he said to his wife, "Let us go out into the wilderness." His wife replied, "No, don't let us go there. Misfortunes will befall us there." — "Why so?" asked Eme′mqut. She replied, "Because I see a naked kala emerging from under the ground, through the fire in the hearth, and taking me for his wife." Eme′mqut only replied, "Never mind! let us go." They moved away. After they had gone some distance, they put up a tent. Eme′mqut went hunting, and Grass-Woman remained at home and prepared the meals. Once, when she was alone in the house with her son Yayi′leget and her little daughter, the kettle over the fire moved. She said to her children, "It is the kala coming to fetch me." Soon the naked kala emerged from the fire, took hold of Grass-Woman, and went back with her into the fire. He caused the children to forget where he dragged their mother.

Eme'mqut returned from the hunt, and asked the children, "Where is your mother?" They replied, "A kala came, took her, and we don't know where he led her." Eme'mqut looked for her everywhere, but could not find her.

Once, while on his way home from the hunt, Eme'mqut lay down on a hill to take a rest. Suddenly he heard the voice of the daughter of Ground-Spider saying to her mother, "Tell me a story." The old woman replied, "What shall I tell you? Somebody might be on our hill, and might listen to us." — "Why, who would care to listen?" said the daughter. "Well, I will tell you of Eme'mqut," said the old woman. "He lost his wife. A kala came from the other world and took her along, and Eme'mqut does not know where she is. At present she is tied to a chain at the kala's house, and probably she is naked too." Then Eme'mqut said to Ground-Spider, "Tell me, where can I find her?" Ground-Spider said to him, "Throw this arrow into the fire of the hearth. It will open a way for you to the kalau. They sleep during the day; they don't sleep at night."

Eme'mqut went home. He took the arrow, threw it into the fire, and a way opened before him to the lower world. On his arrival, he found all the kalau asleep. He took Grass-Woman, and went back with her through the hearth. Then he removed the arrow, the road closed up, and the fire burned again.

Then he started with his wife and children for his father's home. In his house he left two talking dogs, and said to them, "In case the kala calls here, tell him that we have gone across the river. Tell him that we drank all the water, crossed the dry river-bed to the opposite bank, and then let the water out again."

When Eme'mqut approached the river, he turned into a raven, and carried his wife and children across. The kala got up at night, and, not finding Grass-Woman, went in pursuit of her through the fire to Eme'mqut's house, and asked the dogs where Eme'mqut had gone. "Across the river," replied the talking dogs. "And how did they cross?" asked the kala. "Eme'mqut drank all the water of the river, walked across to the opposite bank, and poured it out again," said the dogs. When the kala came to the river, he began to drink the water. He drank and drank, until he burst. He could not drink all the water.

Eme'mqut went back to Creator's (Tenanto'mwAN) house, and never moved again. He took care of his wife, and would never let her leave the house. When he brought Grass-Woman back from the lower world, she was like one possessed, and longed for the wilderness. She gradually recovered her senses and her health.

Then they lived together quietly. That's all.

Told by Kučă'ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

9. How Universe makes Rain.[1]

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It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) lived. At one time rain was pouring down continually. All of Big-Raven's belongings got wet: his clothes and provisions in the storehouse began to rot, and his underground house filled with water. Finally he said to his eldest son, Eme'mqut, "Universe[2] (Ña'ininen) must be doing something up there. It is not without cause that the rain pours down incessantly. Let us fly up to where the rain comes from, and see."

They went out, put on their raven coats, and flew up. They came to Universe. While still outside, they heard the sound of a drum. They entered the house, and found Universe beating the drum, and his wife Rain-Woman (I'leña) sitting next to him. In order to produce rain, he cut off his wife's vulva, and hung it to the drum; then he cut off his penis and beat with it, instead of an ordinary drum-stick. When he beat the drum, the water squirted out of the vulva, which caused rain on earth. When Universe saw Big-Raven and his son enter, he stopped beating the drum, and put it away. The rain stopped at once.

Then Big-Raven said to his son, "The rain has stopped: we may go now." Big-Raven went out to see what would happen next. As soon as they had gone outside, Universe began to beat the drum again, and the rain commenced to pour down as before.

Big-Raven re-entered the house, Universe put away his drum, and the rain stopped. Big-Raven whispered to his son, "We will pretend to go; and, when they think we are gone, we will hide, and see what they are doing to cause the rain to pour down. — Now we will really go home," said Big-Raven to Universe. "It seems that there will be no more rain for some time to come."

Big-Raven and Eme'mqut pretended to leave the house, and made it appear that they went through the entrance; but they both turned into reindeer-hair, and lay down on the floor. Thereupon Universe said to his wife, "Hand me the drum: I will beat it again." She gave him the drum, and he began to beat it with his penis, and the rain again poured down out of the vulva upon the earth.

Big-Raven said to his son, "I will make them fall asleep. You must watch where Universe puts the drum and stick." Suddenly Universe and Rain-Woman became very sleepy. He put the drum aside, and both fell sound asleep. Big-Raven took the drum, and noticed that Rain-Woman's vulva was attached to it; then he took the stick, and found out that it was Universe's penis. Big-Raven took the drum and stick, and roasted them over the fire until they were dry and crisp. Then he put them in their former places, and broke the sleeping-spell of Universe and his wife. They arose, and Universe began to beat the drum; but, the more he beat it, the finer the weather became. Finally there was not a single cloud left, and the sky cleared up entirely. Universe and his wife went to bed again.

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[1] This tale is told in order to put a stop to a rain or a snow storm ; s not supposed to be told in good weather. The narrator did not know the end of this tale.

[2] One of the names of the Supreme Being (see p. 24).

"Now, let us really go home. It has cleared up completely," said Big-Raven to his son. They flew away home. Clear weather set in, and fine days followed one after another; but they had no luck in their hunt. They could not procure anything, either sea-animals or reindeer. They were starving because Universe was sleeping. Finally Big-Raven said, "I will go back to Universe, and see what he is doing."

He came to Universe and said to him, "We are having good weather now; but we are famine-stricken, we cannot procure any food." — "It happens so because I don't look after my children," said Universe. "Go back home. From now on, you shall have success in your hunt: I will take care of you now." Big-Raven left. After his return, when his sons went hunting, they caught sea-animals and wild reindeer.

Then Big-Raven pulled out from the ground the post to which the dogs are tied, and reindeer came out of the hole in the ground. A whole herd came out. Big-Raven sacrificed many reindeer to Universe, and after that he had good luck on his hunt. That's all.

Told by Kučă′ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

10. Little-Bird-Man and Raven-Man.

Raven-Man (Valva′mtılaᵋn) said once to Little-Bird-Man (Pıči′qalaᵋn), "Let us go to Creator's (Tenanto′mwᴀn) to serve for his daughters." Little-Bird-Man consented, and they started off to go to Creator. "What have you come for?" he asked them. "We have come to serve here," they answered. "Well, serve," he said. Then he said to Miti′, "Let Little-Bird-Man serve at our house, and Raven-Man at sister's." — "No," replied Miti′, "let Raven-Man serve here, and Little-Bird-Man there." Raven-Man and Little-Bird-Man began to serve. A violent snowstorm broke out, which lasted several days. Finally Creator said to the suitors, "Look here, you, who always keep outside, stop the storm." Raven-Man said, "Help me get ready for the journey." They cooked all sorts of food for him. He took his bag, went outside, stole into the dog-kennel, and ate all his travelling-provisions. When he had finished eating, he returned to the house, and said, "I have been unable to stop the snow-storm." Creator said to Little-Bird-Man, "Now it is your turn to go and try to put a stop to the storm. The women shall cook supplies for your journey too." Little-Bird-Man replied, "I don't need anything. I will go just as I am."

X773 537 He flew away to his sisters. They asked him, "What did you come for?" He answered, "I am serving at Creator's for his niece, and he has sent me to stop the snowstorm." Then his older sister knocked him over the head, and stunned him. Little-Bird-Man broke in two, and the real Little-Bird-Man came out from within. His sisters brought him a kettle of lard and some shovels, and went with him to the land of the sunrise. There they covered up all the openings with snow, caulked the cracks with fat, and it stopped blowing. It cleared up. Little-Bird-Man went home with his sisters, caught some reindeer, and drove to Creator's. On his way he ate some fly-agaric which his sisters had gathered, and became intoxicated. He arrived at Creator's, and noticed that his entire house was covered with snow. He shovelled off the snow, and shouted to his bride, "Kĭlu′, come out! untie my fur cap." The people came out of the house to meet him, and saw that it had cleared up.

Soon after that, Raven-Man and Little-Bird-Man married, and on that occasion ate some fly-agaric. Raven-Man said, "Give me more. I am strong, I can eat more." He ate much agaric, became intoxicated, and fell down on the ground. At the same time, Creator said, "Let us leave our underground house, and move away from here. The reindeer have eaten all the moss around here."

They called Raven-Man, but were unable to wake him. They struck his head against a stone, and it split, so that his brain fell out. Creator left him in that condition, saying to a post in the house, "When he recovers his senses, and calls his wife, you answer in her place." Thereupon Creator wandered off.

When Raven-Man came to, he cried, "Yiñe′a-ñe′ut!" The Post replied, "Here I am." — "Have I become intoxicated with fly-agaric?" — "Yes, with fly-agaric," the Post replied. Then he noticed his brain, and asked, "Have you made a pudding for me?" — "Yes, I have," the Post replied again. Raven-Man took his brain and ate it. Then he came to his senses. He felt of his head, and discovered that his skull was split, and that there was no brain in it. "Whither shall I fly now?" he thought. He flew up to a mound and sat down. "My sister Mound," he said, "I have come to you. Give me something to eat." She replied, "I have nothing. All the birds sit here upon me, and they have eaten all the berries." — "You are always stingy!" said Raven-Man. "I will fly to a place from which the snow has thawed off." He arrived at another place, and said, "Sister, give me some berries to eat." — "I have nothing," that place replied. "Every bird sits here, and they have eaten everything." — "You, too, are stingy," said Raven-Man. "I will go to the beach." He flew down there, and said, "Sister, give me something to eat." — "Eat as much as you please," said the Beach. "I have plenty of seaweed."

And Raven-Man remained on the seashore. That's all.

Told by Kučā′ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Chaibuga River, April, 1901,

11. Eme′mqut and Worm-Man.

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It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀn) lived. His son Eme′mqut married Grass-Woman (Veᵉ′ai). They had no children. Eme′mqut used to go hunting, and had such good luck, that he would always bring reindeer home, as though he had found them killed quite near their house.

Once upon a time Eme′mqut said to his father, "I shall move with my wife over yonder: there is a good hunting-place." — "Very well," replied Creator. Eme′mqut and his wife moved. Then they put up their tent, and settled down to live there. One morning Eme′mqut went out hunting. Suddenly Grass-Woman heard a voice from outside, saying, "Grass-Woman, come out!" She said, "I will not come out." Then a man came in, took Grass-Woman by her hair-braids, dragged her outside, and carried her away to his house.

Eme′mqut came back from hunting, and, not finding his wife, went to his father, and said to him, "My wife has disappeared." Thereupon he harnessed his reindeer, and drove from camp to camp, searching for her in every place; but no one knew what had become of her. One day, while on his way to his hunting-place, he sat down on the grass to rest. Suddenly he noticed that a ground-spider was crawling over his body. He took it and threw it aside, saying, "Have you not room enough on the ground, that you crawl over me?" All of a sudden the ground-spider became an old woman. "You have thrown me away, and I wished to tell you who had taken your wife." Eme′mqut said, "Well, tell me who did it." — "You will not find her if you keep driving around here. Worm-Man (Legu′mtilaᵋn) has taken your wife. If a man has a pretty wife, Worm-Man takes her away; and whoever tries to pursue him is killed by him. He lives on an island in the sea. If you want to seek him, you have to go there. You will cross a sea, which is always hot. Then you will have to climb a high red-hot mountain."

Eme′mqut ran to his father's house, and said, "I know now who has taken my wife. I am going to bring her back." But Creator said, "Don't go! You will not return alive." — "I will go, just the same," answered Eme′mqut, "even if I meet my death. I feel lonesome without my wife: let them rather kill me."

"If that is so, go," said Creator. He gave him an iron boat, saying, "In this boat you can cross the hot sea." Then he gave him two iron mice, an iron sledge, and an iron harness, and said, "With these you will be able to ascend the red-hot mountain. After you have crossed the sea, you will come to the settlement of the Ant people (Tagaya′mtilaᵋnu): stay with them for a few days. Annoy their girls and women. Throw yourself upon them, don't give them any rest. When the Ant people ask you to leave their women alone, and to let them sleep, say to them, 'Worm-Man has taken away my wife. If you do not help me get her back, I shall stay with you for good, and will not give your women any rest.'"

Thereupon Eme′mqut started. He reached the sea, got into his boat, and paddled away. Soon his boat landed on an island. Eme′mqut looked around, and saw the settlement of the Ant people. He went to them, and began to annoy the women. He gave them no peace, night or day. The Ant people entreated him to leave their place; but Eme′mqut replied, "If you will help me get my wife back, I will leave your women alone: otherwise I shall stay with you all the time."

The Ant people talked among themselves, and said, "We will rather help you get your wife back." Then Eme′mqut went on with his mice-sledge, and the Ant people followed him. When he climbed over the fiery mountain, the people from Worm-Man's settlement said to the latter, "Eme′mqut is coming. He must be coming after his wife." Worm-Man did not believe them, and said, "How can he come here? Nobody ever managed to get here." However, the people of his village insisted, saying, "He is here, quite near by." Then Worm-Man went out and saw Eme′mqut, who said to him, "Now let us fight, let us see who will be killed."

They grappled. Suddenly Eme′mqut, squeezed by Worm-Man, fell on his knees. He shouted to the Ant people, "Come on, rush upon Worm-Man!" Eme′mqut held Worm-Man fast until the Ant people had devoured him. Only his bones remained.

All the women who had been carried away by him before were very glad. Eme′mqut revived their husbands and brothers, whose bones were lying on the ground, and all went away to their homes.

Eme′mqut took his wife, Grass-Woman, and married also Worm-Man's first wife. Some of the people revived by him gave him their sisters in marriage; some presented him with reindeer. He lived pleasantly and in affluence. Of all the women, he kept just three wives for himself: the rest he gave to his brothers and to Illa′. That's all.

Told by Kučă′ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

12. Eme′mqut and Sun-Man's Daughter.

It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀɴ) lived. There was no village and no camp near him. One evening his son Eme′mqut was returning home. It was getting dark. Suddenly he noticed sparks coming out of a marmot's hole He went into the hole, and saw Marmot-Woman (I′la-ña′ut) sitting there. He married her, and took her home. On the following day he again went hunting, met Sphagnum-Woman (Vi′tᴜ-ña′ut), took her for his wife, and also conducted her home.

Eme′mqut's cousin Illa′ envied his success in having found pretty wives for himself, and conceived a plan to kill him in order to take away his wives. Illa′ said to his sister Kĭlu′, "Go and call Eme′mqut. Tell him that I have found a tall larch-tree with gum. Let him go with me to take out the gum; and while there, I will throw the tree upon him and kill him." She went and called Eme′mqut, and he and Illa′ started off to the woods. They began to pick out the gum. Suddenly Illa′ threw the tree down upon Eme′mqut and killed him.

Illa′ ran home, singing and repeating to himself, "Now Marmot-Woman is mine, and Sphagnum-Woman is also mine." He came running home, and said to Kĭlu′, "Go into Creator's house and tell Eme′mqut's wives, your future sisters-in-law, to come to me."

Kĭlu′ came into Creator's underground house, and saw Eme′mqut lying in bed with his wives, and all of them chewing larch-gum. She returned to her brother, and said, "Eme′mqut is at home alive, and lying with his wives." — "Well," said Illa′, "now I will kill him in another way."

On the next day Illa′ sent his sister to Eme′mqut to tell him that he had found a bear's den. Illa′ added, "He shall go with me to kill the bear." Kĭlu′ delivered the message to Eme′mqut. Eme′mqut came, and went to the woods with Illa′. As soon as they reached the den, the bear jumped out, rushed upon Eme′mqut, and tore him into small pieces.

Illa′ ran home again, singing and repeating, "Now Marmot-Woman is mine, and Sphagnum-Woman is also mine." He came running home, and said to his sister, "Go and call your sisters-in-law." She went into Creator's house, and saw Eme′mqut sitting at the hearth, and his wives cooking bear-meat. Kĭlu′ came home, and said to her brother, "Why, Eme′mqut is alive at home, and his wives are cooking bear-meat."

"Well," said Illa′, "now I will put an end to him." He dug a hole in his underground house, and made an opening which led to the lower world (ᴇnñelenai′ten), and put a reindeer-skin on top of the hole. "Go and call Eme′mqut to play cards with me." Thus said Illa′ to his sister. Eme′mqut replied, "I am coming." When Kĭlu′ was gone, Eme′mqut said to his wives, "He is likely to kill me this time, for he has made a hole for me which leads to the lower world. I shall go now. If I do not come back for a long time, go out and look at my lance which is standing there. If it should be shedding tears, then I am no longer among the living. Then tie some whalebone around your bodies, which will wound him when he lies down to sleep with you."

Eme′mqut went away. When he entered Illa′'s house, Kĭlu′ said to him, "There is a skin spread for you: sit down on it." As soon as Eme′mqut stepped on the skin, he fell down into the lower world.

Soon his wives went out, and, seeing that tears were running from his lance, they said, "Our husband is dead now." Then they tied some whalebone around their bodies. After a while, Kĭlu′ came and said to them, "Come, Illa′ is calling you." They went. Illa′ said to his sister, "Make a bed for us: we will lie down to sleep." Kĭlu′ made the bed, and Illa′ lay down with Eme′mqut's wives. They tried to lie close to Illa′, and pricked and wounded him all over. After a while, when they went outside, both stepped accidentally upon the skin, and fell down into the lower world.

Having fallen into the lower world, Eme′mqut found himself in a vast open country. He walked about, and came upon a dilapidated empty underground house. This was the abode of Sun-Man's daughter (Teike′mtılaᵋn-ña-va′kık). Her name was Mould-Woman (Iklā-ña′ut). Sun-Man covered her with a coating of mould, and let her down into the lower world, that the people on earth might not be tempted by her dazzling beauty. Eme′mqut stopped near the house, and began to cry. Suddenly he heard Mould-Woman's voice behind him, saying, "You are such a nice-looking young man, why do you cry?" Eme′mqut answered, "I thought that I was all alone here. Now, since I have seen you, I feel better. Let us live together. I will take you for my wife." Eme′mqut married her, and they settled down to live together.

When Eme′mqut's wives fell down into the lower world, they also found themselves in a vast open country. They wandered about, and soon fell in with Mould-Woman. They said to her, "We are Eme′mqut's wives." She replied, "So am I." — "Well, then don't tell your husband that we are here. You are bad-looking, and when he finds out that we are here, he will desert you and come to look for us." Mould-Woman returned home. After she had met the two women, she used to go out to visit them; and Eme′mqut noticed her frequent absence. He asked her, "Is there some one near our house?" — "No, there is no one there," she replied.

Once when she went out, Eme′mqut followed her stealthily. She sang as she went, "My husband is a valiant man: he kills all the whales; he kills all the reindeer!" and Eme′mqut walked behind her, and laughed. She heard his laughter, turned around, but there was no one to be seen, for Eme′mqut had suddenly turned into a reindeer-hair. Then she said to her buttocks, "Buttocks, why do you laugh?" She went on singing. Eme′mqut again laughed behind her. She looked back again, but Eme′mqut had turned into a little bush.

Thus she reached the place where Eme′mqut's former wives were. Eme′mqut suddenly jumped out in front of her. She was so much frightened that she fell down dead. Then the coating that covered her cracked, broke in two, and the real handsome and brilliant daughter of Sun-Man appeared from it. Eme′mqut took all his three wives and settled down.

Once Eme′mqut said to his wives, "The Fly-Agaric-Men (Wapa′qalaᵋnu) are getting ready to wander off from here into our country: let us move with them." His wives prepared for the journey, and made themselves pretty round hats with broad brims and red and white spots on them, in order to make themselves look like agaric fungi. Then they started, and the Fly-Agaric people led them out into their country, not far from Creator's underground house.

Illa′ and Kĭlu′ went to gather agaric fungi. Suddenly Eme′mqut and his wives jumped out from among the fungi. Then they took Illa′ and Kĭlu′ home. Eme′mqut put them upon the Apa′pel,[1] on which they stuck fast. Eme′mqut said to his wives, "Boil some meat in the large kettle, and scald Illa′ and Kĭlu′ with the hot soup. In the morning pour out over their heads the contents of the chamber-vessels. Put hot stone-pine-wood ashes from the hearth also on their heads."

They did as they had been told. Finally Eme′mqut's aunt Ha′nna said to him, "You have punished them enough; now let them off." Eme′mqut let them off, and they lived in peace again.

Eme′mqut took his wife to Sun-Man's house, then he came back with Sun-Man's son, who married Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. Thus they lived. That's all.

Told by Kuča′ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

13. How Creator overcame the Kalau.

It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwAn) lived. Once his sons got ill. Creator said, "It looks as though the kalau were near." When all had gone to bed, Creator went out, put on his raven coat, turned into a raven, and flew away. Soon he arrived at the camp of the kalau and sat down by the entrance-hole to listen to what the kalau were saying. One of them said, "Let us attack Creator's home to-morrow. We shall kill him and his people all at once: they all live in one house."

As soon as Creator heard this, he flew back home. When he arrived, he took off the raven coat, and resumed the shape of a man. On the next day the kalau came. Creator received them as guests, asked them to be seated on the cross-beams of the underground house, above the hearth, and ordered his sons to fetch stone-pine-wood. This wood produces intense heat. His sons brought plenty of wood, and made a fire. Then they closed the smoke-hole. The kalau began to roast. Then they beseeched Creator. "Let us off!" they said. "We will never come to you again." But Creator said, "Why don't you eat us now, you are so fond of human flesh?" The kalau implored him again: "Let us off, we will never come back. Give us some stones: we will cast a spell over them. If there are any other kalau here, they will also leave with us."

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[1] Apa′pel (from A′pa, "grandfather" or "father" [Kamenskoye]) is the name given to sacred rocks or hills (see pp. 33, 97).

Creator's sons went to fetch stones. The kalau applied their magic to them. Then Creator's sons brought some alder-branches, took out the kalau that had been discovered by means of the charmed stones, and let off those who had been roasting inside the house.

After the kalau left, Creator's children recovered, and did not get sick again. Henceforth they lived comfortably. That's all.

Told by Kučä′ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on the Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

14. How the Kalau ceased to be Cannibals.

Kïlu′ was a shaman. Eme′mqut married her. Once he said to her, "Let us move away to hunt wild reindeer." She replied, "We shall fare ill if we do so." — "Well," said Eme′mqut, "I want to move, just the same." She said, "Well, let us move, but listen to me: otherwise we shall have ill luck. If a reindeer-buck, bright like the fire, should run into our herd, do not kill him."

They moved away, put up a tent, and Eme′mqut let his herd loose. Soon he came running to his wife, and said to her, "A reindeer-buck as bright as fire has come into our herd. I shall kill him." — "Don't kill him!" Kïlu′ replied. "This is the very reindeer that I told you about." He insisted, saying, "I shall kill him, just the same." He went away and killed the reindeer, which was as bright as fire.

At night, when Eme′mqut and his wife had gone to sleep, she heard some footsteps. A kala and his wife were coming up to their tent. Suddenly they stopped, and said, "Eme′mqut!" He answered to the call. Then the kalat[1] called, "Kïlu′!" She also answered. Then Kala-Woman (Ka′la-ña′ŭt) said, "You may be enjoying yourselves here now; but we shall eat you up in the morning." The kalat pitched their tent at the very entrance to Eme′mqut's tent, so that they should not be able to run away, and then went to bed.

Kïlu′ caused the kalat to fall asleep for a few days. Eme′mqut and Kïlu′ had each a younger sister, who was with them in the tent. They left these two little girls in the tent, while they themselves moved away with their reindeer. They thought, "When the kalat wake up, let them eat the little girls: then they will not pursue us, and we shall remain alive."

After a few days the kalat woke up. Kala-Woman said to her husband, "It seems, these people have run away." They called them. Somebody answered from the tent. Then the kala said, "They are here: they have not run away."

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[1] The suffix for the plural in Koryak is *u*; for the dual, *t*; while in the Chukchee language, which has no dual, the plural is formed by the suffix *t*.

Eme'mqut's and Kĭlu''s little sisters came out of the tent; and the kalat discovered that only the little girls remained, and that Eme'mqut and his wife had made good their escape. Then the Kala-Woman said to her husband, "What shall we do with the little girls? Shall we eat them, or give them in marriage to our sons?" The kala replied, "Let us spare them for our sons."

The girls lived with the kalau. Soon they were with child. One of them said to the other, "A child seems to be stirring inside of me." The other one said, "So it is with me. The kalat must have married us to their sons. When I wake up at night, I find a man near me; but when I get up in the morning, there is nobody there." Soon, however, their husbands became visible, and brought their herds. One of the women gave birth to a boy; the other one, to a girl.

Once their husbands said, "We shall take you to your parents. They may think that our father and mother have eaten you up."

The young men, with their wives and the old folks, moved to Creator's (Tenanto'mwᴀn) home. The old kala became ill, and Creator said that they were suffering because they had a craving for human flesh. When they went to sleep, Creator took out their cannibal stomachs, and put fish stomachs in their place. On the following morning, food was set before them; but they refused to eat. Kala-Woman said to her husband, "Why can't we eat any more?" The kala answered, "We prided ourselves on being stronger than Creator. We used to kill people, and eat their flesh. Now he has apparently done something to us."

After that, the kalau stopped feeding on human flesh; but little by little they began to eat the same kind of food that others ate, and they remained with Creator. That's all.

Told by Kučă'ñin, a Reindeer Koryak Woman, in camp
on Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

15. How Kĭlu' killed the Kalau.

Creator (Tenanto'mwᴀn) lived alone with his family. Once Kĭlu' and Illa' went outside; and Kĭlu' said, "Let us play driving with dogs." They took a dog each, harnessed them up, and went up the river.

Suddenly they noticed a camp. The kalau were living there; but Kĭlu' said to her brother, "Lo! I proposed to play the dog-game, and now we have come up to the Reindeer people. I shall get married here, and you will find a wife for yourself." They ran up to a tent that stood in the middle of the camp. The name of the kala who lived there was Able-to-do-Everything

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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(Apka′wka), and his wife's name was Yam-ña′ut. They came out, and said, "Aha! food has come of itself to us. We shall eat you now."

In order to save themselves, Kĭlu′ invented some lies, hoping to deceive them. She said to them, "Mother said to me, 'Go and pay a visit to your aunt.' Your wife, Able-to-do-Everything, is our own aunt." Able-to-do-Everything replied, "I never heard that my wife was your mother's sister." Yam-ña′ut also denied their relationship. But Kĭlu′ insisted, saying to the woman, "You cannot possibly know it. Your mother gave birth to you outside, while playing games; and Able-to-do-Everything found you and carried you away." — "It may be true," said Yam-ña′ut. They gave food to Kĭlu′ and Illa′; and Able-to-do-Everything said to his wife, "Let us feed them well: we will eat them later on."

After they had eaten a hearty meal, Kĭlu′ eased herself over the kala, and broke wind so violently that it completely tore up the kalau, killing them all. Then she said to her brother, "Go and gather up their herd while I am preparing the riding and freight sledges." Illa′ went out, drove up the herd, and also brought a young kala along, who was watching the reindeer. They took all the kalau's property along, and went off.

Soon they arrived at Creator's house, where they unloaded the freight-sledges. Some of them were loaded with clothing, and others with human bodies. Creator kicked the bodies with his foot, and they revived. Then he noticed that one reindeer in the herd was so stout that it dragged its belly along the ground while walking. He struck it with his staff. The belly burst, and two pretty girls came out of it. Eme′mqut and Illa′ took them for their wives. The young kala married Kĭlu′, and they all lived in affluence. That's all.

Told by Kučá′ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

16. How Yiñe′a-ñe′ut was married to a Seal.

It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwAn) lived. Once he said to his wife Miti′, "I am going to the seashore." He arrived at the seashore, and heard somebody singing. He looked around, and soon he noticed not far away a seal, who was lying there, singing. "What a nice song you have!" said Creator to Seal. "Sell it to me: I will give you half of my herd for it." Seal replied, "I don't need your reindeer." — "Well," continued Creator, "I will give you my daughter Yiñe′a-ñe′ut in marriage if you will give me your song." Seal accepted this offer. He spat out the song into Creator's mouth.

Creator returned home, and Seal followed him. Upon his arrival, he said to Miti′, "I have promised our daughter for a song." — "All right!" she said.

They gave Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to Seal, who took her to his home, took off her reindeer-skin coat, and put a seal-skin on her. After some time Seal took a dislike to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. When he was angry with her, he would take a knife, with which he would slash her.

Creator was singing Seal's song day and night. Once he thought of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and said to Miti', "I am going to visit our daughter." He went.

Seeing that Creator was coming, Seal tied up Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's tongue at its root with sinew, so that she should not be able to tell her father how she was being maltreated. Seal's sister, by rubbing her body against that of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, assumed the shape of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut as she had looked when she left her father. Then Seal said to his sister, "Come and sit down near me, in Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's place." It was hard to recognize the real Yiñe'a-ñe'ut now, clothed in a seal-skin, and scarred and wounded.

When Creator arrived at the settlement of the Seals, they warned him, pointing at Yiñe'a-ñe'ut: "Look out for this Seal! Don't go near her: she bites." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut wished to go to her father, to show him that her tongue had been tied; but he kept moving away from her. And the Seals would strike her hands and feet with knives.

When they got ready to go to bed, the Seals warned Creator again: "If this Seal should try to crawl up to you at night, call us: she might bite you all over." At night, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut approached her father, took his hand, and put it into her mouth, that he might untie her tongue; but he cried, "Look here! she wants to bite off my hand." The Seals woke up, and thrashed Yiñe'a-ñe'ut with sticks.

On the following morning, Creator got up and went home. Upon his arrival, he said to his people, "In the Seal settlement lives some kind of a Seal woman, whose hands and feet are all cut up, and they say that she bites. She nearly bit off my hand." Eme'mqut suspected that it was Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and said, "I shall go to the Seal settlement to-morrow, and see who she is."

On the next morning, Eme'mqut got up, hitched the reindeer to his sledge, and drove off. He came to the Seals; and they said to him immediately, "Look out for this woman! She eats human beings. We beat her, and do not let her throw herself upon people." They went to bed. At night, when all had gone to sleep, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut came up to her brother, took his hand, and put it into her mouth. He felt in her mouth, and noticed that the root of her tongue was tied up with sinew. He untied her tongue. Then she told him, "I am your sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. As soon as I came here, the Seals took a dislike to me. They took off my clothes, and pulled a raw seal-skin over me; they beat me constantly, and cut my hands with knives. Now they have tied up my tongue, that I should not be able to tell you and father how I have been maltreated." Then Eme'mqut said to his sister, "To-morrow, when I get ready to leave here, throw yourself upon my sledge, and I will drive you home."

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The following morning, as soon as Eme′mqut arose, he made ready for his journey. His sister tried to keep near him, and the Seals tried to drive her away. But Eme′mqut said, "Leave her alone: let her stay here." As soon as Eme′mqut whipped his reindeer, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut threw herself upon the back of the sledge, and Eme′mqut drove his sister home. He said to his father, "You seem to be getting old. You gave away your daughter for a song; and when you went to visit her, you could not see that she was being abused."

Creator grew angry with the Seals, and hid all the sea-water. The bottom of the sea dried up, and the Seals were dying for lack of water. As soon as the Seals that had abused Yiñe′a-ñe′ut were dead, Creator let the water out again, and the rest of the sea-animals revived.

After that, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut remained with her father. That's all.

Told by Kučă′ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on the Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

17. How Eme′mqut married his Sister.

Creator (Tenanto′mwAN) was young. He had just married. His wife Miti′, too, was a very young girl; and even after their marriage they continued to play near the home. Miti′ was pregnant, and still continued to play. Thus it happened that she gave birth to her daughter Yiñe′a-ñe′ut outside, during her play. She pushed her into a marmot's hole, and said, "If she lives, well and good; if not, I shall not be sorry, either." Then she resumed her play, and forgot all about her daughter.

Soon she gave birth to a son, whom she named Eme′mqut. When Eme′mqut grew up, she stopped playing. They lived all alone, and no people ever came to visit them. Eme′mqut asked his father once, "Where did you get your wife, if there are no people around here besides ourselves?" Creator answered, "How can you find a wife if you always remain at home? I found Miti′ in the wilderness." Thereupon Eme′mqut began to walk about in the wilderness; but he did not find any people anywhere. Once, while on his way home, he noticed a spark coming out of a marmot's hole. He went nearer, looked into the hole, and saw a girl sitting there. It was Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. He entered the hole, and said to her, "Here, I have found you: I shall take you now." He married her, took her home, and said to his father, "Here, I have found a wife for myself in the wilderness." Soon a son was born to them, and they named him Yayi′leget. He grew up, and hunted wild ducks. The Ducks said to him, "You are shooting us, and your father is your mother's own brother." He came running home, and told what the Ducks had said to him. Creator could not understand what they meant, for long ago he had forgotten about the birth of their daughter.

Soon after that, Yayi′leget caught a marmot in a snare, and carried it home in the noose. The Marmot came running to Miti′, and said, "When you were still amusing yourself with games, you gave birth to a daughter outside the house, and you threw her into our hole, saying, 'If she lives, well and good; if not, I shall not be sorry, either.' We brought her up, then Eme′mqut married her, and now your grandson is killing my children." 773x 539

Only then did Miti′ recollect that she had given birth to a daughter, and said, "That is true: I really threw my daughter into a marmot's hole."

Thereupon all the Reindeer people learned about it, and Envious-One (Nıpai′vatıčñın) said, "Come on! let us look at Eme′mqut, who has married his own sister."

On that day, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut went outside to dress a skin. Suddenly Ground-Spider came running to her, and said to her, "If you wish, you may get another husband to-day. Strong-One (A′n·qiw) will come here in his skin boat. His wife's name is also Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. She will go to gather moss. Go to her, and ask her to exchange husbands."

Yiñe′a-ñe′ut went home. On the following morning she noticed that the skin boat had landed far from their house. Then she saw a woman coming out of the boat, and going inland. She went there to meet her; and when they met, she said; "We have one and the same name. My husband is my own brother. Go to him, and I will go to your husband." — "No, I have left my fur coat in the skin boat," said Strong-One's wife. "I have plenty of clothes at home," answered Creator's daughter. "When you go there, you can wear them." — "I have left my boy in the boat," said the new-comer. "I have a boy at home also," said Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. "He will be your son." — "They will recognize us," finally said the newly-arrived Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. But the former replied, "My brother knows even now that I have gone to exchange husbands with you, and it does not matter that I am white. I shall tell your husband that I soaked moss in fresh water, and washed myself with it, and have become white."

Then they exchanged husbands. Strong-One's wife went to Eme′mqut. He saw her, and said, "My wife is coming," and went out to meet her with joy, and carried her in his arms into the house.

Creator's daughter came to Strong-One. He asked her, "How is it that you have become so white?" And Yiñe′a-ñe′ut answered, "I soaked some moss in fresh water, and washed myself with it: therefore I have become so white." After a little while she said, "I am Creator's daughter. I have changed places with your wife, and have come to live with you."

Strong-One was glad, and shouted to the people in his skin boat, "Creator's daughter has come to me of her own accord to become my wife!"

When Creator learned that his daughter had gone to Strong-One, he built a large iron boat, put some earth on it, covered it with reindeer-moss, poured some fresh water on it, and put one-half of his herd of reindeer there.

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He said to Strong-One, "Here are reindeer for you, and here is water and moss for them." Strong-One went back in his boat to his own country. From time to time he went to visit Creator. That's all.

Told by Kučǎ'ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

18. The Bear People.

Creator (Tenanto'mwAn) lived alone with his family. His sister Ha'na also lived with him. Creator's daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut used to sew at night. She would not go to bed until sunrise. Once she kept on sewing until morning; and when day came, she went outside. Suddenly she noticed a spark flying near the edge of the forest. Heretofore she had never seen sparks there. "I shall go and see what it is," she thought. She went, and found an underground house. She entered, and saw a girl sitting there. She was black. The girl said, "Don't talk loud: my brothers are asleep. They are cross; and, if they wake up, you will have trouble." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut sat in the house a little while. The girl gave her something to eat, and she went home. As soon as she was gone, the girl struck her sleeping brothers over their legs, and said, "While you were sleeping here, a girl was walking over your legs, and you never heard anything." Her brothers jumped up, and the oldest of them said, "Give me a polar-bear skin." They gave him the skin, and he put it on. He turned into a polar bear, and ran in pursuit of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut.

Illa' saw that a bear was chasing after Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and shouted to Eme'mqut, "Go and save your sister from the bear!" Eme'mqut came out, took up an iron lance, ran after the bear, and killed it. When they pulled off its skin, a nice-looking young man came out, and he married Yiñe'a-ñe'ut.

Kilu' was envious of her cousin Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and wished to do the same as her cousin had done. She also did not sleep all night, and kept sewing until morning. At sunrise she went out, and noticed the sparks that were coming from the underground house at the edge of the forest. She went into the house, and saw a girl, who said to her, "Don't talk loud: my brothers are cross." She sat there a little while. The girl gave her food, and then she went home. As soon as Kilu' walked out, the girl woke up her brothers, and said to them, "Get up! A girl was again here; but I do not know whether she is a human being or a kala. Let our dog-bear loose!" They let loose their bear, which was black, and served them as a dog. Seeing that a bear was pursuing Kilu', Eme'mqut shouted to Illa', "Go and save your sister!" Illa' came out with a bone lance, and stabbed the bear. Kilu' expected that a suitor for her would come out of the bear; but they skinned it, and nobody appeared. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's husband said, "My brothers have let

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their dog loose." Then he went home, and said to his brothers, "Why did you let the dog loose? Why did you not marry Kïlu'?" — "She is ugly," said his brothers. "She does not look nice now," said Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's husband; "but she may look better later on." Then his younger brother married Kïlu'.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's and Kïlu''s husbands lived at Creator's house for some time, and then they took their wives home. Before their departure, Ha'na knocked her daughter Kïlu' down with her cutting-board. She broke in two, and the real, the pretty Kïlu' appeared. Eme'mqut married his brother-in-law's sister, No'takavya.[1]

Thereupon they lived together. Eme'mqut would go on a visit to the Bear settlement, and the Bear people would call upon Creator. That's all.

Told by Kučă'ñin, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Chaibuga River, April, 1901.

19. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Sun-Man.

Creator (Tenanto'mwan) and his family lived alone. Once he said to his daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, "Go to the summer house and dry the clothing that was left there. It must be all wet after yesterday's rain." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut went. She arrived at the summer house, hung out the clothes, and thought, "I had better stay over night here. The clothes will not get dry till evening. I shall dry them during the evening." She staid there over night.

When evening came, she suddenly noticed that a flame was coming through the opening in the roof and from the porch. She was frightened, but the flame soon disappeared.

Then sea-water poured into the underground house. She was so tired from fear, that she fell asleep. Then Sun-Man (Teike'mtila'n) came and married her. In the morning he woke Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, saying, "You have slept enough! You slept so long on account of your fright. Let us go to your parents. I am your husband now." She arose and went out with Sun-Man. The herd of reindeer was gathered there, and the sledges were all ready. They started off.

At Creator's house the people said suddenly, "Yiñe'a-ñe'ut is being driven here. She married in the summer house." Kïlu' heard this, ran out to meet them, and said to her cousin, "How did you manage to get married? Tell me, how did it happen?" — "I will tell you later on," replied Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. Kïlu' reproached her, saying, "You have a rich man for your husband, and you don't want to talk to me any more." Then Yiñe'a-ñe'ut told her what had happened. She said, "In the evening I was sitting in the underground house, and suddenly a flame appeared, then sea-water poured in. Being tired

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[1] This is one of the Koryak mythical names of the bear, and it means "the one who walks around the earth."

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out from fright, I fell asleep; and in the morning, when I woke up, I had a husband."

"Enough! Now I know how it happened," said Kĭlu′, and went into the house. Outside they slaughtered reindeer, and Illa′ called to his sister Kĭlu′, "Come on, help us to carve and put away the reindeer." She replied, "Why should I help you? I shall go to the summer house and get married there." Then she said to her father, Great-Cold (Mai′ñi-ča′ičan),[1] "Send me to the summer house." Her father replied, "How can I send you? Don't you see how much work we have here to do?" — "Why should I carve another person's reindeer?" she said. "I will go there, then I shall be able to carve and put away my own reindeer later on. — Creator, send me to the summer house." — "Well, if you wish to go, do so," said Creator. Kĭlu went to the summer house, and staid there over night. In the evening she suddenly saw a flame coming through the opening of the roof and from the porch. Kĭlu′ took stones from the hearth and threw them into the flame. Then the flame disappeared, and sea-water poured in. Kĭlu′ struck the water with sticks until she got tired and fell asleep.

In the morning a young man woke her, and said, "Get up, you bad girl, and go home!" She arose, and discovered a young man lying there. His body was covered with wounds. He was even nicer-looking than Yiñe′a-ñe′ut's husband. He was also a Sun-Man. She said to him, "Marry me and go home, there you will recover from your wounds." While she was saying so, she noticed that there was no one in the house. The youth had disappeared. She was ashamed to show herself at home, so she went into the porch, and from wrath and vexation she bit her own body. In this way she completely consumed herself, so that only her bones were left.

After some time, Creator said to his sister Xe′llu, "Go and look for your daughter. What has become of her?" Xe′llu went to the summer house, and found her daughter's bones in the porch. She put them into a grass bag, and took them home; but she did not take the bones into the house. She put them into a seal-skin bag, which she placed on the storehouse platform.[2]

Once Envious-One (Nıpai′vatıčñın), talking to other Reindeer people, said, "Creator's niece, Kĭlu′, is a very pretty girl. Let us go and serve for her. Perhaps they will give her to one of us." The Reindeer people went to Creator's, and served there. They were told, "We have no Kĭlu′. She is lost." Still they continued to serve. Once the suitors went fishing. They caught plenty of fish, and took it home. Then they cut off the fish-heads, went up on the platform of the storehouse, and ate the raw heads there. Illa′ was with them. One of the suitors, Fog-Man (Yıña′mtıla^{e}n), took out the eyes from the head of a fish, and said, "Who will eat these eyes?" Suddenly

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[1] Or Čaičan′a′qu.

[2] The storehouses of the Koryak are built on a platform raised on posts.

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something stirred in the bag, and a voice said, "I will." The boys looked into the bag, and saw that there was nothing but bones in it. Then they all ran away home, and ceased to serve. Illa′ ran from the storehouse; but he was caught on one of the posts by the opening in his trousers. Thus he was hanging down. He cried to his mother, "Come out! a kala is moving on the storehouse platform." His mother came out, knocked Kĭlu′ over the forehead with her cutting-board, and stunned her. She took Illa′ down, and left Kĭlu′ where she was.

Eme′mqut, who was outside, waited until Kĭlu′ recovered her senses, untied the bag, and took her out. Then she broke in two, and the real, pretty Kĭlu′ appeared. Eme′mqut married her, and conducted her into the underground house.

Envious-One learned about it, and said to his comrades who had been serving with him, "I heard that Eme′mqut took the bones which were moving on the storehouse platform for his wife. Let us go and see."

They all went. They arrived, and saw that Kĭlu′ was pretty, and was sitting with Eme′mqut. Envious-One said to him, "There was nothing but bones in that bag. Did you really take them for your wife?" — "Yes, I took them," Eme′mqut replied. "And now see what kind of bones they are!"

Soon a son was born to Eme′mqut. They named him Self-created (Tomwo′get). Then Sun-Man and his wife came to visit them. Thus they lived together. Toward winter they would move away to the Sun settlement, and in the spring they would come back to Creator's village. That's all.

Told by A′vvač, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on
Kilimadja River, April 20, 1901.

20. Creator and Miti′.

It was at the time when Self-created (Tomwo′get), the father of Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀɴ), lived. His wife's name was Ha′na. Creator had just been born to them. When summer came, many Reindeer people moved over to them; and they, together with Self-created, went in a skin boat to sea. They caught a whale, took it home, cut it up, divided it among themselves, and put the meat into the storehouse. When fall came, the Reindeer people left, and Self-created celebrated the whale feast. But he could not send the whale home: the whale did not wish to go.[1] "We are going to die," said Self-created. He and his wife deserted their underground house, and ran away, leaving little Creator alone, after having put a bow and arrows into his hands. Self-created also left near Creator a piece of meat of a mountain-buck, into which he had x773 put an arrow, saying, "When Creator grows up, and begins to understand things, let him see how food is procured by means of arrows."

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[1] This is ascertained during the ceremony of equipping the whale, by means of divination and interpretation of signs (see pp. 73-76).

539 At that very same time Twilight-Man (Ģi′thihla‛n) also left his country on account of his failure to send a whale home. The whale he had caught did not wish to leave. Twilight-Man had a little daughter, Miti′, who had recently been born to him. He deserted his house, leaving his little girl all alone there. He put a strangled marmot near her, with a noose around its neck, saying, "When she grows up, and learns to understand things, she will see how food may be procured."

When Creator grew up and came to the years of understanding, he looked around, noticed the bow and arrow near him, and the piece of meat with the arrow in it, and thought, "This must be food." He ate, and felt well. Then he had to go outside. He walked around the house. Then he went some distance from the house, and saw a mountain-buck (*Ovis nivicola* Eschscholtz). He took his bow, shot an arrow, killed the buck, and carried it home.

Miti′ also began to understand things, and, seeing the marmot strangled by the noose near her, she said, "This seems to be food." She ate the marmot. After having eaten, she had to go outside. She went out, and took the noose along. Then she walked around her house, and saw a marmot near its hole. She set her noose, and soon the marmot was caught in it. Miti′ took the marmot, carried it home, skinned it, and ate it.

Once, when Creator was hunting a mountain-buck, he came to an underground house from which smoke was rising. He entered the house, saw Miti′, and said to her, "I thought I was the only man on earth." She said, "I also thought that I was the only human being living." Creator said, "Well, I shall marry you. Let us live together." She answered, "All right; let us live together. We two are all alone on the earth."

After Creator had married Miti′, he said to her, "Go outside. There is a mountain-buck that I killed not long ago. Take off its skin." She went outside, found the wild mountain-buck, and tried to skin it, but did not succeed, for she did not know how to do it. She called, "Creator, I cannot take off the skin." He came out and showed her how to do it.

Thus they lived. He would go hunting, she would stay at home. Soon she was with child, and gave birth to a son, whom she named Eme′mqut. Then a daughter was born to them, whom she named Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. Right after she was born, they took her out, and placed her in a separate underground house. Eme′mqut did not know that he had a sister; but Miti′ told Yiñe′a-ñe′ut that she had a brother, Eme′mqut by name.

When Eme′mqut became a man, he began to go hunting. Every day he would kill wild reindeer, which he would drag home. Once he was coming back from hunting, carrying a wild reindeer on his back. Suddenly he noticed a little underground house. He went in, and saw a young girl sitting there.

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It was Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. He said to her, "It is well that I have found you. I shall marry you now." She replied, "You must not marry me. I am your sister." But Eme′mqut said, "I have no sister. My parents never told me that I had a sister. Who is your father?" — "My father is Creator, and my mother is Miti′." — "And my father is also Creator, and my mother is Miti′," said Eme′mqut. "But you are telling an untruth. My parents would have told me if I had had a sister. I will take you."

Eme′mqut married Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, and took her home. His father and mother said to him, "Why did you marry your sister?" — "If she were my sister, you would have warned me long ago not to touch my sister if I should find her while hunting." Eme′mqut did not mind his parents, and continued to live with his sister.

When summer came, the Reindeer people from down the river came up in their skin boats, and landed not far from Creator's house. They also had a woman, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut by name. Her husband's name was Big-Kamak (Kamakn·a′qu).

The newly-arrived Yiñe′a-ñe′ut went to pick berries. She met with Creator's daughter, who was also picking berries. Creator's daughter asked the new-comer, "Who are you?" She replied, "I am Yiñe′a-ñe′ut." — "I am also Yiñe′a-ñe′ut," said Creator's daughter. "My brother Eme′mqut took me for his wife. There are no other people here. He saw me and took me." — "And my husband's name is Big-Kamak," said the newly-arrived Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. Then Creator's daughter said to the new-comer, "Let us exchange husbands. You go to my house, and I will go to yours. I am ashamed to live with my brother, and Eme′mqut is ashamed to live with me." — "I am sorry to leave my husband," said the other. "Why should you be sorry?" rejoined Creator's Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. "I also have a husband: he will take you, and you will have a husband."

Thus the two Yiñe′a-ñe′uts exchanged husbands. The new-comer went to Creator, and said, "Your Yiñe′a-ñe′ut has met me and said to me, Go and take my place: my brother has married me." Eme′mqut took the newly-arrived Yiñe′a-ñe′ut for his wife.

Creator's Yiñe′a-ñe′ut came to Big-Kamak, and said to him, "I have sent your Yiñe′a-ñe′ut to Eme′mqut, and I will be your wife in her place." Big-Kamak said, "Your parents may not wish to let you go." — "Yes," said Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, "they will be very glad."

Big-Kamak took her for his wife, and Eme′mqut lived with Big-Kamak's wife. The people from downstream remained with Creator during the summer. When fall came, they paddled away home. Eme′mqut lived very nicely now. Before that, his parents would reproach him for living with his own sister, and he would feel ashamed.

Thus they lived. In the summer the lowland people would come to Creator's, and in the fall they would return home. That's all.

Told by A′vvač, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Kilimadja River, April 20, 1901.

21. How Eme′mqut married Sun-Man's Daughter.

P. 773 539 It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwAn) lived. A son by the name of Eme′mqut was born to him. Creator caused him to look ugly, and to be lean, wretched, and dirty. He used to dress him, not in clothes of reindeer-skins, but in those of seal-skin, as poor people do. He did it purposely to make people laugh at his son.

Once in the summer the Reindeer people wandered over to the sea. They met Eme′mqut; and a Reindeer man, Envious-One (Nıpai′vatıčñın), laughed at him. "I am afraid you won't be able to get Sun-Man's (Teike′mtıla'n) daughter," he said mockingly. "You are better than I, and you cannot get her, either," replied Eme′mqut. But Envious-One said, "No one, not even people better looking than you and I, can get her. You can see their tracks leading to her, but nobody has ever seen tracks leading back. All perish there. How can you expect to get her?"

Eme′mqut ran home, and, skipping down the steps of the ladder, he fairly rolled into the house. Creator asked him, "Why did you come into the house rolling down the ladder?" Eme′mqut replied, "If you were of my age, and your comrades laughed at you, you would feel as sad as I do. Envious-One told me that I could not get Sun-Man's daughter, that people leave their tracks going to her, but never get back."

Creator said, "If you want to go, do so, but first call on Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. She will tell you what to do." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and Čan·a′i-ña′ut lived by themselves. Their hut was built on a tall tree. Eme′mqut set out on his journey. He arrived at the tree where his sisters lived, and climbed up. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said to her sister, "Go and see if somebody is not climbing up our tree. It is shaking."

Čan·a′i-ña′ut went out and looked around. She did not recognize her brother, came back to her sister, and said, "Some kind of a monster is coming up." But Yiñe′a-ñe′ut was a shaman, and knew who was coming to them. She took the cutting-board, went out to meet her brother, and struck him on the forehead with the board. Eme′mqut was stunned, and fell to the ground. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut returned into the house, and said to her sister, "Go and see if I struck him dead." Čan·a′i-ña′ut went to look at him, and then told her sister that Eme′mqut was split in two, and that from out of his skin appeared the real Eme′mqut, handsome, clever, and in fine clothes. Then his sisters took Eme′mqut into their house. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut asked him, "What brought you here? You must be planning to go somewhere." Em′mqut replied, "Envious-One told me that I would not be able to get Sun-Man's daughter, and I want to get her."

Yiñe′a-ñe′ut gave her brother two iron mice, iron sledges, and an iron dog-salmon, and said to him, "Go, and take Envious-One along. He must know the way there, since he laughed at you."

Eme′mqut went to Envious-One, and said to him, "Let us go together to the place where you saw Sun-Man. Even at the risk of death let us go." Envious-One replied, "I can not go. I have nobody to leave in the house." But Eme′mqut said, "No, you shall go with me! Next time you won't laugh at people." Then Envious-One went with him. They soon came to the fiery sea (me′lgı-a′ñqan). The blazing waves were licking the rocky coast, and were casting out human bones. Eme′mqut and Envious-One took a rest on the shore, ate some meat, entered the iron dog-salmon, and launched out upon the sea. Soon they found themselves on the opposite shore. They went on, and came to the fiery mountain. It was all aglow. Then they got into the iron sledge, harnessed the iron mice to it, and went over the mountain. Then they beheld the camp of Sun-Man. Somebody in the camp shouted, "For the first time, guests are coming here! Never before have visitors reached this place. Let us meet them, and play a game of ball with them. Throw a ball to them!" Eme′mqut and Envious-One played ball with the people from the Sun camp, and Eme′mqut beat them all. Then the people from the Sun camp shouted, "That will do: it seems that nobody can beat him."

Then they took Eme′mqut to the camp. Eme′mqut asked, "Where is Sun-Man's tent?" It was pointed out to him. He entered the tent. Sun-Man asked him, "What did you come here for? Nobody ever calls on us." Eme′mqut replied, "I have come to see you. They told me that I could not get your daughter in marriage; that those who try to reach your tent leave their tracks going, but that no tracks lead back." Sun-Man answered, "I have no daughter." But Eme′mqut said, "Very well. I'll stay with you for a time, and will serve you. People would not say that Sun-Man has a daughter if it were not true." Eme′mqut remained with Sun-Man, and worked for him. Once in the night the younger son of Sun-Man woke Eme′mqut, saying, "Guest, wake up! Look at that stone table on which they pound meat and blubber. Mother hid my sister under it." Eme′mqut awoke, went to the stone, and got Sun-Man's daughter. But no sooner had he taken her than her mother awoke, took her daughter from Eme′mqut, put her under her hair braids, and went to sleep again. Eme′mqut fell asleep too; but the boy soon called him again. "Wake up!" he said. "Mother put my sister under her braids. Go and take her." Eme′mqut went and got Sun-Man's daughter; but her mother awoke, took her away, and hid her in her bracelet.

Eme′mqut fell asleep again. The boy called him for the third time, saying, "Mother put my sister in her bracelet." Eme′mqut arose, took Sun-Man's daughter, and married her. They lived there. Envious-One was married to the other daughter of Sun-Man.

Later on Eme′mqut and Envious-One started for their home with their wives and Sun-Man's son. On their way they met no blazing sea and no burning mountain. They came to Envious-One's house first. He remained at home with his wife. Eme′mqut, with his wife and her brother, continued his journey. When they were approaching his house, Illa′ was outside. He shouted into the house, "Eme′mqut has come with his wife!" Creator replied, "The bones of our son have long been white." But Illa′ said, "Why, really, Eme′mqut and his wife have arrived." Then Miti′ came out to meet them, carrying a fire-brand, and Creator slaughtered many reindeer. Creator pulled out of the ground a post to which dogs used to be tied, and a herd of reindeer came from out of the ground. Creator married Yiñe′a-ñe′ut to Sun-Man's son. They lived quietly together. With the approach of winter, they would wander over to the camp of Sun-Man, and toward summer they would return to Creator's village. That's all.

Told by A′vvač, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Kilimadja River, April 20, 1901.

22. How Creator frightened the Kalau.

It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀɴ) lived. His provisions had given out, and his people were suffering from hunger. He proposed to go hunting. He started off, and reached the settlement of the Maritime kalau. They had plenty of food. An immense quantity of dried salmon[1] hung in the house. Creator turned into a raven, flew into the underground house, and croaked, "Kho, kho, kho!" All the kalau became frightened, left their house, and ran away to the wilderness, saying, "What kind of a terrible spirit has come here?" Creator ran home, and said to his wife and children, "Let us move quickly. I have found a place abounding in food." They started on their reindeer-sledges, and settled in the underground house of the kalau.

When the kalau had recovered from their fright, the oldest among them said, "I am going to see what is going on in our house." He arrived at the house, met Creator outside, and said to him, "Why did you take possession of our house?" Creator replied, "Is this your house? I made it." But the kala said, "This is my underground house, and that storehouse there is mine." Then Creator said, "Let us ask them who has made them, — you, or I." The kala was the first to ask the storehouse, "Did I not build you?" The storehouse said nothing, it kept silent. Then Creator put the question, and the storehouse answered, "You built me." Thereupon they came to the underground house. Creator said to the kala, "Well, ask it who made it." The kala asked; but the house gave no answer whatever, while to Creator's question it replied, "Yes, you built me." Thus it was with all the things near the house. Finally they entered the house, and asked the seats who made them. They said nothing in reply to the kala's question, but to that of Creator they said that he had built them. The posts and crosse-bams, the hearth and the oil-lamps, in the underground house, replied to the same effect. "There," said Creator to the kala, "if you had made the house, the things would have replied to you, and not to me." He gave the old kala a thrashing, and turned him out. The kala went away crying, and said to his wife and children, "The house is ours, but I could not recover it. Creator has settled down there. We have asked all the things who made them, and they would not give me an answer, but they did answer him." Kala-Woman (Ka'la-ña'ut) said to her husband, "Let us go there together." They went, and Kala-Woman and Miti' now put questions to various things, asking them who had made them, beginning with the grass with which the storehouse was covered. "Who has plucked you, and covered the storehouse with you?" asked Kala-Woman; but the grass was silent. When Miti' put the question, the grass replied, "You plucked me, you covered the storehouse with me." Then they went into the house, and asked the pails, kettles, bags, chamber-vessels, and other things, who had made them, and they all answered that Miti' had made them. Thereupon the kalau were turned out of the house. They went to their children in the wilderness, and all died of starvation.

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[1] *Salmo lagocephalus.*

Creator remained in the kalau's house. When summer came, and the sea-fish appeared at the mouths of the river, he moved to his old village, and went fishing. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp,
on the Topolovka River, April 13, 1901.

23. How Creator went Sealing.

Creator (Tenanto'mwAN) went sealing. He saw a seal come out of the water and lie down. He had neither harpoon-line, nor harpoon, nor harpoon-shaft. "I do not feel like going home for a harpoon, but there is no one to send for it," said Creator. "I will send my penis." He cut off his penis, and said to it, "Go to Miti' and ask her for a harpoon-line and a harpoon." He went. He came into Miti''s house, and stood there. She did not recognize him. "A red head has come, he cannot speak, keeps quiet, it must be a Russian," thought Miti'. She called Illa', her nephew. Illa' came in. The Penis said, "*Opo pondro, opo pondro.*" — "What is it you say?" asked Illa'. "We do not understand you." The Penis could not make them understand, and returned to Creator empty-handed. Creator asked him, "Well, have you

X773 not brought anything?" He only replied, "Bl-bl-bl." Creator thought that his wife did not want to give him a harpoon. He put the penis back in its place, 539 and went home. He entered the underground house, and Miti' said to him, "A Russian was here a while ago." Creator asked, "What kind of a Russian may have been here?" Miti' answered, "Yes, a Russian with a red head has been here, but we could not understand him. He only said, '*Opo pondro, opo pondro*.'" — "It was not a Russian," said Creator. "I cut off my penis, and sent it to get a harpoon for me. I had nothing to catch seals with." That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Topolovka River, April 13, 1901.

24. One-who-paints-his-Belly and the Kala-Woman.

Eme'mqut lived with his brothers, One-who-paints-his-Belly (Na'ñqa-ka'le) and Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu), and with his cousins. Once Eme'mqut went out fox-hunting on his snowshoes. He overtook the foxes, and killed them with his club. Suddenly he beheld a kala-woman sitting before him. She said to him, "Give me your snowshoes, I wish to sit on them a little while." He answered, "It is getting late now. I am fox-hunting, I have no time to stop." She said, "If you will not let me have them, I shall call our hounds, and they will tear you to pieces." Then Eme'mqut gave her his snowshoes. She sat down on them. Her anus had teeth, and she tore the straps on the snowshoes, and at the same time called her "dogs." She had bears in place of dogs. Two bears came running, and tore up Eme'mqut, who, being without snowshoes, was unable to run away from them. The kala's house was not far from that place. Young-Kala (Qai-Kala) came out, and shouted to his father, "Look, sister has something large and black." The old kala said to his children, "Go to your sister. She seems to have procured some food." They went, and dragged the murdered Eme'mqut into the house.

After some time, Creator said to Big-Light, "What is the matter with Eme'mqut that he does not come back? Go and look for him."

Big-Light put on his snowshoes, and went away. He reached the place where Kala-Woman was sitting. She asked him for his snowshoes to sit on for a little while. He said to her, "I have no time. I am looking for my brother." — "If you will not give them to me," said Kala-Woman again, "I shall call my bear-dogs, and they will tear you to pieces." Then Big-Light gave her his snowshoes. She sat down on them, and her anus ate the straps with its teeth. Then she shouted for the bears to come. They came running, and tore up Big-Light. Young-Kala again came out of the underground house, and shouted to his father, "There is something black near sister." The kala went, and dragged Big-Light's body home, and ate it.

Long did Creator wait for the return of his sons. Finally he said to his nephew Illa′, "Go and look for your cousins." Illa′ put on his snowshoes, and went. He also came to the place where Kala-Woman was sitting. She said, "Give me your snowshoes, I wish to sit down on them." — "I will not give them to you," answered Illa′. "I am in a hurry, looking for my cousins." — "If you will not give them to me," she said, "I shall call my dogs, and they will tear you to pieces." Then Illa′ gave her his snowshoes. She sat down on them, and her toothed anus gnawed off the straps. Then she called her bear-dogs. They came running. Illa′ cried, but the bears tore him to pieces. Again Young-Kala came out of the underground house, and, seeing something black near his sister, he shouted to his father, "Sister has caught something." The kala came running, dragged Illa′'s body home, and ate it.

Creator said to his youngest son, Self-created (Tomwo′get), "Go and look for your brothers." He also put on his snowshoes, and went. He reached the place where Kala-Woman was sitting. She asked him for his snowshoes to sit on for a little while. He gave her his snowshoes without saying anything. She sat down on them, and ate up the straps with her anus. Then she called the bears, and they tore up Self-created. Young-Kala came outside again, and, seeing something lying near his sister, he shouted to his father, "Sister has again caught something!" The kala went, dragged Self-created to the house, and devoured him.

Creator said to his son One-who-paints-his-Belly, "Stop painting your belly. Go and look for your brothers." One-who-paints-his-Belly was sitting, painting his belly with charcoal. He replied, "How eager you are, father! You are hurrying me so, I have made the design on my belly crooked with my finger. Wait till I finish painting my belly, and I will go then." But Creator again said to his son, "Stop painting your belly. Go and look for your brothers." One-who-paints-his-Belly asked for a hammer. Thereupon he took some twigs and put them on instead of snowshoes, put the hammer in his bosom, and started off. On his way he uprooted a larch-tree, and took it along. Soon he reached the place where Kala-Woman was sitting. She said to him, "Is that you, One-who-paints-his-Belly?" He did not reply. "Give me your snowshoes, I wish to sit down on them," she continued. "I shall not give you my snowshoes," he replied. "I shall call our dogs," she said, "and they will tear you to pieces." — "Call them," he replied, "I will club them with the tree." She called the bears. They came running, and One-who-paints-his-Belly killed both of them with his tree. Then he threw himself upon Kala-Woman, and tore off her breeches. She said, "Stop! do not touch me." But he answered, "I will not let you off that way. You killed my brothers. I shall first see how you ate up the straps on my brothers' snowshoes." He took off her breeches, turned her back up, and, seeing the teeth in her anus, said, "This is what you used to eat the straps." He broke the teeth out with his hammer, or drove them into her body. Thus he killed her.

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Then he went to the place where traces of his brothers' blood remained, stamped upon it with his foot, and all of them arose alive. He said to them, "There is the Kala-Woman lying with her anus turned up, whose teeth have eaten the straps on your snowshoes, and there are the bears that killed you. What weaklings you are! A woman took away your snowshoes from you, and the bears tore you up. Could you not do the way I did?" Then they all went home.

Young-Kala went out of the house again to look around, and noticed two dead bodies near his sister. The other kalau ran up to her, and saw that their sister and the bears were killed. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Topolovka River, April 13, 1901.

25. How Miti' played Tricks on her Husband.

Creator (Tenanto'mwAn) lived with his wife Miti'. Once he said to his wife, "Let us take a drive on seal-skins down the hill." They did so, and landed on the roof of a kala's house. Creator fell down into the entrance. Miti' did not take her husband out, but went home. Creator crept out alone, and ran after Miti'. He came home, struck his wife, and turned her out of the house, saying, "You have no relatives, I found you in the wilderness. Now go back to where you came from."

Miti' went out. She cut off her breasts, her buttocks, and her vulva, and told them to become human beings. They became four men. Miti' said to them, "Let us fool Creator. I will go home; and you come there later and tell him that you are my brothers, and that you came to take me with you." Then she cut off a piece of skin from her leg, and said, "Turn into a little bird, and fly to our house before the others arrive."

Miti' left them all, and went home. When her daughters saw her, they said to their father, "Mother is coming back." Creator said to her, "Come in. I really found you in the wilderness, but there is no use of your going back." Miti' went in, and said, "Now I am going to stay here, I am not going away any more."

All of a sudden the little bird began to twitter on the roof. Creator asked his wife what kind of a bird it was. She looked at it, and said, "It probably came from my country. I presume its coming means that my relatives are coming."

Soon the four men arrived. Miti' said, "These are my four brothers." The four men said, "We learned that Creator beats his wife and upbraids her for not having relatives, and therefore we came to take her with us." Creator said, "Very well, take her along. I will go and get some seal-blubber for you from the summer house." Miti''s brothers replied, "You need not walk there: take our reindeer." They gave him their reindeer, and he started off; but he could not reach the storehouse. The reindeer shied, and knocked Creator against a house-pole, so that his face and forehead became swollen, and his eyes were about closed. He left the reindeer, and groped his way into the house. Miti''s brothers said to him, "You do not seem to be able to drive our reindeer." They continued, "Probably we shall have to go without the blubber that you promised us."

They started off with Miti'. As soon as they had left the house, Miti' retransformed the visitors into the parts of her body, and put them where they belonged; but she put her breasts on her back, her buttocks in front, and her vulva behind.

Then she returned home. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut said to her father, "Look! mother has returned." Creator asked his wife, "Why did you come back?" Miti' replied, "I longed for my younger daughter." — "Well, stay here," said Creator.

When evening came, they went to bed. In bed, Creator said, "Is it possible that you have your breasts on your back?" She replied, "Don't touch me again! don't you know that I have my breasts on my back?" He touched her again, and asked, "Is it possible that you have your vulva on your back too?" She answered, "Do not touch me! don't you know that it is on my back?"

Next morning when they arose, Creator said to his wife, "Miti', henceforth let us live properly, and give up quarrelling and fooling each other. Make some pudding for me." Miti' replied, "I am not going to do any cooking: I have no edible roots." Creator said, "Then I will go to the camps of Taigonos,[1] and will marry a Reindeer-Koryak woman. They make nice puddings." — "Go on," said she.

As soon as he had gone, Miti' cooked all kinds of pies and puddings. Then she ran after her husband, went past him, and then turned back to meet him. When she met him, she lay down on the ground, spreading her legs upward. She thrust her head into the snow, and grew so large that she obstructed his way. Creator went right into Miti''s anus, as if it were a house. After he had gone in, her anus closed. Then she ran home, pulled Creator out, and gave him some pudding. While in her anus, Creator became bald-headed. Miti' asked him, "Why is your head so bald?" He answered, "It always was so." Then he said to his wife, "Let us stop fooling, let us live in a proper way." Miti' answered, "You are always the mischief-maker. Now let us live peacefully. After that they lived quietly. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 13, 1901.

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[1] The Peninsula of Taigonos lies between the bays of Gishiga and Penshina.

26. How the Reindeer-Breeders tried to take Creator's Herd.

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Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀɴ) possessed three herds of reindeer. The Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak learned that he had many reindeer, and said to one another, "Let us go and kill Creator, and drive off his reindeer." Several camps joined forces, and started out toward the house of Creator. On their way they met Envious-One (Nıpai′vatıčñın). He said to them, "Take me along. I know where he lives, I will take you right there." He led them over a ridge of mountains. When they reached the summit, Envious-One said to his companions, "Stay here over night. I will go ahead alone, and find out how many people there are." — "Go on, and count the people," said his companions. Envious-One drove off. He reached Creator's house, went halfway down the ladder, stopped, looked about, quickly counted the people, climbed up again, and hurried back to the camp. He said to his comrades, "Creator has two sons and a nephew."

Creator had seen Envious-One just before he left, and said to his sons, "That was no guest. He was surely counting the people to learn our strength, intending to attack us afterward. Go and gather the herds: we will leave." The sons soon drove up the reindeer, and Creator went away with his herds, leaving at home Illa′ and his sister Kïlu′. Creator ordered them not to tell in what direction they had gone.

Early in the morning the Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak arrived, but failed to find Creator. They met Illa′ outside, and asked, "Where did Creator go?" He answered, "I don't know. This morning, when we got up, he was gone. Yesterday Envious-One came here, looked at the house, and ran away. The old man must have suspected an attack." The new-comers said to him, "How is it that you don't know where Creator has gone to? Don't you live in one house? We shall kill you, unless you tell us." Then Illa′ said, "You can still see him yonder, travelling with his herds over the sea-ice."

The Chukchee and Reindeer Koryak started off in pursuit of Creator. Miti′ saw them from a distance, and shouted to her husband, "We are pursued!" Creator put a bit of snow in his mouth, spat it out behind him, and then the sea-ice between them and the shore melted away. The Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak remained on shore, and Creator floated away on the ice-fields with his people and herds, and his pursuers could not reach him.

"Let Creator remain on the ice," said the Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak: "there are no pastures, and the reindeer will perish." After a short while Creator took some more snow in his mouth, chewed it, and spat it out on the ice, and a pasture appeared there. His reindeer ate of the moss. Moreover, the reindeer of the Chukchee and Koryak, who were encamped on the seashore, were starving for lack of fodder, so that the pursuers were compelled to return. They reached Creator's house, and said, "Let us go and kill Illa'." They went down into the underground house, and said to Illa', "We are going to kill you." — "Well, kill me," he answered. But the Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak replied, "No, we will first have a contest in shamanism, and, in case you prove stronger than ourselves, we will not kill you." One of the Reindeer people began his incantations.

In the mean time Creator said to Eme'mqut, "Go and rescue your cousin: they want to kill him." Eme'mqut was a shaman. He started off, reached their house, peeped inside, and heard them pronouncing their incantations. He made himself invisible to them. One of the Reindeer people uttered his incantation, and berries grew up on the floor of the house. At once Kïlu' began to pick the berries. Then another man took his turn, and roots began to grow. Kïlu' stored away some roots. Then they made Illa' take his turn. Eme'mqut caught him by the hair and pulled him up. "Well," said the Reindeer people, "you seem to be stronger than we. None of our shamans has ever risen in the air. We will not kill you."

When the Reindeer people left, Eme'mqut entered the house, and said to Illa', "Well, Illa', you have become a shaman: now show what you can do. Rise up in the air." Illa' began to beat the drum, but nothing happened. He could not rise in the air. Then Eme'mqut caught his hair, lifted him up, and said, "See! it was I who lifted you up before, lest they should kill you."

Creator returned home. He lived there quietly. The Reindeer people ceased to make war on him, because they could not overcome him. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 13, 1901.

27. Little-Bird-Man and the Kala-Woman.

Goose-Man (Itu'mtıla'ᵋn) lived with his family. When autumn came, the Goose people wished to fly away, but were detained by a violent snowstorm. They said to Little-Bird-Man (Pıči'qala'ᵋn), "Pronounce your incantations, that it may clear up." He commenced his incantations, went outside, and said, "Let it clear up;" and it cleared up. On the following morning the Goose people got ready to fly, and called Little-Bird-Man, but they were unable to waken him. They knocked him so much over his head that it was all swollen; but Little-Bird-Man never woke up. The Goose people flew away, leaving him behind.

When the Goose people had left, Little-Bird-Man awoke. He walked over to the place where the Goose camp had been, looking for something to eat; but the Goose people had left only one cloud-berry, while everything else

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Seeing that the Goose people were gone, Kala-Woman (Kala-ña'ut) said, "I will go and look at their camping-place: perhaps they have left something." She went, and found Little-Bird-Man. She said, "Little-Bird-Man, why did you remain here?" He answered, "I was so sound asleep that the Goose people could not wake me up." Kala-Woman examined all that had been left by the Goose people, and noticed the cloud-berry. Little-Bird-Man said, "Don't eat it: it was left for me." But she ate the berry, just the same, and said, "Later on I will pick many berries for you." Then she said, "Let us play now: let us have a contest. We will see whose body can endure the most heat. Let us roast each other and see who will get burnt." They fetched wood. Little-Bird-Man brought a stone-pine-tree branch into Kala-Woman's underground house, and it became a large pile. Kala-Woman brought poplar-wood, which does not produce intense heat. Kala-Woman made a fire on the hearth, and said to Little-Bird-Man, "Get up on the cross-beam." He got up, and she closed the entrance of the house, so that no heat could escape. Kala-Woman added more and more wood to the fire; but Little-Bird-Man found a hole in the cover of the entrance-opening; and whenever he felt very hot, he flew outside, shouting to Kala-Woman, "Add more wood. It is not hot here." Finally she said, "Come down. You are so small, and still I cannot roast you." He went down. Then she took off all her clothes, and got up on the cross-beam. Little-Bird-Man put stone-pine-wood into the fire, which produces intense heat. Soon Kala-Woman began to roast. She ran from one part of the cross-beam to another, and shouted, "How could you stand such heat, Little-Bird-Man?" — "Well," he answered, "sit there a little longer. When I was sitting there, I did not say that it was hot." But Kala-Woman could not endure the heat any longer, came down from the cross-beam, and said, "You have endured it, but I cannot. Now let us arrange another contest. Let us see whose legs are stronger." — "All right!" answered Little-Bird-Man. They went to get some stones. Little-Bird-Man brought a small pebble, put it on the floor, and it became a huge bowlder. Kala-Woman also brought a stone. "Well, let us throw stones at each other, and try to break our legs," she said. "I shall first throw at you." — "All right," said Little-Bird-Man, "but turn up your eyes while throwing." Kala-Woman half closed her eyes, and threw her stone. Little-Bird-Man raised himself on his wings, let the stone pass under, and returned to his place again. Then he crushed a red bilberry, and painted his leg with it. Kala-Woman asked, "Well, Little-Bird-Man, have I broken your leg?" — "No, you only scratched it," he replied. "Well, if your thin little leg did not get broken, then surely you will not be able to break my stout leg." Little-Bird-Man threw his large stone, and smashed her leg. He jumped away from her, and sang, "I have broken Kala-Woman's leg! now she will have to walk on one leg." To this she replied, "No, both my legs are sound. Just come up here and sit down on my palm." — "No, you are lying! You only wish to eat me," said Little-Bird-Man, and flew away.

Magpie-Woman (Vakı'thı-ña'ut) came flying along. Kala-Woman said to her, "Go to my parents, and tell them that Little-Bird-Man has broken their daughter's leg. She has done no harm to him, and he has broken her leg." Magpie-Woman flew away. She came to the kalau, and sat down on the entrance-hole. The old kalau said to his children, "Throw something at her! What business has she to sit there?" Magpie-Woman said, "You wish to drive me away, and I have brought news from your daughter. Little-Bird-Man has broken her leg." The old kala said, "You lie! She is so strong, how could the small Little-Bird-Man break her leg?"

Then Raven-Woman (Ve'sve-ñe'ut) came flying to Kala-Woman, who said to her, "Go and let my father and mother know that Little-Bird-Man has broken my leg." Raven-Woman flew away, and alighted on the roof of the underground house of the kalau, near the entrance-opening. "Throw something at her!" said the old kala. "Why does she sit near the entrance-opening?" Raven-Woman replied, "Do not drive me away. I have brought news from your daughter. Little-Bird-Man has broken her leg."

The old Kala-Woman then said to her husband, "Let us go and see what has happened to our daughter." They went to look for their daughter. When they reached her, she said to them, "I did no harm to Little-Bird-Man, and he broke my leg." The old woman said to her husband, "We must call some one to cure her. Let us call Magpie-Woman. Let her cure her." They sent for Magpie-Woman. She came, and repeated over and over, "Die, die, and then we shall eat you." Kala-Woman cried to her mother, "She keeps on saying that I should die. Drive her away." Magpie-Woman was turned out. Then the old woman said, "Let us call in Raven-Woman." She was called. She came, and also said all the time, "Die, die, we shall eat you." Kala-Woman again cried, "She is not trying to cure me at all. She wants me to die. Turn her out." They turned out Raven-Woman too. Thereupon the old woman said, "Call Puffin-Woman (Yata'qe-ñe'ut)."[1] They called her. She came and treated her. She began to search for the pieces of bone from the broken leg, and found them all except one piece. She looked and looked for that, but could not find it. Finally they discovered that the old kala, not knowing that it was a part of his daughter's shin-bone, had made a "cogged drum"[2] (va'nı-ya'yai) out of it. Puffin-Woman took the bone instrument from him, and tried to fit it on. There was still a part of the bone missing. Nevertheless she cured Kala-Woman. Her leg improved, but it did not grow together right.

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[1] The species of puffin mentioned is *Fratercula corniculata*.

[2] A musical instrument (a jew's-harp) made of bone.

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Thereupon Kala-Woman went again to the wilderness. She met Little-Bird-Man, and said to him, "Well, Little-Bird-Man, behold! I am well again." He replied, "You have recovered only for a time." — "No, I have completely recovered," said Kala-Woman. "Let us have a race. You run over firm ground, and I will run over swampy ground." — "All right," said Little-Bird-Man. As soon as they had started, Kala-Woman broke her leg again, and could not extricate herself from the mire. "Little-Bird-Man," she said, "come, alight on my palm, I will hug you." — "No," he replied, "I will not come: you want to eat me." He left her in the mire, and flew away. When the tide came in, she was drowned. Soon after that, the old kala-man went fishing. He put out his net, and it caught Kala-Woman. He pulled and pulled, but could not draw in his net. The old kala-woman said, "You must have caught a whale in your net." When the tide receded, the kala found his daughter in the net. She was dead, and her leg was broken. They began to cry, went home, and never went fishing again. That's all.

Told by Tyʹkken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Topolovka River, April, 1901.

28. How Čan·aʹvile went fishing.

Creator (Tenantọʹmwᴀɴ) and Čan·aʹvile lived in one village, in an underground house. Once upon a time Čan·aʹvile said to his wife, "I am going to the river to fish." He set his nets, and caught a great quantity of fish. He dragged the fish out upon the bank of the river, and said, "Now I will eat a raw head." He began to eat it, and shut his eyes. Meanwhile the wolves came, grabbed the fish, and fought over them. Čan·aʹvile said, "Don't fight: just take as much as you like;" but when he opened his eyes, neither wolves nor fish were there. They had left nothing. They carried away what they could not eat. Then he said to himself, "I will make a raft and go down the river to my house." He built a raft and started off. When passing by the Wolves' settlement, he heard them shout, "Čan·aʹvile, is that you?" — "Yes," he said. Then the old Wolf said to him, "Not long ago my children ate your fish. I am old now, and cannot procure anything to repay you. Take a wolf-skin for your bedding." Čan·aʹvile took the wolf-skin, and proceeded. When he reached his home, Creator came out to meet him, and asked, "Where did you get a wolf?" — "I killed him while hunting," answered Čan·aʹvile. "Well, I shall go and let your wife know about it." He went, and shouted, "Iḷıʼḷın-ñeʹut, your husband has caught a wolf. Go out and meet him, and dance over the wolf." She came out and danced, singing, "Thin penis, thick penis!" (Ģıt-aʼlqa, U^{e}m-aʼlqa!)

On the next morning Čan·aʹvile went fishing again. He came to the

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river, set the nets, and procured much fish. He got ready to go home, and said, "I shall first eat a raw head." He began to eat a head, and shut his eyes. Then came the Bears, grabbed the fish, and fought among themselves. "Don't take it from one another: there is enough for all of you," said Čan·a′vile. When he was through eating the head, and opened his eyes, the fish were all gone.

Then he made a raft and started for home. When he was passing the Bears' settlement, they shouted to him, "Čan·a′vile, is that you?" — "It is I," he answered. "Well, wait a little," said the old Bear. "My children ate up all of your fish. In exchange take a bear-skin for your bedding." Čan·a′vile took the bear-skin and went home. Creator met him again, and said, "Why, Čan·a′vile, you killed a bear! I shall go and tell your wife about it." He went, and shouted into the house, "Iḷı′ḷın-ñe′ut, come out and meet your husband: he has killed a bear." She came out and danced, singing, "Thin penis, thick penis!" Then they entered the house, and Čan·a′vile gave up fishing. That's all.

Told by Ty′kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April, 1901.

29. How Moon-Woman revived Creator's Son.

It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀn) lived. He had many reindeer and two sons. Eme′mqut and Big-Light (Qeskın·a′qu). Big-Light was a strong fighter and a runner. He won in all contests. The brothers slept in the wilderness, among the herd. Once Eme′mqut got up in the morning and found his brother gone. Eme′mqut went home. His father asked him, "Where is your brother?" He answered, "We lay down together in the evening. I got up in the morning, and could not find him anywhere."

Eme′mqut went to look for his brother everywhere. He drove in all directions, did not sleep at night. He was always looking for him. He visited all the camps, but nowhere did he find his brother. He exhausted all his reindeer, so that he could not ride any more. Then he walked on in search of him. Once, while he was passing a night in the wilderness, he lay down on a hill and looked at the moon. He said to her, "What are you thinking about up there?" The Moon descended to the earth, and said to Eme′mqut, "And what are you thinking about?" — "I am thinking of my brother," he answered. "I cannot find him anywhere." — "If you compensate me, I will tell you where he is," said the Moon. "What do you want me to give you?" asked Eme′mqut. "No, I don't want any pay," said the Moon. "What, then, am I supposed to do to have you tell me of him?" asked Eme′mqut. "If you marry me, I'll tell you," answered the Moon. "Then I will marry you. Only tell me where my brother is," said Eme′mqut. "You will deceive me,"

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said the Moon. "No, I will not deceive you," answered Eme´mqut. "Look here! I will embrace you in token of my promise." He embraced the Moon; but she said once more, "No, you will deceive me." Then Eme´mqut put his hand into her trousers, felt of her privates, and said, "Well, now I will not deceive you. It is just the same as if I had married you." Then she said to him, "Your brother was killed by the kalau who live in the sea, upon an island. They skinned him, and are now using his skin instead of that of a reindeer."

Eme´mqut went home and told his father about it. Creator replied, "If I send you, you will fail to rescue him. Rather I will go myself."

He set out on his journey. Soon he arrived on the kala island, and caused all the kalau to fall asleep. Then he descended into their underground house, took his son's skin, and went out. While coming out of the house, he saw an iron barrel, and found out that inside of it was a daughter of the kalau. He took the barrel along and went home.

As soon as he arrived, he sent for Moon-Woman (Yaᵉ'čhɪ-ña´ut). She came, and Creator said to her, "Revive my son." She took Big-Light's skin out of doors, and beat it against the river-ice. First the finger-nails of the young man re-appeared, then his hands. Then his body began to grow, and finally the entire man re-appeared. Moon-Woman continued to beat him against the ice until he revived and could stand on his feet. After that, Eme´mqut married Moon-Woman, and Big-Light married the daughter of the kala people.

Once Creator said, "If we go on living quietly, without undertaking anything, the kala-islanders may come and devour us all." He went out, and saw an underground house of other kalau. Not far off a herd was pasturing. He approached the herd, and all the reindeer rushed upon him with their antlers, trying to kill him. Creator said, "Don't throw yourselves upon me! I came to take all of you to my house." Then they stopped jumping upon him, and followed him. He reached the house of the kalau; and the chamber-vessel, the dishes, and other articles assailed him. But he said to them also, "Don't throw yourselves upon me! I came to take you along." And they stopped. Then Creator took everything along. He carried away the underground house too, and led away its inhabitants, the kala people. Those kala people were not cannibals.

The others, the kala-islanders, woke up, and, not finding the human skin, they said, "Creator has come, and has taken our skin away. Let him have it: what do we want it for?" Then the old kala looked out of the house, and, seeing that his daughter was missing, he said, "Since he took my daughter, we will go to his house and kill all his people." The kalau started out for Creator's house; but, as soon as they approached, the reindeer threw themselves upon them. Then the kalau said, "Let us go down underground, and enter the house from below." They did so. They entered the house from under ground; but here they were assailed by the chamber-vessel, the dishes, and other domestic articles. The kalau had to return. "It is impossible to approach them; let us go back," they said.

When they were gone, Creator said to Big-Light, "Take your wife over to her parents." Good-Kamak-Woman (Pa'l-kama'ka-ña'ut) — that was the name of Big-Light's wife — said, "We must not go to my parents: they might eat my husband." But Creator said, "Never you mind. Go to them, they will not eat him."

The young people started off. When they drove up to the house of the kalau, Big-Light shouted to them, "Come out and meet your daughter!" But the kalau replied, "We have no daughter. Creator stole her from us." Then Good-Kamak-Woman herself looked into the house, and said to her mother, "Here I am!" Then the kalau came out to meet her. Good-Kamak-Woman said to them, "Don't eat my husband! Creator has sent you whale-blubber, seal-blubber, and meat. Eat that."

"All right," they answered: "we shall not eat your husband." Big-Light and his wife staid for a time with the kalau, and returned to Creator. Later on Creator sent word to the kalau to come and live with him. "We will kill whales, and eat them together," he said.

The kalau went over to Creator's, and settled there. Creator killed whales, and fed the kalau with blubber, and they gave up eating human beings. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April, 1901.

30. How One-who-paints-his-Belly killed the Kalau.

It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto'mwan) lived. His son Eme'mqut made himself a new pair of snowshoes, and said, "I am going to try them." He put on his snowshoes and started. Suddenly he beheld a kala planing sledge-runners with an adze. He said to Eme'mqut, "Eh, a guest has come!" Eme'mqut answered, "Yes, a guest has come." Then the kala said, "Turn around, there is somebody driving reindeer." Eme'mqut looked back and said, "Where?" At the same time the kala knocked him over the head, and killed him. He dragged him home. Young-Kala (Qai-Ka'la) saw his father, and shouted to his mother, "Go and meet father! he is carrying human flesh." They ate Eme'mqut up.

Creator said to his younger son, Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu), "Go and look for your brother, he is staying away so long." Big-Light went. He came up to the same kala. "Ah," said the latter, "a guest has come!" — "I did not come to pay a visit," replied Big-Light. "I am looking for my brother." The kala said to him, "Turn around, there is somebody driving reindeer."

Big-Light turned around, and the kalau hit him over the head with his adze, and killed him. He dragged the body home, and they ate it.

Then Creator said to Illa′, "Go and look for your cousin." He went, and also came to the same kala. "Ah, a guest has come!" said the latter. "I have not come for a visit," replied Illa′. "I am looking for my cousins." The kala said to him, "Turn around, there is somebody driving reindeer." He turned back, and the kala hit him also with his adze, and killed him. The kala hauled him home, and they ate him.

Finally Creator said to his oldest son, One-who-paints-his-Belly (Na′ñqaka′le), "Go and look for your brothers." He replied, "How eager you are, father! You made me paint my belly wrong. Wait till I have painted my belly lengthwise and crosswise. Then I will go." After a little while he went out, put on a pair of dug-out canoes in place of snowshoes, and went away. He reached the kala. "Aha, a guest has come!" said the kala. "I am no guest for you," rejoined One-who-paints-his-Belly. "I have come to look for my brothers. It is you who killed them." The kala said, "Turn around, there is somebody driving reindeer." — "Who will be driving there?" replied One-who-paints-his-Belly. "I have come all alone." He took the adze away from the kala, killed him with it, carried his body to the kala's underground house, and threw it down. Then he went up to the place where the blood of his brothers was still visible, kicked it with his feet, and they all arose alive. "Oh, you weaklings!" he said to them. "Could you not take away the adze from the kala, and kill him with it, the way I have done?" They all went home and continued to live as before, and the kalau ceased to attack them. That's all.

Told by Ty′kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 16, 1901.

31. How Miti′ and Creator fooled Each Other.

Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀɴ) lived in affluence. He had given his two daughters in marriage, — one to Twilight-Man (Gi′thilıla*n), and the other to Fog-Man (Yıña′mtıla*n). His third daughter was still a little girl. When summer came, Creator caught two whales. Then he said to his wife, "How shall we celebrate the whale feast? We have no berries. There is no one to pick them. Our daughters are away, and you cannot go to gather them while you have to look after a small child." He meditated a little, then he added, "Well, I will go myself." He took pails, put them into a plaited-grass bag, and went away. Soon he heard voices, as if women were picking berries not far from him. "I am all alone: how shall I pick berries? How am I to gather many?" He thought a little, then he cut off his penis and testicles, transformed them into human beings, and gave them his pails, saying, "Go and pick some berries;" and he himself lay down on the grass. The people whom he had made started

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off, singing, "We are grandfather's, we are grandfather's!" They went towards the place where the voices were heard, and found Creator's daughters there. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut guessed by their song that her father was playing a trick, and said to them, "Sit down. We will pick berries, and then you may take them to the old man." The women gathered a plentiful supply of berries, and handed them to Creator's messengers, who took the berries to him. Creator took them, re-transformed the people into the parts of his body, put them in their places, and carried the berries home. "Here, I have brought some berries," he said to Miti'; "and now I ought to go and dig roots for the pudding. Without it, the whale feast is impossible." He took the bags, with the mattocks for digging roots, and went out again. Again he cut off his privates, transformed them into human beings, gave them his bags and mattocks, and sent them to dig roots. They went, but they did not dig roots. They only sang, "And we are grandfather's, we are grandfather's." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut met them again, recognized them, and said, "Sit down here. We will dig roots for you." The women dug roots, and sent the people back to Creator. Creator re-transformed them, put them back in their places, and carried the bags with the roots home. "Here! I have brought some roots," he said to Miti'. "We need nothing else. Now we can celebrate the whale feast." Miti' and Creator made preparations for the feast. They invited their daughters and all the Reindeer people.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut said to her father, "I do not know who the three people were who came to us while we were picking berries and digging roots. They were all bald." Creator answered, "Well, I sent my instruments. I was too lazy to go picking berries myself."

Creator finished celebrating the whale feast. His daughters and the other guests had gone home. Winter had come and gone, and summer had come again. The time for fishing and hunting sea-mammals had arrived, and Creator said to his wife, "Stay here with your daughter on the seashore, and put in supplies of seal and whale blubber for the winter. I am going up the river in our skin boat with my sons to fish." — "How can I, a woman all alone with a little girl, put in supplies of blubber without the help of men? How can I catch sea-animals?" asked Miti'.

"Well," answered Creator, "stay here, anyway: you can at least watch the house."

So Miti' with her little daughter remained at home, while Creator and his sons went fishing up the river.

On the following day Miti' got up, took her little tent along, and went to the seashore. She saw a ringed seal[1] swimming in the sea; and she shouted to it, "Come to me! let us lie down together." The ringed seal came ashore, and lay down with Miti' in her tent; but, as soon as it had gone to sleep,

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[1] *Phoca hispida.*

Miti′ stunned it with a club and carried it home. On the following morning Miti′ went to the shore again, and saw a spotted seal.[1] She said to the spotted seal, "Come here! let us lie down together." The seal came out on the shore, and lay down with Miti′; but, as soon as it had gone to sleep, Miti′ stunned it and carried it home. On the morning of the third day she went again to the shore, and saw a thong-seal[2] in the sea; and she shouted to it, "Come on, lie down with me!" The thong-seal came ashore, and lay down with Miti′; but, as soon as it had gone to sleep, Miti′ stunned it and carried it home.

On the fourth day Miti′ said to her daughter, "Now let us go out together. Take along a harpoon for white whales."[3] Her daughter took the harpoon, and they started off. Soon they saw a white whale in the sea; and Miti′ called to it, "Come on! let us lie down together." The white whale came ashore, and lay down with Miti′. As soon as the whale had gone to sleep, Miti′'s daughter took hold of the harpoon, and thrust it into the whale. Then mother and daughter killed it, cut it to pieces, and carried the blubber and meat into the storehouse near their home.

On the next day Miti′ said to her daughter, "Take some whaling-harpoons along to-day." She took the harpoons, and the two women went to the shore. Soon they saw a whale in the sea; and Miti′ said to him, "Come ashore! lie down with me." The whale came ashore, and lay down with Miti′; but, as soon as it had gone to sleep, Miti′'s daughter harpooned it, cut it up, and carried it over to the storehouse. After this they did not go to the seashore any more.

When Creator came back from fishing, Miti′ said to him, "You and your sons live by yourselves, and my daughter and I will live by ourselves. You may live on the product of your labor, and we on that of ours." Thus they lived in separate houses.

Once Creator said to his sons, "I am going to my wife to eat some whale-skin and whale-blubber." He went to his wife, and said, "Miti′, I have come to eat some whale skin and blubber." — "Well," she answered, "I will prepare a meal for you." She went outside, cut off her vulva, brought it into the underground house, and pounded it up with some blubber. Creator asked, "What are you pounding?" She replied, "I am pounding a whale's lip." She set the food before him. He ate of it and went home. Then Miti′ said to her daughter, "I am going to my husband's house to have some dried fish." She went to Creator's. He exclaimed, "Miti′, have you come to pay me a visit?" She answered, "Eh! I came to eat a little of your dried fish." — "Well, I will prepare a meal for you," said Creator. He went outside, cut off his penis, brought it into the underground house, and pounded it up. "What are you pounding?" asked Miti′. "It is a kind of fish," answered Creator. "It is a long time since I have caught any of this kind. It tastes good." He set the fish before her, and she ate of it, but immediately recognized it, and spat it out. Then Creator said, "Did I not fool you nicely?" She replied, "You did not fool me, for I recognized what you gave me, and spat it out; but you did eat my vulva." 773* 539

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[1] *Phoca Ochotensis.*

[2] *Erygnatus Barbatus.*

[3] *Delphinopterus leucas.*

Then Creator said, "Well, Miti', let us stop fooling: let us live together again." And they again settled down together. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 16, 1901.

32. The Kala-Woman and the Mouse Children.

The Mouse children were once playing, and Kala-Woman (Ka'la-ña'ut), passing by, saw them, caught them, and carried them home. She put them into her breeches, tied them up, and hung them over the cross-beam of the underground house, saying, "Let them ferment a little, then I shall eat them." On the next morning Kala-Woman went out, leaving the Mouse children hanging on the cross-beam.

Soon Fox-Woman (Yaya'ča-ña'ut) came. The Mouse children said, "Fox-Woman, take us down." — "How can I take you down, you are too high up?" replied Fox-Woman. But the Mouse children said to her, "Ask Cross-Beam to bend down, and say that in return you will give it some mouse-fat." Fox-Woman said, "Cross-Beam, get up still higher. In return I will give you some mouse-fat." Cross-Beam got up higher, and the Mouse children began to cry. Then Fox-Woman said, "Cross-Beam, bend down to the ground, I will give you some mouse-fat." Cross-Beam bent down, and Fox-Woman untied the breeches, let out the Mouse children, and told them to fetch some moss. The little ones brought the moss, Fox-Woman filled Kala-Woman's breeches with it, and hung them up on the cross-beam again. Then Fox-Woman led off the Mouse children, saying, "You go ahead, and I will brush away your footprints with my tail."

Soon Kala-Woman came home, and wished to eat the Mouse children. She took her breeches off the cross-beam, untied them, but found nothing inside but moss. "These are Fox-Woman's tricks, and nobody else's," she said. "I will run to her now." She went to Fox-Woman's house, and said, "It is you who carried off my food-supply." — "No, not I," replied Fox-Woman. "Don't you see that I am sick, and am unable to go out? I have fever. Just look into the chamber-vessel. How red with blood my urine is!" Kala-Woman looked, and said, "Yes, that is right." As a matter of fact, the chamber-vessel contained a decoction of alder-bark prepared by Fox-Woman. "There is a high cliff facing the sea: go there. I always empty my chamber-vessel there." Kala-Woman took the chamber-vessel and went out to empty it. Fox-Woman ran stealthily after her. Whenever Kala-Woman heard her

x 773 steps and looked back, Fox-Woman would turn into a bush. When Kala-Woman reached the cliff and emptied the vessel, Fox-Woman pushed her
539 from behind, and she was hurled to death. Fox-Woman herself fell down, but had time enough to jump into the water, and was not killed. When she got ashore, she was all wet, and began to dry herself. She pulled off her skin, took out her eyes, took off her vulva, and hung them all up to dry. Then she lay down in the sun, and fell asleep.

x 773 About that time Creator said to Miti', "I am going to take a walk on the seashore." He went. He came to the shore, found the sleeping Fox-
539 Woman, and resolved to make fun of her. He took some water in his mouth, poured it into the vagina of Fox-Woman, and burst out laughing. His laughing
137 woke Fox-Woman up, and in her fright she started running without having time to take her eyes along. She ran without knowing whither. Suddenly she felt some bilberries (*Vaccinium uliginosum* L.) under her feet. She said to the berries, "Give me some eyes." She was given two berries. Fox-Woman put them into her empty eye-sockets. She could see a little, but everything appeared as in a haze. She ran on farther, and found some mountain-cranberries (*Vaccinium vitis idæa* L.). She said to these berries also, "Give me some eyes." She was given two berries. Fox-Woman put them into her eye-sockets in place of the bilberries; and now she could see better, but everything appeared red to her. She ran farther, and found some black crow-berries (*Empetrum nigrum* L.). "Give me some eyes," Fox-Woman said. She was given two berries. She set them in place of the mountain-cranberries,
x 773 and ran home with them. There she said, "Creator has frightened me. I am going to play a trick on him in return." She went to the place where Creator
539 used to go out sea-hunting, and transformed herself into a little boy. Soon Creator came, carrying a seal-stomach filled with fat. As soon as the boy saw Creator, he began to cry. Creator thought to himself, "I will take the boy home, and bring him up like my own son." He put him on his shoulders and carried him toward his home; but Fox-Woman drank all the fat from the stomach, jumped off Creator's shoulders, laughed, and said, "Creator, you frightened me so much that I ran away without my eyes, and now I have fooled you." — "Well, you will not fool me again," said Creator. "Yes, I will!" replied Fox-Woman.

After some time Creator went again for seal-fat. He filled his mouth with fat, that Fox-Woman might not steal it again. Suddenly Fox-Woman came running to meet him, and exclaimed, "I bring you news!" Creator could not control himself any longer, spat out the fat, and said, "Tell me what kind of news." Fox-Woman replied, "Well, you said I would not fool you again." That's all.

Told by Yočiga'vyiñin, a Reindeer Koryak man, in camp on Topolovka River, April 16, 1901.

33. How Yiñe′a-ñe′ut married a Dog.

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Once Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀn) said to his daughter Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, “Go and feed our dog.” She went to feed it, but the dog refused to take any food. He only threw himself upon her and embraced her. She went to her father, and said, “The dog does not want to eat, he only throws himself upon me.” But Creator said, “Never mind! try once more.” She obeyed, but the dog again threw himself upon her. After this he came to Yiñe′a-ñe′ut at night, and lay down with her. Finally Creator said, “The dog must be killed.” The people killed him, and threw his body away; but as soon as it grew dark, he came to life, and again came to Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. Then Creator said, “Throw him into an ice-hole.” He was thrown into an ice-hole; but at night he came to Yiñe′a-ñe′ut all wet. Then Creator ordered the people to cut the dog to pieces, and to throw the body into an ice-hole. They cut him into small pieces, and threw them into the ice-hole; but at night he came back to Yiñe′a-ñe′ut in the form of a man. Then he married her.

Yiñe′a-ñe′ut's cousin Kĭlu′ envied her. She went out to their dog, but he did not throw himself upon her. She went into the underground house, however, and said, “The dog is throwing himself upon me;” but nobody paid any attention to her words. At night she took the dog into the house, and put him down by her side. The dog tried to escape, but she kept him. On the following morning Kĭlu′ said to her people, “The dog came to me in the night, throw him into the water;” but nobody threw the dog into the water. Then she went herself and threw the dog into the ice-hole. The dog was drowned. Kĭlu′ waited for him at night, but the dog never returned.

Yiñe′a-ñe′ut's husband went hunting, and killed wild reindeer; and Kĭlu′ remained single. Thus she lived. That's all.

Told by Qaičiva′ñten, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 17, 1901.

34. How Creator stole Fish from the Reindeer-Breeders.

Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀn) sent his reindeer-herd into the mountains for the summer, and he himself remained on the river. There was no fish in the river, and he was starving. The Reindeer people who had gone up the river had good luck in fishing. Creator followed them. When he was near them, he went into the woods, cut off his penis, transformed it into a raven, and said, “Fly to the Reindeer people, and bring me the dried fish that they have hung up.” The raven flew to the Reindeer people, and at night stole their dried fish. He carried it into the woods to Creator. In the morning, when the Reindeer people arose, they asked each other, “How did it happen that

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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our fish disappeared?" but they never discovered the cause of it. Creator put his penis back in its place, carried the fish home, and thus put in a supply of food for the entire summer. When the snow had fallen, Creator's sons drove the herds back, and he was no longer in need of food. That's all.

Told by Ñe'uñato, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Topolovka River, April, 17, 1901.

35. How Creator ate the Winter Supply of Berries.

Creator (Tenanto'mwᴀɴ) was once left without tobacco. "I am going to town for some tobacco," he said. He got ready for the journey. He left the house; but, instead of going to town, he went from the roof of the underground house down through the roof-opening into the porch,[1] and ate the berries which had been gathered by the women and stored there for winter use. He staid there for several days; and his people were waiting for him, and wondering why he was staying away so long. Finally they said to Miti'"s brother, Little-Charm-Man (Ikle'mtila'n), "Try your shamanistic powers, and find out what has happened to the old man."

He pronounced his incantations, and said, "My breath is being drawn toward the porch." They went to the porch, and found Creator there, sitting with his hand in the bag of berries, and eating. They said to him, "Didn't you go to town? We have been waiting for you, and now you are sitting here." He replied, "I have come back from town, and came in here first to have some berries after the insults I received from the Russian chief, who scolded me." They asked him, "What did the Russian chief say to you?" He answered, "He called me a seal-skin thimble."

Told by Ñe'uñato, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Topolovka River, April 17, 1901.

36. Tricks of the Fox.

Once Fox (Yā'yol) said to his children, "I am going to get some eggs." He went to the woods, and saw an Eagle's nest on a tree. He put some grass-stalks into his ears, knocked with them over the tree, and said to Eagle, "Throw me down an egg. If you don't, I will knock the tree over with these stalks, and break it." Eagle became frightened, and threw one egg down. "Throw down another," said Fox. "That's enough. I will not throw down any more," replied Eagle; but Fox said, "Throw it down. If I knock down the tree, I will take them all." Eagle was frightened, and threw down another egg. Then Fox laughed, and said, "I fooled you nicely. How could I have knocked down a whole tree with these small stalks of grass?"

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[1] See p. 14, Footnote 4.

Eagle grew angry, threw himself upon Fox, grasped him with his talons, lifted him in the air, flew out to sea, and threw him down upon a solitary island. Fox remained on that island. He lived there, and thought to himself, "Am I really going to die on this island?" He began to utter incantations; and seals, walrus, and whales appeared near the island. "What are you talking and singing about?" they asked Fox. "This is what I was singing and talking about," Fox replied: "are there more animals in the waters of the sea, or on the dry land?" — "Certainly there are more in the waters of the sea," the sea-animals said. "Well, let us see," said Fox. "Get up on the surface of the water, and form a raft from this island to the land; and I will take a walk over you, and count you all." They all came up to the surface of the water, and formed a raft; and Fox ran over their backs, pretending to count them, but, as soon as he reached land, he jumped ashore and went home.

On his way Fox met Bear, who was Fox's cousin. Fox asked him, "Cousin, do you fear anybody on earth?" — "No, I fear nobody," answered Bear. "Not even the two-legged ones?" asked Fox. "I am not only not afraid of them, but I am in search of them, for I eat them."

Fox ran ahead, and met two men. He said to them, "Follow me, I will show you a Bear. He says that he is not afraid of you. I will run ahead, and lead him to meet you." Fox went and brought Bear. The men shot arrows from their bows, and wounded Bear. Both Bear and Fox fled. Fox said to Bear, "Let me treat your wound, and I will soon cure you." Fox heated a sharp stone, and pushed it into the wound. Bear died. Fox cut him up, carried the meat home, and said to his children, "Here, I have killed a bear." That's all.

Told by Ñe'uñuto, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Topolovka River, April 17, 1901.

37. Creator's Fight with the Kalau.

Once Creator (Tenanto'mwᴀn) said to Miti', "I am going to fetch some timber. Our sledges are old, I have to make new runners. We may have to change our camp soon." He went to the woods. Suddenly he saw an underground house, from the opening of which smoke was rising. "I will go into this house," thought Creator. "I feel hungry; I will eat something there." He went into the underground house; and the kalau who lived there said, "Aha, food has come of its own accord!" One of the kalau asked Creator, "Do you grow fat, or not?" — "I usually grow so fat from good food that my fat just hangs down, and grease runs from my fingers." When the old kala heard this, he said to his children, "Let us give him good food, let him grow fat: he will taste better then." Thus the kalau began to fatten Creator,

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and looked after him well. They would not let him outside without a guard, lest he might run away. Once Creator went outside together with the old kala. The latter had made an adze; and Creator said to him, "Give me your adze, I will sharpen it for you." The kala gave his adze to Creator. Creator sharpened the adze, and said to the kala, "Look! there is a flock of geese flying." When the kala looked up, Creator cut off his head with the adze. Then he fled. He came home running, and said to his sons, "Let us move from here quick." His sons asked him, "Why so quick?" He said to them, "I got to the kalau. They were fattening me in order to kill me; and I have killed the old man who was watching me, and run away. Now his sons will pursue us."

The kala's sons were not at home when Creator killed their father. They had gone to the Reindeer Koryak, hunting for human flesh. When they returned home, and saw that their father had been killed, they ran in pursuit of Creator.

Creator appealed to Universe (Ña'ĩñmen), and said, "The kala's sons are pursuing me. What shall I use to defend myself? They have arrows with eyes, which direct their course so that they will hit every time." Universe gave him an iron mouth, and said, "Catch their arrows with this mouth."

The kala's sons caught up with Creator, and fought with him. As soon as they would send an arrow, he would catch it with his iron mouth. Thus they shot all their arrows; and Creator caught them with his mouth, and swallowed them. Being without arrows, the kalau ran away.

Afterward Creator spat out all the arrows, and gave them to his sons. They hunted wild reindeer with them. As soon as they shot an arrow, it would fly of itself on the reindeer. They killed off the kalau with these arrows, and people ceased to fear them.

Told by Ñe'uñuto, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 17, 1901.

38. Eme'mqut and the Wolves.

Once Eme'mqut said, "I am going to drive with my wife to cousin Big-Light's (Qeskın·a'qu) to pay him a visit." Big-Light was the son of Brother (Qaitaka'lñın), who was Creator's brother.

They went, lost their way, and got into a settlement of the Wolves. It was the Wolves who had caused this to happen, because previously Eme'mqut had killed many wolves. "Now," the Wolves said, "we will not let you off: you have killed many of our children." — "Well, I am in your hands now," said Eme'mqut. "Kill me."

The Wolves conducted Eme'mqut and his wife into their underground house. They would not let them outside without a guard. The Wolves did not go to sleep at night, but kept watch over Eme′mqut and his wife, because they wished to kill them in the morning. But Eme′mqut caused the Wolves to fall sound asleep, and he and his wife escaped. When the Wolves woke up in the morning, and saw that Eme′mqut and his wife were gone, they ran in pursuit of them. When Eme′mqut saw that the Wolves were catching up with them, he produced a chip of wood from his bosom, and threw it behind him, and it turned into a dense forest. The Wolves, however, made their way through the forest. Then Eme′mqut took out a pebble, and threw it back over his shoulder, and a high mountain-ridge arose between them and the Wolves; but the Wolves got across the mountain-ridge. Then Eme′mqut took out his arrow with eyes, shot it at the Wolves, and it killed off all of them. Thereupon Eme′mqut went on his way to Big-Light's. That's all.

Told by Ñe′uñuto, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 18, 1901.

39. How Eme′mqut took a Kala's Wives.

Envious-One (Nɪpai′vatɪčñɪn) was Eme′mqut's cousin. He was practising for the races, and one night he ran a very long time in order to exercise his legs. Suddenly he noticed that he had run up to the underground house of a kala. Cautiously he got up on the roof, looked into the opening, and saw the kala sitting with two pretty wives, one on each side of him. Then he ran home. He entered his underground house, and told his cousin Yiñe′a-ñe′ut what he had seen. Eme′mqut heard him talking, and asked Envious-One what he was talking about. "Nothing," answered the latter. "Nothing!" said Eme′mqut. "I heard you tell her that you had found a kala sitting with his two pretty wives." — "Yes, I found him. But you cannot get his wives," replied Envious-One. "He is stronger than you." — "Yes, I will take them," said Eme′mqut.

He assaulted his cousin Ki̇̄lu′, killed her, cut off her leg, and went to the kala with her leg. As soon as he arrived, he swung the leg before him. This made the kala sick, and he died. Then Eme′mqut carried off his wives to his house, and married them. He brought Ki̇̄lu′'s leg along, put it back in its place, and revived Ki̇̄lu′. Then he went outside, pulled out the post to which the dogs used to be tied, and reindeer came from the hole he had made. A large herd came out, and Eme′mqut lived in affluence. That's all.

Told by Ñe′uñuto, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 18, 1901.

40. The Wind People.

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It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀn) lived. Once a violent snow-storm broke out, and it blew incessantly. Creator got ready to go to Wind-Man's (Kıtı′hımtıla‘n) village to find out why the storm was raging so incessantly. He took a skin boat instead of a sledge, to which he hitched mice instead of reindeer, and he started. He came to the village of the Wind people (Kıti′y-nı′myısa‘n). All the inhabitants of the village surrounded him, and laughed at his sledge and reindeer. "How will you carry off our presents on such reindeer?" they asked. "Just put them into the boat, and do not mind how I carry them off." The Wind people took out all the food and clothes they had, and loaded the skin boat heaping full. Creator drove back his mice, which dragged the loaded skin boat home, and then returned to the village of the Wind people. They loaded his skin boat again, and he carried off everything they had. Creator's mice gnawed off all the straps of the Wind people's sledges and of the harness. The Wind people could not drive any more, and the snow-storm ceased. That's all.

Told by Qaičiva′ñten, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Topolovka River, April 18, 1901.

41. To′leq the Fox.

There was a Fox. His name was To′leq. Once upon a time he went fishing with a frame net. He came to the river and set the net. Soon a Bear came to the opposite bank, and shouted to Fox, asking him, "Where is your ford?" Fox pretended not to see or hear him, and kept on singing, shouting, and repeating, "What a lot of mosquitoes! Oh, I am bitten by them all over!" Bear shouted still louder, "Hey! I shall cross to the other side, and kill you, if you do not listen to me." Then Fox answered, "Well, I have been calling you for a long time. There is a ford up yonder." Bear crossed the river, came to Fox, and said, "What a lot of fish you have! Give me your net. I shall catch still more." Fox gave him the net. Bear went into the water and set the net. At the same time Fox made an arrow out of urine, and a bow out of excrement, and shot Bear in the side. He wounded him, and shouted, "The Chukchee are assailing us!" Bear got out of the water with difficulty. Fox said, "Let me cure you." He heated a stone and put it into the wound. Bear screamed, "Oh, how painful! You are killing me." Fox answered, "No, as soon as the pain is over, you will feel better." But Bear soon fell down dead. Fox heated some stones red-hot, and broiled the bear-meat, saying, "I will broil the meat, and then take it home." Suddenly, however, a Wolf ran up to him, and said, "Give me some

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of your meat?" Fox replied, "Indeed, I killed a bear. Just wait until the meat is done, then I will give you some." Wolf waited until he became sleepy. He said to Fox, "I am going to take a nap. Wake me up when the meat is ready." As soon as Wolf was asleep, Fox took all the bones, put them together, and tied them to Wolf's tail. Then he struck him in the belly, and shouted, "Get up! The Chukchee are assailing us." Wolf jumped up, and, not being quite awake, fled at once. The bones on his tail rattled as he ran along, and he ran faster and faster until his strength gave out. Then he stopped, looked at his tail, and saw the bones that were tied to it. "Well," said he, "Fox has fooled me. I'll get even with him when I find him!" He entered his house, took some pieces of dried fish, and went in search of Fox. He saw him at a distance, and scattered the pieces of fish on the ice. Fox found them, ran home, and said to his brothers and sisters, "I found some pieces of fish on the ice: let us go and pick them up." They all followed him. Suddenly they saw Wolf approaching. They were about to run away, when To'leq said, "Don't run away! Let him come near us, we can always get away from him: he is not as fleet of foot as we are." When Wolf approached, the Foxes began to pass water. Their urine ran under them, so that their tails froze to the ice. Only the old Master Fox ran away, because his tail was not shaggy, having lost most of its hair. Wolf stunned the Foxes with a club, and killed them.

In the World of the Dead (Ne'nenqal) To'leq said to his brothers and sisters, "I will tell you a story." He said, "Creator lived. Once he said to Miti', 'Make some pudding.' She obeyed, and they began to eat." Suddenly To'leq shouted, "Get up!" and his brothers and sisters got up, and all ran home.

When Wolf learned that the Foxes had revived, he went to Bear, and said, "Let us go and kill To'leq: he roasted and ate your brother." Bear and Wolf set out in search of To'leq, who said to his brothers and sisters, "Boil some fish-glue for me." They obeyed. To'leq took the glue and glued up one of his eyes, made his face crooked on one side, bent his leg, and glued it so that it should stay in that position. Then he went out to meet Bear and Wolf. "You are not looking for me, I suppose? There are many To'leqs about in this country. Was your To'leq blind in one eye?" — "No," answered Wolf, "he was not." — "Did he have a lame leg and a crooked mouth?" continued Fox. "No," said Wolf, "he was not lame, and his mouth was straight." — "Then it must have been another To'leq. Why, then, did you come to kill me?" Then Wolf and Bear left To'leq, saying, "There are many Foxes in this country: let us go and seek the right one." That's all.

Told by Ñe'uñuto, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 18, 1901.

42. How Creator saved his People during a Famine.

773 539 It was at the time when Creator (Tenanto′mwan) lived. All his sons went hunting wild reindeer. They took along with them their herd of domestic reindeer. Creator was unsuccessful in fishing, and his family was starving. Finally he said to his wife and daughters, "Let us move away from here. If we remain here, we shall die of starvation. Let us take no unnecessary things along, only our wearing-apparel and our tent: that is all."

Creator's daughters asked him, "Where shall we go?" — "Just take your travelling-bags along. I will tell you afterward where we are going."

When they got their bags ready, and put them on their shoulders, Creator said to his wife and daughters, "Now let us each put his head into his anus." Creator and his daughters did accordingly; but Miti′ put it into her vagina instead of her anus. Then every one of them commenced to live inside of himself. Creator arranged it so that they could see one another; but they could not see Miti′, for she had gone the wrong way. Creator said to his daughter, "Miti′ must have gone to live on another stream." They called to her, "Miti′, where are you?" She replied to their call, "I went along a bright stream." Then Creator said to his daughters, "Stay here and wait, and I will go and bring your mother." He pulled out his head from his anus, and saw that Miti′ had pushed her head into the wrong place. He pulled her head out, and pushed it into her anus, and put his own head back into his anus. Then they all found themselves at the same place with their daughters. They caught some salveline (*Salvelinus Malma* Walb.). Creator ordered them to eat the fish, but not to cure it. Thus they lived for a long time.

Eme′mqut and his brothers came back from hunting. They brought along a great many wild reindeer that they had killed, and also drove back Creator's herd of domestic reindeer; but no one came out of the underground house to meet them. Eme′mqut said to his brothers, "Go and let the reindeer off to pasture, meanwhile I will go down and see what has happened. It looks as if they were all dead." Eme′mqut descended into the underground house, and saw his father, mother, and sisters all sitting coiled up, with their bags on their shoulders, and each with his head in his anus. He pushed them, and they pulled out their heads. They had been feeding on their excrement inside of their intestines, and this was what they called their salveline. Miti′ came out with a piece in her hand. Eme′mqut looked at them, began to spit, and said, "Fy! you have been eating excrement." But Creator said, "Had we not eaten our excrement, we should have died of starvation long ago."

Thereupon they ate the wild reindeer, and slaughtered the domestic ones. Thus they commenced to live on nice food. That's all.

Told by Ty′kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 18, 1901.

43. How the Dead punished some Noisy Boys.

There was such a large village that one end of it could not be seen from the other end. There were many boys and young men in the village. They were always playing games. They would play all night long. In the same village there lived an old woman, who also had a boy. She said to him, "Play with the children during the day, and in the evening come home to sleep: don't play at night." The boy minded her; and as soon as the sun had set, he would leave the play-ground and go home to sleep, while the other children would play until late at night. Once they played about so much that they nearly broke the old woman's underground house. 773ˣ 539

One night when everybody in the village was asleep, the old woman heard a dog bark. She went out to look for it, but when she was outside she did not hear anything. She returned into the house, and again heard the dog barking, even nearer than before. After some time she again went out, but could not hear anything there. She returned into the house, and again heard the dog bark, still nearer than before. She sat awhile, and suddenly saw a kala come out of the ground. He had a human face and a dog's body. The kala asked the old woman, "Does your boy play late at night?" — "No, he goes to bed at sunset; but the other boys and young men don't go to bed at night. The eyes of the old people are sore, for they cannot get any sleep." The kala said, "The ancient people, that is, the dead (peni'nelau), have sent me to kill all the young men."

Thereupon the kala disappeared under the ground. When outside the house, he emerged from under the ground and began to kill the people. He broke the underground houses one after another, killed the people, and dragged their bodies out. Thus he killed all the inhabitants of the village in a single night.

The next morning the old woman got up, went outside, and not a single voice was heard. She went into the broken houses, and did not find any people. Only the traces of the blood of the killed were seen leading away from the village. The old woman went home, took a bag and a knife, and went off, following the bloody tracks. When she found the bodies of the people, she cut off their little fingers, took them back to the village, and let them down into the underground houses. In the evening she herself and her son went to bed, as usual. On the following morning they arose, and discovered that all the people had come to life; but they talked so quietly that their voices could hardly be heard. The youths ceased playing at night. From now on, the people of all the underground houses invited the old woman to their houses; while before they would not let her in, notwithstanding her entreaties. The old woman said, "I will live alone, as before." The people said to her, "If you had not revived us, we should all of us be dead."

Thus they lived. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 18, 1901.

44. How Sculpin-Man ate his Companions.

Sculpin-Man[1] (Iḷa'kamtılaᵋn) and Dog-Salmon-Man[2] (ɛne'mtılaᵋn) lived in one village. Salveline-Man[3] (Vitı'mtılaᵋn) and Tom-Cod-Man[4] (Vaxne'mtılaᵋn) lived with them.

Once Sculpin-Man said to Dog-Salmon-Man, to Salveline-Man, and to Tom-Cod-Man, "Let us go and hunt wild reindeer." They went hunting, but they did not take any provisions along. They walked all day, and did not kill one reindeer. "Now we have to go to sleep without having had any food," they said. They stopped for the night, built a fire, and, hungry as they were, lay down. Sculpin-Man took a piece of wood and began to whittle out a pointed stick. Dog-Salmon-Man and Salveline-Man asked him, "What are you doing there?" Sculpin-Man replied, "Eh! nothing, it is just a stick to beat out my fur coat." — "No," they rejoined, "you are getting ready to broil something, perhaps some fish." — "What kind of fish should I broil?" said Sculpin-Man. "Where should I get fish?" They went to bed; and as soon as they had gone to sleep, Sculpin-Man got up, took Tom-Cod-Man, killed him, put him on his spit, broiled him, and ate him. On the following morning Dog-Salmon-Man and Salveline-Man got up; and, since they did not find Tom-Cod-Man, they said to Sculpin-Man "Where is our comrade?" Didn't he go somewhere?" — "Why do you ask me?" Sculpin-Man replied. "He may felt like going home, and has left us." Sculpin-Man, Dog-Salmon-Man, and have Salveline-Man went on, but did not procure any game on that day, either. They were very hungry when they settled down for the night. When they were getting ready to go to bed, Sculpin-Man again began to whittle a piece of wood. "What are you doing there? What do you want to roast?" asked Dog-Salmon-Man and Salveline-Man. "This is a snow-beater for my fur coat," replied Sculpin-Man. When his friends had gone to sleep, he got up, killed Salveline-Man, broiled him on the spit, and ate him. On the following morning, when they arose, Dog-Salmon-Man asked, "Where did Salveline-Man disappear to?" — "Perhaps he went home in the night," answered Sculpin-Man.

Sculpin-Man and Dog-Salmon-Man went on, and killed no game on that day, either. They stopped for the night, and Sculpin-Man again began to whittle out a stick. Dog-Salmon-Man said to him, "You seem to be preparing

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[1] *Cottus quadricornis.*

[2] *Oncorhynchus keta.*

[3] *Salvelinus malma* Walb.

[4] *Eleginus Navaga.*

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to broil fish: are you not going to broil some dog-salmon?" — "Where should I get fish around here? I simply wish to beat my fur coat." When Dog-Salmon-Man had gone to sleep, Sculpin-Man killed, broiled, and ate him. On the next day he arose and went back home. When he came to his village, the inhabitants asked him, "Where are your comrades?" He replied, "I wrestled with them and overcame them, — Tom-Cod-Man at our first halting-place, Salveline-Man at the second, and Dog-Salmon-Man at the third." The inhabitants of the village understood that Sculpin-Man had eaten his comrades. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp on Topolovka River, April 18, 1901.

45. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's Adventures and Creator's Tricks.

A daughter, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, was born to Creator (Tenanto'mwᴀn). Miti', his wife, kept her separate from her birth up. She put her into a little hut placed upon a tall tree near the river. There Miti' used to carry food to her. She did not nurse her herself, but she would let her suck a nipple cut off from a reindeer-doe. Thus Yiñe'a-ñe'ut grew up in her little house.

Every year the spring overflow of the river would little by little undermine the bank, so that the ground near the tree upon which Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's little hut stood gradually crumbled away, and the tree finally fell into the water. The little hut broke to pieces; and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut fell into the water, and was carried down the river by the current. At that time the Fish-Men (ᴇne'mtılaᵋnu)[1] were going down to the sea on a raft, and they beheld Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. The old Fish-Man said to his sons, "Quick! catch that girl! One of you will marry her." They dragged Yiñe'a-ñe'ut out of the water, put her on the raft, and went on. Fish-Man's oldest son, whose name was Qeta' (i. e., dog-salmon, *Oncorhynchus Keta*), married Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. Soon the Fish-Men went ashore. Reindeer people lived not far from the shore, and the Fish-Men went to their camp. Only the old Fish-Woman (ᴇne'm-ñe'ut) and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut remained on the raft. The old woman said to her daughter-in-law, "We have nothing to go for, they will bring our food over here."

At the camp one of the Reindeer people, Twilight-Man (Ģi'thilılaᵋn), asked the Fish-Men, "Whom have you left on your raft?" Qeta' replied, "My wife and mother are left there. My mother is very old: she is unable to walk far."

As soon as he heard this, Twilight-Man stopped eating, jumped out of the tent, and ran to the raft. He came running to the women, grabbed Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, carried her to his house, and hid her. The old Fish-Woman cried to

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[1] ᴇ'nᴇm means "fish" and also "dog-salmon," for the latter is regarded as the genuine fish. Other Koryak names for dog-salmon are qetă'qet and ḷıgi'-ᴇnă'n ("genuine fish").

773 539 her son, "Qeta', your wife is being carried away!" The Fish-Men came running, and the old woman told them that Twilight-Man had stolen Yiñe'a-ñe'ut; but the Fish-Men did not look for her, and continued on their journey to their own country, in the sea.

Once Creator said to his wife, "Go to see your daughter, take some food to her. I am always thinking of her." Miti' took some food and went to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's hut; but she soon returned, and said to her husband, "The tree fell into the water, and was carried off by the current, together with Yiñe'a-ñe'ut." — "No wonder that I think of her all the time!" said Creator. "It didn't use to be that way with me before. Well, nothing can be done now: we cannot get her back."

Soon Yiñe'a-ñe'ut gave birth to a son, whom she had conceived from Twilight-Man. She said to her husband, "Father and mother are no doubt thinking that I have been drowned: it would be nice if they could see me and my son." Twilight-Man's father heard what she had said, and asked his son, "What did your wife say to you?" He replied that she would like to have her parents see her. "Well, take her over to her father and mother's," said the old man. "Let them not grieve over her. They may think that she has perished." Twilight-Man prepared for their journey. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut made some pudding. At last they started off with a long train of reindeer-sledges.

They drove up to Creator's house. Illa' went outside, saw the train, and called to Miti', "Come out! your daughter is coming!" — "Which daughter?" replied Miti'. "The one who was carried off by the water." — "Look here! they have come," said Illa'. "Take out a fire-brand." Miti' took out a fire-brand; but when she had climbed halfway up the ladder, Kilu' upset it, and Miti' fell back into the underground house. Kilu' set the ladder back, and was the first one to meet them. Then Miti' came out with her fire-brand. Then Twilight-Man slaughtered some reindeer. Creator also slaughtered a few of his reindeer. Twilight-Man and his wife staid at Creator's for some time, and then drove back home; and Creator with his sons remained at his place.

Summer came. Eme'mqut and his brothers went to sea, hunting seals, white whales, and whales; Creator staid at home to put in a supply of wood.

One morning Creator went out to gather wood. He was walking along, saying to himself, "Pshaw! I am so tired! I am sick of carrying wood." He strolled along the seashore. There he found two dead dog-salmon. They were old, and had many teeth.[1] They had been carried out to sea by the river, and then cast ashore by the waves. Creator came up to the fishes, kicked them with his foot, and said, "Become father and mother to me." They turned into an old man and an old woman, and Creator became a young

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[1] The salmon *Oncorhynchus* die after spawning. They change their looks and "grow old," as the Koryak say. The head becomes bigger, and large teeth appear in the lower jaw.

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girl. He stamped the gravel on the seashore with his foot, and it became a reindeer-herd. Creator said to the old people, "Let us move over to my house: my son will come to look for me, and I will fool him."

The old people obeyed, and stopped not far from Creator's underground house. Eme'mqut and his brothers came home from hunting. Miti' said to her son, "Father has been gone quite a while: he went for wood, and has never come back. We have been a long time without wood. A bear must have devoured him." Creator's sons started out in search of their father. They went to the seashore where he used to get driftwood, and found his footprints on the sand of the beach; but when they came to the open plain, the traces disappeared. They gave up their search and went home.

Once Eme'mqut said to his mother, "I am going up that hill to see if there are not some wild reindeer there." Eme'mqut went. He reached the top of the hill, and saw a tent and a herd of reindeer grazing around it. He approached the tent. A young girl was sitting outside, and was scraping a reindeer-skin with a scraper. The girl said, "Aha! a guest has come! — Where you are going to?" — "I am not a guest," Eme'mqut replied. "I am looking for father." — "Why are you looking for him?" said the girl. "He is a sly old fellow. He has played a trick on you and gone off somewhere far away. Stop looking for him. He will come back. The bears will not eat him up."

"First I will go into your tent and take a rest," said Eme'mqut. "Come in," said the girl, "I will treat you." She slaughtered a reindeer, cooked the meat in a large pot, and set it before Eme'mqut. He ate some of it and went home. Then he said to his mother, "Some Reindeer people are camping on the hill, — an old man and an old woman and their daughter. The girl looks exactly like father when he was young." — "Go there once more and look: it may be that it is he himself," said Miti'.

On the next day Eme'mqut went up the hill with his brothers. When they arrived, the girl grew angry. "It looks as if they had guessed my trick," thought Creator. However, the girl slaughtered a reindeer, and set the meat before the guests. Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu) noticed a little bell hanging on the cross-pole of the sleeping-tent. He went up to look at it; but the girl cried, "Don't touch the bell! When guests come, they touch everything. You must not touch it." After that she fed them quickly, and sent them off home. They arrived home, and said to their mother, "If father had ever told us that he had a sister, we should think that that girl was his sister. But Miti' replied, "It is he himself. Let us all go together and call on them to-morrow."

On the following day, Miti' turned into a young man. She went to the camp with her sons. When they arrived, Creator thought to himself, "They have come again to-day, and in greater numbers than yesterday." The new-comers said to the girl, "Your folks will surely move away from here soon, A773 537 and we have said to one another, 'As long as the camp is near us, let us pay them a visit.'" — "Come into the tent," answered the girl. She slaughtered a reindeer, and cooked the reindeer-meat. Then she said, pointing to Miti', "This is the first time that I have seen this man." Eme'mqut said, "This is a Reindeer man. He came to serve for Miti'." The girl said, "Miti' is an old woman, and bad-looking. Why should he work for her?" But Miti' replied, "I heard that the old man got lost, and Miti' had become a widow: so I came to take her." — "What do you want to take her for?" the girl repeated. "She has daughters. Why does she not give you one of her daughters? Her old man will surely come back."

At that time Big-Light noticed two little bells and a needle-case hanging on the cross-pole of the sleeping-tent, and began to play and rattle with them. They were the penis and testicles of Creator. When Big-Light noticed this, he shouted, "Don't touch these things! Their root is in my heart."

Then Miti' touched them. Creator again shouted, "Don't touch them!" but she did not mind him. Creator shouted again and again; and finally his voice changed to his own voice, and his tent turned into a rock. Instead of the old people, two dead dog-salmon were lying on the ground again, and Creator appeared in his real shape. But Miti' still continued to be a man. Then Creator's sons conducted him home; and Miti' ran ahead, became an old woman again, and sat down in her place.

When Creator entered his underground house, he did not go up to Miti', but sat in another place. She said to him, "You have been away for such a long time, didn't you long for me? Why do you sit down so far from me now?"

"Well," Creator replied, "I will sit here, since a Reindeer man is working for you." She said to her husband, "Who should serve for me! It was I myself who appeared as a young man. You were fooling me, and I fooled you still more."

Thereupon Creator went up to her, and they lived as before. Creator caught a whale, and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut came with her husband to attend the whale feast. That's all.

Told by Ty'kken, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in camp
on Topolovka River, April 19, 1901.

IX. — MYTHS OF THE MARITIME KORYAK OF THE WESTERN SHORE OF PENSHINA BAY.

Villages Big Itkana, Pareṇ, Kuel, and Mikino.

46. The Daughter of Floating-Island.

It was at the time when Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a′qu) lived. He had a son Eme′mqut. Their neighbor Envious-One (Nıpai′vatıčñın) would play tricks of all kinds to spite Eme′mqut. Whatever Eme′mqut put down, Envious-One would break. When Eme′mqut brought ice to his house, Envious-One would get behind the sledge, and break the ice into small pieces. This vexed Eme′mqut, and he and his brother Big-Light (Qeskın·a′qu) decided to give Envious-One a thrashing. After the thrashing, Envious-One got up and said, "Now, you have given me a thrashing, but I can jump over a reindeer better than you." Eme′mqut said to Big-Light, "Bring a reindeer." His brother brought a reindeer, and they began to jump over it. Eme′mqut and his brother would jump across with ease, but Envious-One could not do it. Then Eme′mqut said to him, "There! you have been bragging that you can jump over a reindeer better than we, and now you cannot jump at all." 773A 539

Envious-One was not satisfied, and went on, "It is not a great thing to jump over a reindeer, but try and get Floating-Island's (U′lu-i′lis) daughter for a wife. This you cannot do."

Thereupon Eme′mqut went home and immediately lay down on his bed. Big-Grandfather looked at his son, and said to him, "Why have you prepared the wood so early, and gone to bed?" Eme′mqut replied to his father, "Envious-One is always teasing me. First he says that he can jump over a reindeer better than we. Brother and I have beaten him. And now he says that I cannot take Floating-Island's daughter for my wife. That is why I have lain down: it is from vexation." — "And why did you not say to him, 'Let us go to Floating-Island'?" said Big-Grandfather. "Go to Envious-One to-morrow, and call him to go with you and serve for Floating-Island's daughters." On the morning of the following day Eme′mqut went to Envious-One. Before he left, his father gave him an iron mouse, and said, "Take this along with you." Eme′mqut went, and called Envious-One out from the tent. "Come out, Envious-One, let us go to Floating-Island to serve for his daughters." Envious-One came out, and they drove off on their reindeer-sledge. They stopped in the wilderness over night. Next morning they got up and went on. Soon Floating-Island became visible in the sea. He was moving. Toward evening

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they reached an underground house of kamaks on the seashore. They entered the house. The kamaks treated them to food. Eme'mqut said to Envious-One, "Do not eat too much: the kamaks want to fatten and eat us." Envious-One did not mind him, and over-ate. They went to bed. In the night, Envious-One woke up, and called to Eme'mqut, "Arise, I have an attack of diarrhœa." — "I told you last night not to eat too much," said Eme'mqut. Then he took his iron mouse, and let it loose. It gnawed through the wall of the kamaks' house, and conducted Eme'mqut and Envious-One straight to Floating-Island. Two underground houses were standing there. Each went into one of the houses, and began to serve. There were only old men and old women in these houses. They said to the new-comers, "You will serve in vain here: we have no daughters." In reality their daughters had been hidden. Eme'mqut and Envious-One continued to serve. The sea-water would flood the houses during the day, and at night it would recede, leaving seals, white whales, and whales on the floor. Eme'mqut and Envious-One used to kill the seals and white whales, but they would not touch the whales, which, big and strong, would simply walk over the house.

One morning Eme'mqut and Envious-One went for wood, as usual. In their absence the old men said to the old women, "The young men have killed so many seals and white whales for us, let us not torment them any more: let us give them our daughters." Then the old women let out the hidden girls. When Eme'mqut and Envious-One returned with the wood, they heard from afar conversation, laughter, and noise, such as they had never heard before. Eme'mqut said, "They have brought out the girls: they want to give them to us in marriage." He descended into his underground house, but Envious-One was ashamed to go in. A little later he also went in. The old men in the houses said, "You have killed so many seals and white whales for us, we will give you our daughters now." On the following morning Eme'mqut and Envious-One again went for wood, and told each other that many pretty girls had appeared from somewhere. They both married, and drove home with their wives. That's all.

Told by Aya'tto, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Big Itkana, Feb. 13, 1901.

47. How Gull-Man offered his Sister in Marriage.

Gull-Man (Yaxya'xımtıla'n) lived with his sister Gull-Woman (Ya'xya-ña'ut). Once he began to sing, and to say, "Who will marry my sister?" Magpie-Man (Vakı'thımtıla'n) came flying along, and said, "Ta, ki, ki, ki! I will take her." Gull-Man answered, "I shall not give you my sister, you may desert her somewhere under a store-house." Magpie-Man flew away.

Then Gull-Man sang again, "Who will marry my sister?" Then Raven-Man (Valva'mtıla'n) came flying along, and cried, "Kho, kho, kho! I will take her." But Gull-Man replied, "No, I shall not give you my sister, you may leave her somewhere in front of the houses while you are picking up all kinds of human refuse." Raven-Man flew off.

Gull-Man began to sing again, "Who will marry my sister?" Then Cormorant-Man[1] (Ivvelu'mtıla'n) came flying along, and cried, "Ull-lau, lau, lau! I will take her." — "No," answered Gull-Man, "I shall not give you my sister, you may drop her from a cliff into the sea." Cormorant-Man flew away.

Then Gull-Man began to sing again, "Who will take my sister?" Paroquet-Auk-Man[2] (Apiga'mtıla'n) came flying along, and said, "O-go, go, go! I will take her." Gull-Man gave him his sister. Auk-Man flew home with his wife, alighted with her on a sea-cliff, and took her into his cave.

Soon Auk-Man flew away to the sea to fish, and left his wife at home. While he was absent, Gull-Woman went out of the cave, beheld the sunlight on the cliff, and began to sing, "The sun used to shine upon my father's cliffs, and now we live in a cave without light." Her mother-in-law shouted from the cave, "Stop singing!" but Gull-Woman did not listen to her. She climbed upon the cliff, threw herself down, and was killed. Her husband came, and found his wife lying dead on the ground.

Gull-Man went to the seashore, and found his sister dead. Then he sang, "Get up! Let us go up the river to fish there." Magpie-Man came flying along, and cried, "Oo, ki, ki, ki! I told you that I would marry your sister. She must have been stealing, and therefore has been thrown down the cliff." — "No," answered Gull-Man, "my sister is not a thief. She killed herself." Then Raven-Man came flying along, and screeched, "Kho, kho, kho, kho! I told you to give your sister in marriage to me. She must have been stealing, and therefore has been thrown down the cliff." — "You lie!" shouted Gull-Man. "My sister is not a thief." Gull-Man and Raven-Man began to quarrel. Raven-Man said, "This is not your land. You are not able to stay here in winter: you fly away." Gull-Man replied, "It is true, you stay here all winter, but what do you live upon? Dog-meat!" Raven-Man rejoined, "We stay here through the winter, and live on fresh and frozen fish." — "You are a liar!" Gull-Man said. What kind of fresh fish is there in the winter, when all the rivers are frozen? You live on dog-meat, and pick up excrement."

Raven-Man began to cry, and flew home. Crying, he went to his mother, Raven-Woman (Ve'sve-ñe'ut), who asked him, "Why are you crying?" He replied, "Gull-Man said, 'You stay here all winter, and live on dog-meat and excrement.'" Raven-Woman said to her daughter, "It must have been Magpie-Woman (Vakı'thı-ña'ut) who said it. Go and call her." The sister of Raven-Man went to Magpie-Woman, and said, "My mother wants to see you."

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[1] *Phalacrocorax pelagicus.*

[2] *Phaleris psittaculus* Pall.

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Magpie-Woman went to Raven-Woman, who asked her, "Have you come?" — "I have," answered the former, and laughed, "Me, khi, khi, khi!" Raven-Woman said further, "It must have been you who told Gull-Man that we stay here through the winter, and live on dog-meat and excrement. Now he taunts my son with it." Magpie-Woman answered, "I did not mention it. Why should I, since we use the same kind of food?" Magpie-Woman went home.

Raven-Woman said to her son, "Go and tell Gull-Man that we stay here all winter, and do not eat dog-meat, but live on the meat of mountain-sheep." Raven-Man went to Gull-Man, and said, "We do not eat dog-meat during the winter: we eat mountain-sheep meat." Gull-Man laughed, and said, "What kind of sheep-meat would you eat? Your meat is dog-meat and excrement." Raven-Man began to cry again, and went to his mother. Raven-Woman asked him, "What are you crying about?" He answered, "Gull-Man said that our meat is just dog-meat and excrement." Raven-Woman called Magpie-Woman again, and said to her, "It must have been you who told Gull-Man that we eat dog-meat and excrement during the winter." — "Why, no!" insisted Magpie-Woman, "how could I say that! Don't we eat the same kind of food?"

Raven-Woman let Magpie-Woman go, and said to her son, "Go and tell Gull-Man that he leaves this place in autumn because he is afraid of frosts. He would freeze to death here; but we stay here over winter, and feel so warm that we perspire." Raven-Man flew over to Gull-Man, and said to him, "You leave this place every autumn, and you used to do so in times of yore, because you are afraid of frosts, and would freeze to death; but we remain here, and feel so warm that we perspire."

That had an effect upon Gull-Man. They stopped quarrelling, and henceforth lived in peace. That's all.

Told by Ki′uña (Awakening-Woman), a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Big Itkana, Feb. 14, 1901.

48. The Stone-Hammer-Men.

It was at the time when Eme′mqut lived. He lay all the time in his underground house, so that at last his side stuck to the bed. Once his brother Big-Light (Q̣eskın·a′qu) returned from hunting. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut wished to give him something to eat. She took the food from the fireplace, stumbled over Eme′mqut's outstretched legs, and fell down. Miti′ said to her daughter, "Why don't you look where you are going when you carry food?" Yiñe′a-ñe′ut answered, "I stumbled over Eme′mqut's legs. He always stays in bed." Miti′ said to her older son, "Why do you always stay in bed, and not go anywhere?"

Then Eme′mqut sat up. "Give me my clothes," he said. He was given his clothes. He dressed and went out. He came to a river, and saw people catching fish with nets. He approached them. They were Stone-Hammer-Men (Čɪpe′mtilaʿnu). Eme′mqut helped them, and caught many fish. Toward evening the Stone-Hammer-Men stopped fishing, and went home with Eme′mqut. They gave him in marriage their daughter Stone-Hammer-Woman (Čɪ′pa-ña′ut). Eme′mqut staid there for some time, and a son was born to him. One day Eme′mqut said to his wife, "We ought to visit our father." A little later, Eme′mqut's mother-in-law asked his wife, "What did your husband say to you?" She answered, "He told me, that, if it were not for my parents keeping me here, we would go to his father's house." Her mother said to her, "Well, you may go."

On the next day the Stone-Hammer-Men prepared them for the journey, and gave them sledges and reindeer of stone. Everything was placed in line. Then Eme′mqut started out. He dragged the stone sledge and reindeer along by a strap. At first it was hard work; but the farther he advanced, the easier it became. Suddenly he heard the reindeer running, and saw them thrusting out their noses; and his wife shouted to him, "Sit down on the sledge!" Eme′mqut turned around, and saw behind him reindeer with iron antlers, hitched to iron sledges. He sat down on the first sledge, and drove the reindeer. When he approached Big-Raven's (Quikɪnn·a′qu) house, Illa′ saw the train, and shouted, "Miti′, come out to meet your son! He is coming with his wife." Miti′ came out with a fire-brand. She met her son and daughter-in-law. They slaughtered reindeer as a sacrifice on account of their arrival. Illa′ followed Eme′mqut, and said to him, "Tell me, Eme′mqut, where did you get such a rich bride?" Eme′mqut told him how he had found the Stone-Hammer-Men, how he got married, how they had given him the stone sledges and reindeer, and how the stones afterward turned into reindeer and sledges. "That is enough," said Illa′. "Now I understand, I shall also go to those people." Then they lived with Big-Raven. From this time on, Illa′ would always lie down in his bed, as Eme′mqut had done before.

One day Illa′'s younger brother, Qe′venik,[1] came home from hunting. His mother, Xe′llu, the sister of Big-Raven, said to her daughter Kïlu′, "Get some food for your brother. He has just come home from hunting." Kïlu′ served him with food, but Illa′ kicked her. She fell, and spilled the dish of seal-oil over her mother, who was sewing a coat of dog-skins. Her mother said nothing. Then Illa′ himself said to his mother, "Why did you not speak to me? You might have told me to go away into the wilderness." She answered, "Why should I send you away? Who would then carry wood for us from the forest?" — "Well, I shall leave you," said he.

He dressed himself and started to go. His relatives tried to detain him, but he left them. He walked and walked until he reached the river. He sat

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[1] The name of a small sea-fish.

down on the bank, and suddenly he saw people not far off catching fish with nets. He went up to them. They were the Stone-Hammer-Men. He struck their stone heads together just for his own amusement. Then he helped them to cast their nets. He went to live with them. After a short while the Stone-Hammer-Men said among themselves, "Let us give our girl to Illa′ for a wife." Thus the Stone-Hammer-Men married him to their daughter. Soon after, a daughter was born to Illa′. One day Illa′ said to his wife, "I should like to take you to my father." His mother-in-law asked her daughter, "What did your husband say to you?" She answered, "He said that he would like to go to his father." — "Well, you may go," said the old woman. On the next day they made up a train of stone sledges for him, like the one they had made for Eme′mqut. They gave him more stones than they had given Eme′mqut. He started out, drawing the whole train. He kept on drawing until he was tired out. Then he turned around to look at the train, and saw that only one-half of his wife's stone face had become human: the other half still remained stone. He went up to her, and said, "I shall leave you here: it is too hard for me to drag all those stones." She answered, "Go home. I shall also return to my people." Illa′ left his wife and stone train on the trail, and went home alone. When he arrived, Eme′mqut asked him, "Well, did they give you a girl in marriage?" — "Yes," answered he, "they married me; but it was hard for me to drag the stone train, and I left it."

Then Eme′mqut said to his younger brother, Big-Light, "Go and bring the woman and the sledges which Illa′ left in the wilderness." Big-Light went away, found the stone train, and began to pull it home. He kept on pulling until it became easy to do so. Suddenly he saw the reindeer running ahead of him and thrusting out their noses; and the woman shouted to him, "Stop walking, sit down on the sledges!" Big-Light sat down on the first sledge, and soon reached his home. Eme′mqut said to his mother, "Take fire-brands out to meet them." She went out to meet Big-Light. Illa′ heard that Big-Light was bringing the stone train that he himself had deserted, and he ran out, and shouted, "This is my wife!" But his wife pushed him away, and said, "You deserted me in the wilderness, now I don't want you." Big-Light married her. After that, they sacrificed some reindeer. Illa′ thought, "I shall not let them sleep at night. Wherever Big-Light and his wife lie down, there I will lie down." He noticed the place where a bed had been made for them, and, after the light had been put out, he went there and lay down. But there he found his sister Kilu′. She had changed places with Big-Light purposely. Kilu′ shouted, "See what he is doing! he came to his sister to sleep." Their father and mother arose and dragged him out of his sister's sleeping-tent. Then Illa′ said, "Never mind, I will find them." When all lay down, he looked again for Big-Light's sleeping-tent, but got into his mother's tent. She shouted, "What are you doing! you came to sleep with your mother!" He did not succeed in finding the bed of Big-Light and his wife. In the morning, when everybody arose, he said to Big-Light, "To-night I shall find you, though;" but he did not succeed any better. Every time he tried to find them, he would find either his mother or his sister. Then Illa' stopped seeking Big-Light's sleeping-place.

One day Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu) said to his sons, "Take your wives back to their parents." Eme'mqut, Big-Light, and their wives drove off to the village of the Stone-Hammers. The father and mother of Big-Light's wife asked her, "Where did you leave the husband that took you from here?" She replied, "Illa' deserted me on the trail; and Big-Light came afterward, took me to his home, and married me." Soon after, the brothers took their wives back to their father, Big-Raven.

They lived together comfortably. Illa' remained single, and did not marry again. That's all.

Told by Ki'uña, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village
of Big Itkana, Feb. 14, 1901.

49. The Ermine People.

There once lived a man named Ermine-Man (Imča'namtılaᵋn). His daughter, Ermine-Woman (Imča'nam-ña'ut), said, "I am going to the Beetles (Ke'mličun) to dance." She went to the Beetles, and began to dance, and to sing, "Ah, you dirty black things!" to which the Beetles sang, "Ah, you stinkers, you breakers of wind!" Ermine-Woman began to cry, and said to the Beetles, "Why do you abuse me?" To this the Beetles replied that she also had just called them dirty black things.

Soon somebody came to call Ermine-Woman back home, because her sister was giving birth to a child. She went home. When she arrived, her father said to her, "Go to Big-Grandfather's (Ačičen·a'qu) and get some reindeer-excrement. We are going to cook soup for the birth feast." She went to Big-Raven's (Quikınn·a'qu), got some reindeer-excrement, and took it home. Hersister was delivered of a son.

They cooked some soup, and made pudding. They were going to name the boy. The Ermines said, "Let us give him the name One-who-defecates-with-Moss (Vata'p-aᵋl̥l̥an)." But the boy did not like the name, and began to cry. Then the Ermines said, "Let us give him the name One-who-defecates-with-Black-Moss (Meñe'valaᵋn)." The boy did not want this name, either, and continued to cry. Then the Ermines said, "What name shall we give him?" Old Ermine-Woman said, "He probably wants to have his grandfather's name. Let us name him Yilñıkata'mısñin."[1] The boy laughed, and this name was given to him.

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[1] The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

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Then the new-born child said, "I am going to Big-Grandfather to serve for his daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut." He went there, but Big-Grandfather turned him out also, saying, "Go home! We are not going to give you our daughter, anyway." That's all.

Told by Ki'uña, a Maritime Koryak woman of the village of Big Itkana, Feb. 14, 1901.

50. Big-Kamak-who-turns-Himself-Inside-Out.

It was at the time when Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu) lived. Once Big-Grandfather said to his sons, "Go up the river in your skin boat and catch some fish." They went up the river. On the bank of the river there lived Big-Kamak-who-turns-Himself-Inside-Out (Čıhı'llı-kamakn·a'qu). He saw the skin boat which was going up the river, and he hid himself. The boat passed by. Big-Grandfather's sons caught some fish, loaded their boat with them, and started on their way back. Again Big-Kamak-who-turns-Himself-Inside-Out hid when he saw the boat. But Eme'mqut paddled up to him, and asked, "Do you not need a young girl for a wife?" Big-Kamak was silent. Then Eme'mqut said again, "Perhaps you would marry my sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut?" Big-Kamak still kept silence. "Perhaps you would like to have my younger sister, Čan·a'i-ña'ut?" continued Eme'mqut. Big-Kamak kept silence with an effort. "Perhaps you would like my youngest sister, Iči'me-ñe'ut?" Then Big-Kamak began to laugh, and laughed so much that his lips protruded until they reached back to his ears. He was unable to go home. Eme'mqut, with his brothers, left him in that state, and continued in their boat down the river.

For a long time Big-Kamak's wife was awaiting her husband's return. Finally she went to look for him. She found him on the bank of the river with his lips turned back to his ears. She turned his lips back, and took him home.

Big-Kamak-who-turns-Himself-Inside-Out was no cannibal; he was only very curious and funny, and liked to look at people. Whenever he saw people, he would hide himself and watch them; but as soon as they saw him, they would tell him funny stories to make him laugh, so that his mouth would turn inside out.

Eme'mqut took his fish home. Two days later Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) said to his sons, "Go and gather some wood." They started in their skin boat from the seashore where Big-Raven lived, and paddled for the mouth of the river to gather the driftwood which had been carried out by it. They gathered the wood, loaded their boat, and were about to go back, when suddenly they noticed Big-Kamak hiding behind a pile of driftwood, from which he was peeping out. Eme'mqut and his brothers went over to him to make fun of him. Eme'mqut said, "Would you like to marry my cousin Ki̇̄lu'?" Big-Kamak kept silent. Then Eme'mqut said to his brothers, "Let us give him Ki̇̄lu''s younger sister, White-Whale-Woman (Yi'yi-ñe'ut). Then Big-Kamak could not suppress his laughter. This time he laughed so heartily that his lips protruded until they turned over his head and reached down to his shoulders. Eme'mqut and his brothers left him in that condition, and paddled home.

In the evening Big-Kamak's wife said, "Why doesn't my husband come home? Something must have happened to him again." She went to look for him, found him, and with difficulty restored his mouth to its normal position. She conducted him home, and said, "Do not go any more to look at people, lest your lips protrude so far that you will die."

However, on the following morning, when he again saw Eme'mqut's skin boat approaching, he said to his wife, "I am going to look at them." — "Don't go! or at least let me sew up your mouth, so that you cannot laugh," answered his wife. Big-Kamak said, "I shall not laugh;" but his wife sewed up his mouth, just the same. He went down to the shore and hid behind a hillock. Eme'mqut soon noticed him, went up to him with his brothers, and said, "Big-Kamak, do you not wish to marry Yiñe'a-ñe'ut?" Big-Kamak kept silent. "Or perhaps you would rather have Čan·a'i-ña'ut," continued Eme'mqut. Big-Kamak could not suppress his laughter, and laughed just a little, but enough to make the stitches give way. Eme'mqut said, further, "Perhaps you would like to have Iči'me-ñe'ut?" Then Big-Kamak burst out laughing, and his mouth turned inside out, so that his lips reached down to his feet.

Eme'mqut went away with his brothers. In the evening Big-Kamak's wife came to look for her husband, and found him with his mouth turned inside out, his lips reaching down to his feet. With a great effort she set his mouth right, and she never let him go to look at people any more. Thus they lived. That's all.

Told by Ki'uña, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village
of Big Itkana, Feb. 14, 1901.

51. Big-Grandfather and the Kamaks.

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Big-Grandfather (Ačičen-a′qu) once said to his wife, "Let us go coasting downhill!" Miti′ answered, "I have no time, I must twist threads for nets." But Big-Grandfather said, "I also have some work on hand, I have to make nets: let us go, just the same." They went to a slope, sat upon some seal-skins, and began to slide down. Big-Grandfather rolled straight down upon the roof of the kamaks' underground house, and fell into the roof-opening of the porch.[1] Seeing that Big-Grandfather had fallen into the kamaks' house, Miti′ hurried back home. The kamaks soon stopped the fire on their hearth, and closed the opening in the porch. Big-Grandfather lay in the porch. Toward evening the kamaks made a fire on the hearth. One of them went out to remove the plug, but he could not do so. Big-Grandfather was holding it from within. Then they sent another kamak. The latter pulled out not only the plug, but with it Big-Grandfather. "Eh!" said the kamaks, beholding him, "food came to us of itself." They took Big-Grandfather into the house, put him into a trough, as men would a seal, and covered him up with sedge-grass. They said to him, "We shall eat you to-night." He replied, "When I catch any kind of sea-animal, I never eat it in the evening: I always leave it for the following morning." Then the kamaks left him until the following morning. They put out the light and went to bed. At that time Big-Grandfather began to bewitch the kamaks with incantations. He sang, "My father used to tell me, 'Those two who are sleeping on the left side will help you: they will not allow you to be eaten;'" but they answered, "On the contrary, we shall ask for a great deal of meat when you are killed."

Big-Grandfather sang again, "There are two asleep in the front place; those, my father told me, will help me." Those two also answered, "No, we want a great deal of your meat."

Then Big-Grandfather sang again, "There are two asleep on the right side, they will help me!" but they also answered, "No, we have asked to be given a great deal of your flesh."

Thereupon Big-Grandfather asked to be allowed to go outside to pass water. The kamaks said, "There is no need of your going outside: we have plenty of chamber-vessels in the house." He answered, "They are too small for me. Have you seen the high tide of the sea? It rises when I pass water." — "Well, if that is so, better go outside, lest you flood our house." The kamaks tied him to a long strap, and let him go out. Big-Grandfather said, "I will tell you when I am through. Then draw in the strap, and let two girls dance when I re-enter the house. When I catch a whale, I meet it in that way."

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[1] This refers to the underground buildings of the Maritime Koryak (see p. 14, Footnote 4).

Big-Grandfather went out. Soon the kamaks called to him from within, "Well, are you through?" Big-Grandfather answered, "Not yet, it takes me a long time to pass water." Meanwhile Big-Grandfather covered the entrance-opening of the underground house with the cover, put some logs upon it, unfastened the kamaks' strap which was holding him and tied it to the logs, and said to them, "I am going home. Give answer in my place. When I have reached my house, you may tell them that I have finished passing water." Big-Grandfather went home. After some time the kamaks asked, "Well, Big-Grandfather, have you finished?" — "Yes, I have," replied the Logs for him. The girls stepped into the middle of the house to dance. The kamaks pulled the strap, and the logs fell into the house, crushing the dancing-girls. The kamaks carved the girls and ate them in the dark. Then they asked each other, "How is it? Had Big-Grandfather two heads, four legs, and four arms?" Some said, "Yes, that is right, he had two heads, four legs, and four arms;" but others said, "When have you seen such people? Let us light the lamp and look." They lighted their stone lamps, and saw that they had eaten their own daughters. They felt sorry, and said, "Indeed, it seemed surprising that we should have managed to eat Big-Grandfather, while heretofore we were unable to do so. He would always escape from us."

Big-Grandfather went home, and said to Eme'mqut, "Let us kill some Yukaghir. I wish to get even with the kamaks. They have killed and eaten their own girls, and they will be angry with me. I will take some dead bodies to them." Big-Grandfather and Eme'mqut started off to make war on the Yukaghir. They killed many people, and drove away their reindeer-herds. Big-Grandfather took the dead Yukaghir to the kamaks, and said, "Here is a ransom for me." The kamaks asked, "And how shall we pay you? Shall we give you an iron cliff? Our daughter is hidden in it. Let Eme'mqut marry her." The kamaks gave Big-Grandfather an iron cliff. He put it near his house. After some time the cliff split; and a pretty girl, Kamak-Woman (Kama'keña) came out. Eme'mqut married her, and they lived together. That's all.

Told by Ki'uña, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Big Itkana, Feb. 15, 1901.

52. The Shell People.

Once Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu) was walking along the seashore, and found a little shell (ki'lkak). He picked it up, and said, "I will carry the shell home, and give it to my youngest daughter, Iči'me-ñe'ut, to play with." He took the shell home, put it near the house, and forgot about it entirely. Sitting in his house in the evening, he thought of the little shell, and said to

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his youngest daughter, "Go outside: I have brought a little shell for you to play with." She went out, and saw a little girl sitting near the house. She asked her, "Is it you whom my father brought to the house?" — "Yes," answered the girl, "he brought me." Ičei′me-ñe′ut took the girl into the house, and said to her father, "You have brought a little girl!" Big-Grandfather replied, "And I thought that I had brought a little shell."

They gave the little girl someting to eat. She grew up in Big-Grandfather's house, and Eme′mqut married her. After some time, Eme′mqut went hunting, and saw a small underground house. A girl lived there. He entered, and the girl said to him, "My brother Broad-soled-One[1] (Umya′ılhın) brought me over here, that you might marry me." Eme′mqut answered, "If you have been brought here for this purpose, then I will marry you." Eme′mqut married her, and lived with her for some time. Once he said to his new wife, "I am going home." He went home; and upon his arrival, his father asked him, "Where have you been all this time?" — "I am married," said Eme′mqut. "Broad-soled-One carried his sister to a place not far away, that I might marry her, and I did marry her." Big-Grandfather said, "So you have married a second time, and you have forgotten your first wife, whom you left here. Bring your new wife here, and let us all live together." Eme′mqut went away, brought his second wife, and they all lived together. After some time, Eme′mqut began to hate his first wife. He said to her, "You are without relatives, you have neither father nor mother."

One night his first wife went outside and walked down the hill to the bank of the river. There she saw Ground-Spider-Old-Woman, who said to her, "You must be unmarried, since you are walking alone at night?" She answered, "No, I am married; but my husband took another wife, and hates me now." Ground-Spider-Old-Woman said to her, "Your brothers are looking for you; they will soon come to fetch you." The young woman went up to the house, and noticed that somebody came driving out of the sea on sledges to which reindeer with iron antlers and hoofs were hitched. She ran to meet them, and found that they were her brothers. They asked her, "Do you live here? We are looking for you. Father and mother think that you were carried out by a wave, dashed against a rock and killed. We will take you home now." They put her on a sledge, and drove off.

At that time, Eme′mqut, who had been asleep, suddenly woke up. Something caused his heart to sink. He ran outside, and met Ground-Spider-Old-Woman. She said to him, "Your wife is being carried off by her brothers. You must hurry, if you want to get her back. You may yet overtake them." He ran to the shore, found them there, sat down on their sledge, and went away with them. They arrived at the settlement of the Shells. The father and mother of the young woman came out to meet her. They said, "We thought that a wave had dashed you against a rock and killed you." She answered, "Big-Grandfather picked me up on the shore, otherwise the waves would have crushed me." They entered the house, and made preparations for the feast of equipping for the homeward journey the whale[1] which had been caught not long before. The women were plaiting masks and bags of grass, and preparing puddings. The old people said to Eme'mqut and to their daughter, "Let us first equip the whale for its homeward journey, then we will get you ready for your return trip." After the whale had been sent off, the old people started to fit out Eme'mqut and his wife for their journey home. They also sent her brothers along, who were to serve for Big-Grandfather's daughters. The old people sent with their daughter one woman to do sewing, and another one to do cooking. They used reindeer with iron antlers and hoofs. When they arrived at Big-Grandfather's house, they were met by the people with fire-brands. Big-Grandfather immediately slaughtered reindeer as a sacrifice. Then they went into the underground house, and Broad-soled-One's sister was turned out of the house. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Čan·a'i-ña'ut were given in marriage to Shell-Woman's brothers, and they were sent back into the settlement of the Shells. Before leaving, they said to their sister, "We shall send you household dishes from home." Soon after their departure, a strong wind commenced to blow, and the sea began to throw out kettles and dishes. Eme'mqut's wife said, "My father is sending this to me." Eme'mqut grew rich, and they lived happy. That's all.

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[1] Wolves are thus called in some tales.

Told by Ama'aqen, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Big Itkana, Feb. 16, 1901.

53. Eme'mqut's Marriage with Kĭlu' and Grass-Woman.

Eme'mqut married his cousin Kĭlu'. One day he made some new snowshoes, and said to his wife, "I am going to try my new snowshoes." He put them on and went up the river. After he had gone some distance, he came to Root-Man's (Tatqa'hičñın) house, and went in. Root-Man's wife said to her daughter, Grass-Woman (Veᵋ'ai), "Fetch some food to treat the guest." She brought in all kinds of food, and set it before Eme'mqut. Eme'mqut beheld the girl, and fell in love with her. He sued for her then and there. Root-Man said to him, "Are you not married?" — "No," he answered, concealing his former marriage from Root-Man. Thereupon Eme'mqut married her, and remained with his father-in-law. Kĭlu' soon found out that Eme'mqut had married Grass-Woman. She went to Root-Man's house to look for her husband. Grass-Woman came out to meet her. Then Kĭlu' said, "I am Eme'mqut's wife." To this Grass-Woman replied, "I am also his wife." Kĭlu' then became enraged, killed Grass-Woman, and returned home.

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[1] See p. 65.

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Eme′mqut was away hunting when this happened. When he returned from hunting, Root-Man said, "You told me that you were not married; and now your first wife has been here, and has killed Grass-Woman." Eme′mqut immediately started off for his home, but he did not find Kīlu′ in. She had put up a tent for herself, and had gone to live there. Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a′qu) said to his son, "Your wife has gone away from us to live by herself." Eme′mqut replied, "Let her stay where she pleases, I do not want her."

Soon Fog-Man (Yıña′mtılaᵋn) came to marry Yiñe′a-ñe′ut; but Eme′mqut said to him, "You had better take my former wife, and carry her away from our village." Fog-Man took Kīlu′, and drove away with her to his house, using her reindeer-team. They made up a long train of reindeer-sledges. After their departure, Eme′mqut went into the underground house. Big-Grandfather said to his son, "Well, did Fog-Man take Kīlu′ away?" — "Yes, he did," answered Eme′mqut. Then Big-Grandfather said to his daughters, "Let me have the dogs' soup. I am going to feed the dogs." They gave him the cooked food for the dogs. He took it outside, poured it into a trough, and called the dogs. Suddenly he saw that the reindeer which were carrying Kīlu′ away had turned into dogs, and were running back in answer to his call, dragging along the sledges on which Kīlu′ and Fog-Man were seated. Big-Grandfather laughed; but Eme′mqut said to Fog-Man, "Why did you come back?" He answered, "As we were driving, the reindeer suddenly turned into dogs, and dragged us back." Kīlu′ became very poor, and remained single; and Fog-Man had to walk home alone. That's all.

Told by Ama′aqen, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Big Itkana, Feb. 16, 1901.

54. Eme′mqut's Marriage with a Kamak Girl.

Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a′qu) lived alone. There were as yet no other people. Once he said to his wife, "How can our sons live alone? I shall go and get a wife for Eme′mqut." He assumed the shape of a raven, and flew away to the river on the other side of the mountains. There he saw an underground house. He looked in, and saw kamaks inside. He took a lump of snow, and threw it on the lamp that was burning inside the house, thus putting out the light. Then, while it was dark, he descended, seized a kamak girl, carried her home, and gave her in marriage to Eme′mqut. She bore many children. That's all.

Told by Ama′aqen, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Big Itkana, Feb. 16, 1901.

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55. Ptarmigan-Man.

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Ptarmigan-Man (L̦axl̦a'ñela'n) was caught in a noose. Illa' took him out and carried him home. There they gave him some pudding, and let him go. When he came home, his wife asked him, "Where have you been so long?" He answered, "They caught me in a trap, then they gave me something to eat and let me go. Leave me! Henceforth I will live here alone. They may catch me again, and I do not want you to worry about me."

Ptarmigan-Woman (Laxl̦a'ña-ña'ut) went away, and her husband staid alone. He had taken a fancy to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut while he was in the house of Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu). One day he met her when she went to the woods to chop some willow-branches, and said to her, "Come with me, I want to marry you." She went with him into his tent, and became his wife. They went to bed. Next morning Ptarmigan-Man got up and went outside. He saw Broad-soled-One (Umya'ılhın [1]), who asked him, "Why did you stay in bed so late this morning?" Ptarmigan-Man answered, "Because I got married. Now I am going to attend to my hunting." — "Well, go and look after the traps," said Broad-soled-One. Ptarmigan-Man went away; and Broad-soled-One went to his tent, and called out, "Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, come here!" She went out, and Broad-soled-One took her and carried her away.

When Ptarmigan-Man came home and did not find his wife, he felt very much aggrieved. Soon Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's sister, Čan·a'i-ña'ut, went to the woods to get some willow-branches. Ptarmigan-Man saw her, took her to his tent, and married her.

Next morning Ptarmigan-Man went out and saw Wolverene-Man (Qepı'mteña'n). Wolverene-Man asked him, "Why did you get up so late?" Ptarmigan-Man replied, "I got married yesterday, and now I am going to look after my traps." — "Go," said Wolverene-Man, and went into the tent. He called Čan·a'i-ña'ut and took her to his tent.

When Ptarmigan-Man returned in the evening and did not find his wife, he went to look for her. In the mean time her younger sister, Iči'me-ñe'ut, had gone to the woods to get some willow-branches. Ptarmigan-Man took her to his tent, and married her. Next morning Ptarmigan-Man saw Wolverene-Man and Broad-soled-One taking their wives to Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu). They had very few reindeer. Then Ptarmigan-Man said, "I also am going to take my wife to her father." He harnessed many reindeer, and took the whole herd along. When they arrived at Big-Raven's house, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut began to envy her younger sister because she had a wealthy husband, and she said to her own husband, "Go and take some reindeer from Ptarmigan-Man." Broad-soled-One went out at night-time and killed the reindeer. Some-

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[1] A mythical name for the wolf.

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body notified Ptarmigan-Man, saying, "Broad-soled-One is going to devour your whole herd." Ptarmigan-Man replied, "I do not care if he does: maybe he needs it." Soon after that he went out and told the dead reindeer to fly away to the willow-bushes. They all became ptarmigan, and flew away to the bushes. Then Broad-soled-One felt ashamed; and at night-time, when everybody had gone to bed, he took his wife and went back to his camp, and since then he has ceased visiting Big-Raven. Ptarmigan-Man and his wife often came with reindeer to visit Big-Raven. That's all.

Told by Ama'aqen, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Big Itkana, Feb. 17, 1901.

56. How the Kamak Woman caught Children.

Once upon a time a number of boys went out to play with their sleds. They went to the slope of a hill and began to coast. Finally they said, "Now, that's enough, let us slide down for the last time." They slid down, and unexpectedly struck the roof of a kamak's house. The kamak's wife (kama'-keña) said to her husband, "Go up and see what that noise means." He went out, looked at the tips of his shoes, and returned into the house, saying to his wife, "There is nothing outside; only the magpies are there." The old woman sent out a wooden pole. It went out, looked at the sky, and came back with the same answer, saying that only magpies were outside.

Now, the old woman did not want to send her husband and the pole out again. She spread her fur coat in the middle of the house, let herself down on it, and shook her lice upon it. But she could not catch the lice, because the children looked in at the entrance-hole in the roof and kept out the daylight. Every time the old woman looked up, the children would turn quickly from the opening. The old woman then resumed her search, and at once the children came back to the opening and kept out the light.

Thus it went on for some time. Finally the kamak's wife got angry and cut off her nose, saying, "You are always in my light!" Then she put it into her mouth and ate it up. But this did not do any good: it was as dark as before. Then she turned suddenly to the hole in the roof, and there noticed the boys peeping in, before they had time to run away. "Aha!" said the kamak's wife to her husband, "human flesh (oya'myañ) has come to us of its own accord." But to the children she said, "Come down!" The son of the chief[1] (e'yım) came down first. The other children followed him, so that the house was filled with them.

The kamak said to his wife, "Let us go and cut willow-branches in the woods and eat the bark, then we shall eat up the boys." Before they went

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[1] The chief's name was Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu); and his son's, Eme'mqut.

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to the woods, they bundled the children into a fur coat, took them outside, and said to a tall tree that was standing there, "Bend down your head!" The tree bent down, and the kamak's wife hung up the coat with the children in it. Then the kamaks went to the woods, ate willow-bark, and made some spits.

During their absence the children heard a noise, and asked, "Who is down there?" — "It is I," answered Hare (Mi'lut). The children said, "We do not hope ever to see our fathers: you are happy, running about free, and you can see them." Hare answered, "My fur coat, I am sorry to say, is very poor, I cannot take you along," and ran away. After a while the children again heard some one running about near the foot of the tree. They made a hole in the fur coat and saw Fox (Yă'yol). They called to her, "Go and see our fathers!" Fox asked them what they were doing on the tree. The children replied, "The kamak's wife has wrapped us up in her fur coat, and has hung us up on this tree. Soon she will come back from the woods, and will eat us up." Fox took the children down and set them free. Then she sent some to fetch alder, others for stone-pine,[1] and still others for stones and sod. They brought alder, pine, stones, and sod. Fox made the children tear off the bark from the alder, and grind the pine with the stones and sod: she added water to it, and crushed it all up in a mortar. Then she put it all into the fur coat and hung it back upon the tree. Fox led the children away, taking care to obliterate their tracks with her tail.

In the woods the kamak's wife said to her husband, "My mind is uneasy, the children at home may have done something." They went back to their house, looked for the fur coat, and believed they saw the children moving in it. The kamak shot his arrows at it, and they struck the mortar. At once a red fluid flowed from the latter. The kamak's wife said to her husband, "You aimed splendidly, you have killed them." Then she took the bow, bared her right arm, and shot an arrow, which made a hole in the other end of the mortar. Then a black liquid began to flow from the stone-pine. "I made a still better hit than you," said the kamak's wife.

They took down the fur coat, opened it, and found only the mortar, alder, stones, stone-pine, and sod. When the kamak's wife saw that the children had disappeared, she turned upon her husband, and chased him about the house with a stick, repeating all the time, "It is your fault! You wanted to go to the woods to eat willow-bark." She beat him until he fell down, and then she ran in pursuit of the children.

She reached the house of Fox. Fox crushed some stone-pine in a mortar, added water to it, and prepared a black paint, with which she painted her face. Then she sat down. She had the children in her bosom. The kamak's

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[1] *Pinus pumila* Pall.

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wife rushed into Fox's house, shouting, "You carried away some children from my house!" — "No," said Fox: "you see that I am very sick, my face is turned all black. Do not cry, and do me a favor. I am not able to carry out my chamber-vessel. Do it for me, but take it far away from the house, up to the steep rock, and empty it there."

The kamak's wife took the chamber-vessel and went out, but Fox followed her. When she looked back, Fox turned into a bush; and the kamak's wife said, "Yes, that is right, I did see a bush on my way." Now she came to the edge of the rock, and was about to empty the vessel, when Fox suddenly gave her a push from behind, and she fell down the steep cliff. Fox remarked, "I am a sly fox. You wanted to get the children from me. Here they are in my bosom, see!" The kamak's wife lay at the foot of the rock, bruised all over, and called up to Fox, "Throw down just one to me, the son of the chief. I should like to taste some meat before I die. Do, please!" — "I shall grant your wish," said Fox. She took a stone, wrapped it up in a boy's fur shirt, and said to the kamak's wife, "Here is one for you! Open your mouth, I shall throw him into your mouth."

The kamak's wife opened her mouth, and Fox threw the stone, which killed the kamak's wife, passing through her body. Then Fox told the children to go home, giving them the following instruction: "When moving from the summer dwellings to the winter dwellings, and from the winter dwellings to the summer dwellings, do not forget to leave some food for me near the abandoned houses." Thus the boys went back to their folks, and told them that the kamak's wife would have eaten them up if it had not been for Fox, who came to their rescue.

Now the people moved from their summer dwellings to their winter dwellings. Soon after that, Fox went into one of the abandoned houses, followed by Triton (Wa'mïñan). They found an arrow, which they ate, and both became with child by it. Fox gave birth to a son with five fingers, and Triton gave birth to a daughter with three fingers. Triton sent Fox to fetch some moss for the children. Then Triton took her daughter and put her on Fox's bed, and the latter's son she took to herself. When Fox came back and looked into her bed, she said, "Why did you change our children?" But Triton denied the charge, and said, "You gave birth to a daughter, and I to a son." Fox did not want to quarrel any more. "Let it be so," said she.

The children grew up. The boy went out hunting. Once Triton said to him, "Let us build a house for ourselves: you cannot provide food for all of us." They built a separate house, lived very well from the game that the youth brought, and gave nothing to Fox and the girl. The boy did not know that Fox was his real mother. When Fox would send the girl to Triton to ask for food, Triton would chase her away, saying, "We have no food, either." As a matter of fact, they had a large supply of fish, and seal and reindeer meat. The girl would come back and say, "They won't give us anything." They were starving, and grew very thin.

One day the boy went out into the wilderness to hunt wild reindeer. He killed one, took out the entrails, skinned it, and cut up the carcass. It began to rain. The youth lay down on a moss-grown hill, and covered himself with the reindeer-skin. Then he heard a voice from inside the hill. It was Ground-Spider who was speaking. "The boy thinks that he is supporting his own mother [said he], but his mother is starving. If he would only look at the feet of his supposed mother, he would notice that she has only three toes on her feet, while he himself has five, like Fox." Then the youth said, "If it is known in the country that I support somebody else's mother, then, surely, all the inhabitants of the neighborhood must know about it."

Ground-Spider then appeared from inside the hill, and told how Triton had interchanged the children. "If you wish to convince yourself," said Ground-Spider, "do as follows: make a bundle of this reindeer-meat, tie it up with the guts, and carry it home. Triton will come out to meet you, as usual. Then tell her that you feel ill, that your feet are feeble, and that you are not able to carry the bundle any farther. Then hear what she says." The youth gave the reindeer-skin to Ground-Spider, made his bundle ready, and walked away. He was still far from the house when Triton came running to meet him. The youth made believe that he was lame. Triton took the bundle from him, and said, "My poor son, what is the matter with you?" — "My feet are sore," said the boy. His supposed mother wished to put the bundle on her own shoulder, but the guts parted and the meat fell to the ground. Then she said angrily, "That shows that he is Fox's and not my own son. My own son would tie the bundle with leather straps, but this one gnaws off reindeer-skin."

The youth threw himself upon Triton, struck her, and said, "Why did you interchange us, if you knew that a Fox's child eats straps?" The youth chased Triton out of the house, and went to live with Fox. Fox was so weak from hunger that she could not walk. The marrow of her bones had wasted. The youth took Fox on his shoulders and carried her to his home.

Soon after this, Eme'mqut returned to his house. This was the name of the owner of the house in which Fox now lived with her son, and in which the arrow had been eaten.

Eme'mqut asked, "How is it that you occupy my house?" The boy said, "My mother told me that you are my father." Eme'mqut said, "Let us move to our winter house, my father lives there also." But the boy said, "My mother is not yet able to go. The marrow of her bones is still poor. Till now I have not supported my own mother, because Triton kidnapped me and put her own child in my place."

Eme'mqut went home and said to his father, "In my summer house Fox is living with her son." His father said, "Go and bring them over here." They were brought, and from that time on they lived together with Eme′mqut. That's all.

Told by Kīlu′, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Paren, October 28, 1900.

57. The Old Woman and the Kamaks.

Once upon a time there lived an old woman by name Wuo′nem-ñe′ut. She had two little grand-daughters. One evening she said to her grand-children, "I am going out, do not follow me." She drew her fish-spear with double bone point from under the cross-beam of the house, and went out. She listened, and heard the voice of a kamak up the stream saying, "We shall soon eat them up."

The old woman ran down to the river and lay down on the bank. Then she saw the kamaks sailing upstream in a skin boat, and heard them saying to each other, "The women are asleep now, we can easily devour them, we must hurry and reach the bank quickly."

The kamaks landed. Then the woman arose, and cried, "You want to eat me, but you will not be able to. I am a woman shaman." When the kamaks heard this, they ran back quickly to their skin boat and sailed away. The old woman waited until the talk of the kamaks had ceased, and then went home. That's all.

Told by Yo′kowaaña, a Maritime Koryak girl, in the village of Kuel, October 10, 1900.

58. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut's Marriage with a Monster.

Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and Kīlu′ went to pick berries. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut noticed some one, and shouted, "Who is standing there?" Kīlu′ glanced up, and saw nothing; for as soon as she looked, the man let himself fall to the ground. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut saw him, but Kīlu′ could not see him. They went on. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut shouted again, "Who goes there?" Kīlu′ looked up and saw nothing. She said, "Why do you deceive me? Nobody is there." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said, "I see him; but as soon as you look up, he lets himself fall to the ground." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said, "Let us go back home." They arrived home and made a fire. Then they heard a noise. Right after that the monster Causing-to-Shudder (Čeñti′ñitalaᵉn) entered, and sat down at Kīlu′'s side. Kīlu′ pushed him to her cousin, and said, "You saw him before, now let him sit near you." The monster lay down to sleep with Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. When they fell asleep, Kīlu′ slunk away. She ran through woods and bushes, which tore her clothing.

She was half naked and breathless when she reached her father, who lived on the bank of the river. Everybody who met her laughed at her torn clothing. She said to her father, "A kamak has eaten up Yiñe′a-ñe′ut." Her father said, "Let us go and see what has happened to her." They went, and saw Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, accompanied by a handsome man, coming to meet them. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said to Kilu′, "If you had not run away, he would have married you." Then Kilu′ began to envy her cousin. That's all.

Told by Navaqu′t, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kuel, October, 1900.

59. Contest between the Wives of Eme′mqut and Envious-One.

One morning Eme′mqut came to Envious-One (Nɪpai′vatɪčñɪn) and asked, "Have you seen any girls anywhere?" His friend shouted, "Yes, I have. Now let us go there!" — "Wait a little," said Eme′mqut, "until I have finished roasting these guts." Eme′mqut left Envious-One. He roasted the guts and went away. Soon after, Eme′mqut found a wife and married her. Envious-One, on his part, took for his wife old We′ñil.

Both brought their wives home, and said, "Now let us see whose wife is fairer." Envious-One said, "I am going to bring my wife here." He went to his house, dressed his wife in a nice fur coat with a border embroidered with long, dyed hair from the chest of a reindeer. He ordered a pair of reindeer to be hitched up, and drove with his wife to Eme′mqut's. On the way he stopped and washed his wife's face thoroughly with snow. They arrived. Then Eme′mqut said to his relatives, "Hide my wife." Envious-One came down into the house. They feasted him on blubber. "Now, whose wife is fairer?" said Eme′mqut. First they brought in We′ñil, and made her sit down. She sat there with her long eyelashes, in her embroidered fur coat with a flap behind. Every few moments Envious-One went to his wife, caressed her, and stroked and parted her hair. "We′ñil will always be fair," thought her husband.

Then they brought in Eme′mqut's wife from her hiding-place. When Envious-One saw her, he was so fascinated with her beauty that he immediately had an attack of diarrhœa, and fainted. When he came to, he said, "I have been asleep. Whatever came out of my bowels is mine, I shall eat it again." He ate his excrement. As soon as he cast his eyes again upon Eme′mqut's wife, he forthwith passed out what he had eaten, and fainted. Soon he recovered his senses, and said, "I have been asleep, whatever came out of my bowels is mine." He ate his excrement again.

Then Eme′mqut said, "Enough, now go home." But Envious-One said, "Let our wives first show their shamanistic powers. Let us see who will take the prize." We′ñil took the drum first. When she began to beat it, a x773 539 number of wild reindeer appeared on the roof of the house, and ran about the opening. Envious-One said, "Look at the entrance-opening, and you will not doubt that my wife is a true shaman: she has enticed the reindeer." We'ñnil stopped beating the drum, and the reindeer disappeared. "Now let your wife show her shamanistic power," said Envious-One to Eme'mqut. As soon as she started to beat, sea-water came up and flooded the house, sea-birds appeared with clamor, seals emerged and dived again, and whales played about. Envious-One tried to flee from the waters. To save himself from drowning, he climbed up on the cross-beams of the house; but he fell down, and was nearly drowned. "That's enough!" he cried out. Eme'mqut's wife stopped beating the drum, and the water receded. Eme'mqut said to his guest, "Depart now." That's all.

Told by Yo'kowaaña, a Maritime Koryak girl, in the village of Kuel, October, 1900.

60. Grass-Woman and Diarrhœa-Man.

Eme'mqut went to serve for a wife. He came to the parents of his bride-elect to begin his service; but the girl did not care for him. Neither father nor mother were able to induce her to consent to the marriage. Eme'mqut returned to his father and told him about it. His father, Big-Grandfather (Ačičen·a'qu) went outside, and sat down to ease himself. After he had wiped himself, he threw the rag on the ground, and kicked it with his foot, saying, "Turn into a man;" and the rag turned into a man. Big-Grandfather named him Diarrhœa-Man (Poqa'ko). He put a wooden chamber-vessel (ača'lio) into his bag, and said, "Diarrhœa-Man, go to the parents of Grass-Woman (Veᵛai), and serve for their daughter, but do not marry her, only frighten her with your appearance and conduct." Diarrhœa-Man went. He came to the parents of Grass-Woman. No sooner had he descended the ladder than he sat down on his chamber-vessel in the middle of the house. Then he called to Grass-Woman, "I have come to woo you. It seems that you have been waiting just for me, since you did not wish to have Eme'mqut for a husband. Now, take my chamber-vessel, and empty it outside."

Grass-Woman seized the chamber-vessel, ran up the ladder, and threw it down to the ground outside. Then she ran to a neighbor's house and hid herself there. Diarrhœa-Man went out and found his chamber-vessel broken on the ground. He picked up the pieces, went up to the entrance-opening, and called into the house, "Bring me a drill." They answered from within, "We have no drill." Diarrhœa-Man then sat down over the opening, and eased himself right into the dwelling. This induced them to give him a drill at once. He repaired his chamber-vessel and went to look for his bride. He found the house in which Grass-Woman was in hiding. "My bride is in hiding here," said he. "Let her come out forthwith." 773 x

Grass-Woman had to come out of the house, but she succeeded in fleeing from Diarrhœa-Man. Without looking back, she ran into the wilderness, and came to an underground house. Two sisters of Diarrhœa-Man were sitting there by a blubber-lamp. She called to the two girls, speaking through the entrance-opening, "Hide me! Diarrhœa-Man is pursuing me!" but the girls shouted, "This is Diarrhœa-Man's bride: let us get hold of her!" Grass-Woman ran away from them. They pursued her. Grass-Woman took out an ear-ring, and threw it far behind her. Each of the sisters wished to have the ring, and they began to quarrel. After a while Grass-Woman dropped her other ear-ring. While the sisters were fighting over the ear-rings, Grass-Woman had reached Eme'mqut's house. She went down and said, "A repulsive man is pursuing me. His name is Diarrhœa-Man." 539

Then Eme'mqut married her. Diarrhœa-Man followed her tracks. He said, "Her footprints lead to my sisters': surely they will not let her off." He came to his sisters', and asked them, "Now, where is my bride?" They answered: "She was here. We tried to catch her; but she threw her ear-rings to us, and while we were quarrelling over them she ran away." Diarrhœa-Man was very angry, and kicked his sisters until they turned into rags. Then he followed Grass-Woman's footsteps, reached Eme'mqut's house, and ran about the entrance-opening. Grass-Woman saw him, and said, "Here is that wretch who annoyed us. He will not let us alone here, either." Big-Grandfather went out of the house, kicked Diarrhœa-Man with his foot, and Diarrhœa-Man turned into the rag from which he had been created. Big-Grandfather returned quietly into the house.

After some time, Eme'mqut said to his father, "I wish to take my wife to her father's. He thinks, probably, that she was caught by Diarrhœa-Man." They caught reindeer, and fitted out a long train for their journey.

Eme'mqut drove on with his wife, and they soon arrived at the house of Grass-Woman's father. Her mother asked her, "Where do you come from? Not long ago you did not want to take this fellow for a husband!" She replied, "This is the work of Big-Grandfather. He sent Diarrhœa-Man over here in order to bring me to Eme'mqut." Eme'mqut said, "I came to show you your daughter." They spent some time there, and returned to Big-Grandfather. Thus they lived. That's all.

Told by Yo'kowaaña, a Maritime Koryak girl, in the village of Kuel, October, 1900.

61. Little-Charm-Man.

There was a man named Little-Charm-Man (Ikle'mtılaᵋn). Once he went out to hunt wild reindeer. He went out of his house, climbed upon the roof of a dog-kennel, and lay in wait. He had a pointed stick. When a puppy came out of the kennel, Little-Charm-Man thrust his stick into its ear and killed it. He skinned it, cut it in two, made a bundle of it, and carried it into the house. Little-Charm-Man's daughter came to meet him, and called to her mother, "Father is bringing something, he is carrying a reindeer." But when she saw the dog's skin dangling from Little-Charm-Man's bundle, the mother replied, "It is not true: where should he get a reindeer?"

Little-Charm-Man arrived. He stepped on the ladder, and, descending into the underground dwelling, he said, "See! I never come home without game." His wife said, "Yes, you are known everywhere as a good hunter." He replied, "And you, on your part, are a fair woman." Then they carved the meat. With one eye Little-Charm-Man looked at the meat, and with the other at the sky. They cooked the meat, and Little-Charm-Man said to his daughter, "Invite all our relatives." Presently Kılu′, the owner of the puppy, arrived, crying, "At least, return to me the dog's skin." They gave her the skin. She took it, went home, and said, "Little-Charm-Man has killed our puppy." That's all.

Told by Yo′kowaaña, a maritime Koryak girl, in the village of Kuel, October, 1900.

62. The Abduction of Eme′mqut's Sister by the Kamaks.

Yiñe′a-ñe′ut lived all alone in an underground house that stood away from the other houses. Suddenly she disappeared. The kamaks had stolen her. Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu), her father, looked for her. He came to Ermine-Man (Imča′namtılaᵋn), and said, "Give me your fur coat. I want to go in search of my daughter. The kamaks have stolen her." Ermine-Man gave his little fur coat to Big-Raven, who put it on and started off. He reached the settlement of the kamaks. A woman by the name of Good-Kamak-Woman (Pal-kama′kaña′ut) came out of the underground house. Of all the kamaks, she was the only one who would not eat human flesh. She asked Big-Raven, "What did you come for? The kamaks will eat you." Big-Raven answered, "I have lost my daughter: I am looking for her." — "Your daughter is here," she said; "but the kamaks cannot eat her, she is a shaman." Big-Raven said to Good-Kamak-Woman, "I shall send three men here. Put my daughter into your bosom, carry her outside, and hand her over to those people."

Thereupon Big-Raven went home. When he arrived, he said to his son Eme′mqut, "Go to River-Man (Veye′mılaᵋn) and to Rocky-Crag-Man (Vomiñye′čemlaᵋn), and tell them to go with you to release your sister."

Eme′mqut went to ask for their help, and soon the three started off into the village of the kamaks. They went to the entrance of the underground

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house and looked in. Then the kamaks exclaimed, "Food has come to us of its own accord." The new-comers, however, did not go into the house, but only looked in from above. Finally Good-Kamak-Woman said, "I am sure they are afraid of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and therefore they do not dare to come in. I will carry her outside." She took Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, carried her out, and handed her to Eme'mqut, saying, "Here is your sister: take her." She returned into the underground house.

The strangers still remained outside, looking into the house, but did not descend into it. Eme'mqut finally said to the kamaks, "We do not go down because you do not meet us with dancing." Then the kamaks began to dance. River-Man was the first to descend. He was hardly halfway down the ladder, when he turned into a stream, which flooded the underground house, and drowned the kamaks. Then Rocky-Crag-Man descended, fell from the ladder down into the house, and crushed to death those who remained. Then Eme'mqut and his companions went away, taking Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Good-Kamak-Woman along with them. They arrived at Big-Raven's house. Rocky-Crag-Man married Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and River-Man Čan·a'i-ña'ut. Eme'mqut himself married Good-Kamak-Woman. River-Man and Rocky-Crag-Man took their wives home, and there they lived. That's all.

Told by Navaqu't, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kuel, Jan. 11, 1901.

63. Ermine-Woman.

It was at the time when Ermine-Man (Imča'namtıla'n) lived. Once his daughters went to strip willow-bark. They came to some willows. Eme'mqut was there at the same time. He helped Ermine-Man's daughters to strip the bark by bending the top of a tall willow-tree down to the ground. Ermine-Man saw it, and shouted to Eme'mqut, "Why do you touch my daughters?" Eme'mqut answered, "I am not touching them; I am helping them strip some bark."

He left them, travelling on his snowshoes, and came to the Woodpeckers in the woods. There he married Woodpecker-Woman (Keli'utki-ñe'ut). The Woodpeckers had no reindeer, and Eme'mqut had to take his wife home on foot. When they were passing by Ermine-Man's house, the latter called them in. "Come in," he said. "Why do you walk? Have you no reindeer at all?" They entered his underground house, and staid there over night. There Eme'mqut took a second wife, Ermine-Man's daughter, Stinking-Woman (E'ige-ñe'ut). On the following morning, Eme'mqut drove home with his two wives. Ermine-Man hitched only ermines to the sledge of his son-in-law.

Eme'mqut took his wives home, and lived with them. Stinking-Woman

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was a thief. She would steal whatever came within her reach. The people in the house, however, suspected Woodpecker-Woman of theft, and therefore hated her. Soon Ermine-Man came to visit Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu), who gave him whale skin and blubber and meat. Ermine-Man took the food home, and ate it all, without sharing with anybody. When he had finished eating, he again started off to visit Big-Raven. At that time the people had discovered that it was not Woodpecker's daughter who was stealing, but Ermine-Woman (Imča'ñam-ña'ut). When Ermine-Man came back, Big-Raven put Ermine-Woman into a bag and gave her to her father, saying, "There, take this home." Ermine-Man went back to his house, and on his arrival threw the bag with all his might on the ground, saying, "I will not divide with anyone. I will eat it all by myself." His wife examined the bag. She also said, "We will not divide it with anyone. We will eat it all by ourselves." She opened the bag, and suddenly beheld her daughter. She took her out quietly, put her on her bed, and covered her up with an ermine coat. The mother asked her, "Why did they put you into the bag? You must have done something wrong there." The daughter answered, "My husband's other wife accused me of stealing."

Eme'mqut continued to live with Woodpecker's daughter. He killed whales, seals, and white whales. When autumn came, he took his wife on a visit to her father. When they were passing by Ermine-Man's house, the latter came out and asked, "Why did you drive my daughter out?" — "Because she is a thief," answered Eme'mqut. He went on, reached the Woodpeckers, and gave them whale skin, blubber, and meat that he had brought for them. He took a whole herd of reindeer to his wife's father. He staid there for some time, and then prepared for his homeward journey. His wife's brother, Woodpecker-Man (Keli'ut-kihımtıla^{ɛ}n), who afterward married Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, went with them. He took her home. Thus they lived, and called upon one another. Eme'mqut did not take Stinking-Woman back, but renounced her entirely.

Told by Navaqu't, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kuel, Jan. 11, 1901.

64. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Mouse-Woman.

It was at the time when Eme'mqut lived. He had a sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. The reindeer-breeder Frost-Man (Anna'mayat) married her, and he settled down to live with Eme'mqut. Autumn came, and snow fell in the mountains. Then Frost-Man said to his wife, "Come, let us drive our herd up the stream to the mountains, to let the reindeer eat some fresh snow." They started with their herd up the river, came to the foot-hills of the mountain-range, and encamped there. Frost-Man put his head on his wife's knees, and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut began to louse him. Not far from them there was a settlement of Mouse people. Mouse-Woman (Pipı´qča-ña´ut) came out of her underground house, beheld Yiñe´a-ñe´ut lying with her husband, and envied her. She returned home, and said to her mother, "Give birth to some brothers for me." The old Mouse gave birth then and there, and brought forth several little male Mouse children. She asked her daughter, "How many did I give birth to?" Her daughter replied, "Plenty, that will do now." She took one of her little brothers, whom they called Young-Mouse-Man (Qai-pipı´qılñın), carried him outside, and said to him, "Go, enter Frost-Man's anus, and, no matter how many shamans try to cure him, do not go out until they call me to cure him." The little Mouse went, got into Frost-Man's anus, and he immediately became sick. Then he said to his wife, "Go home to your father's house, and I will go to mine." Frost-Man went to his father's house and went to bed. His father invited all kinds of shamans, but none of them was able to cure him. Finally they called Wolf-Man (Eᵋhı´mtılaᵋn). He began his incantations, then he stopped, and said, "I cannot cure him. Call Running-over-the-Grass's (Poina´qu) daughter, Mouse-Woman. She will surely cure him." Then they called her. She came and began to treat him. She beat the drum, and sang, "I, your sister, have come. Come out." The little Mouse came out forthwith from Frost-Man's anus. Mouse-Woman put him into her sleeve, and said, "I am going outside now." She went out, let the little Mouse free, and said, "There is our house: go there." She returned to Frost-Man's tent, and saw that he was up and quite well. His relatives said to Mouse-Woman, "You are a real shaman. Nobody could cure him, and you did." And Frost-Man said to her, "You have cured me, and in return I will marry you." They went together to her father, Running-over-the-Grass, and settled down to live there.

At that time, Athap[1] came to Big-Raven (Quikınn·a´qu), and began to serve for Yiñe´a-ñe´ut; but she refused to marry him. One evening, Yiñe´a-ñe´ut went outside, and noticed that smoke was coming out from Running-over-the-Grass's underground grass house. She thought to herself, "I will go and see why they have a fire so late." She went, looked into the house, and saw that her husband was lying with Mouse-Woman. At that time a little Mouse jumped upon Frost-Man, and teased him, saying, "Why did your head turn bald?" Then the Mouse himself added, "Because I was inside of you, in your intestines." Frost-Man became angry, and said to Mouse-Woman, "I will forsake you now. It was you yourself who let the little Mouse into me to make me ill."

Yiñe´a-ñe´ut had heard all they said, and ran home. Frost-Man followed right after her. She scolded him, but he tried to defend himself: "I married her because no one could cure me, and she did. Now that I have found out that she caused my illness, I have deserted her, and returned to you." They

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[1] A story-name of the wolf.

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continued to live as before. Ćan·a'ı-ña'ut was given to Wolf-Man in marriage. Frost-Man and Wolf-Man took their wives home. Then they called upon one another.

Mouse-Woman remained single. She killed her little brother for having betrayed her to Frost-Man.

Told by Navaqu't, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kuel, February, 1901.

65. Big-Raven's Visit to the Reindeer-Breeders.

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) lived. His sons went fishing up the river. Big-Raven's provisions had given out. He said to his wife Miti', "Give me my boots. I will drive over to the camp of the Reindeer people for some meat." He dressed himself, and called his reindeer. All sorts of beasts came running to him, — bears, wolves, wild reindeer, and others. He would strike every one of them over the nose, and say, "I did not call you." They all ran away. Finally the mice came. Big-Raven allowed them to stay. He hitched them to a large sledge, and drove off to the camp of the Reindeer people, who laughed at him, saying, "Big-Raven has hitched mice to a large sledge." Then they loaded his sledge with meat, fat, and other provisions; they also put skins there and entire tents of reindeer-skins. "Now let us see how you drive," said the Reindeer people, laughing. Big-Raven whipped the mice, and they went off flying. The Reindeer people pursued him with their reindeer, but they could not overtake him. Big-Raven came home, and released the mice.

When Big-Raven's sons came home from fishing, Big-Raven scratched his nose until it bled, and said to them, "I am going to die now. Do not burn me on the funeral pile, but put me into an empty underground house, and put some roe, dried fish, fat, and various roots with me." Thereupon Big-Raven made believe that he was dead. His sons put him into an empty underground house, and left all kinds of food with him. When they had gone out, Big-Raven got up and pounded the roots, roe, and fat together. After a little while his sons looked into the house, and saw that their father was making a pudding. They went away, and told their mother about it. She said to them, "Get me a ptarmigan." Her sons brought her a ptarmigan. She plucked its feathers and down, cut off her breasts and attached them to the ptarmigan, and said to it, "Go to the old man, and scare him." The ptarmigan went to the house where Big-Raven was, and began to sing. Big-Raven was frightened, ascended the stairs, and went running to his wife . . . (Unfinished.)

Told by Navaqu't, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kuel, March, 1901.

66. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and Fog-Man.

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Big-Raven (Quikɪnn·a′qu) lived alone with his family. Once he said to his wife, "We live all alone, we have no neighbors: it seems that we are the only people who were born in the world. There is our daughter Yiñe′a-ñe′ut living by herself in the wilderness. Let us bring her over here and marry her to our son Eme′mqut." — "Stop talking nonsense!" said Miti! "What are you thinking of, to marry a sister to a brother! There are plenty of Reindeer people on our earth." Big-Raven rejoined, "Those Reindeer people must be far away: there are none around here. Let us fetch our daughter: let Eme′mqut marry her." Miti′ did not wish to go, and said, "Will you not be ashamed when later on the Reindeer people visit our house?" — "Never you mind," said Big-Raven. "Go and fetch our daughter."

Miti′ went to the house of her daughter, who asked her, "What did you come for?" Miti′ answered, "Father has sent for you. He wants your brother to marry you, because there are no people around here from whom to select a wife for our son." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut did not wish to go with her mother. Miti′ said, "Neither do I want you to go. Better leave, and go far away to the Reindeer people." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut went away to the Reindeer people.

She walked for a long time. Then she beheld the camp of the Reindeer people. She came up to a tent, and heard a voice inside. It was Fog-Man (Yıña′mtıla′n), who was beating the drum, and singing shaman-songs. When Yiñe′a-ñe′ut came up close to the tent, he stopped beating the drum.

Then Fog-Man said to his mother in the tent, "By beating the drum and by incantations I have induced Big-Raven to desire to marry his son Eme′mqut to his daughter, and to send for her; and I have induced her to run away and to come to me. Go and see now! She has arrived, and is here in front of the door." His mother went out, looked about everywhere, but did not find anyone, for Yiñe′a-ñe′ut was hiding behind a tree. The old woman went back into the tent, and said, "There is nobody outside." But her son sent her out again, saying, "Go and look! She has come. When I beat the drum, I saw her." Fog-Man's mother went out again, and picked up some wood for the fireplace. Then she found Yiñe′a-ñe′ut hiding behind the tree.

"Who are you?" asked the old woman. "I am Big-Raven's daughter," answered the girl. "So it is you for whose sake my son has always been beating the drum. He would neither go hunting nor watch the reindeer-herd; he would not eat or drink. He only kept on beating the drum. Go into the tent."

Yiñe′a-ñe′ut went in, and Fog-Man's mother followed her. The old woman said to her son, "Here! she has come. Now stop beating the drum." — "Yes, I will stop," answered her son. "Put the food on the fire. I have not eaten for a long time." At this his mother brought him some food. He ate of it,

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and said, "I shall marry Yiñe′a-ñe′ut now." But his mother objected, "I also have made incantations, and I have seen that her brother Eme′mqut married her before." — "This is not true," answered Fog-Man; "he did not."

Fog-Man married Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, and children were born to them. One day Fog-Man asked his wife, "Is it true that your father wanted to marry you to your brother?" — "It is true," she answered. "That is why I ran away to you." — "Let us go and visit your father," said Fog-Man. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut answered, "I will not go. I am ashamed to go to my father: he wanted to marry me to my brother." — "Well, never mind: let us go. My incantations caused your father to wish it."

Fog-Man killed some reindeer for the journey, and Yiñe′a-ñe′ut cooked the meat. They made a covered sledge of iron for the children. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut gave birth only to boys. They cooked plenty of fat meat, and started off. When they came near Big-Raven's, Fog-Man asked his wife, "Have we still far to go?" — "We have covered half of the way," answered Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. "Let us stop here over night, and we shall arrive to-morrow." They stopped for the night, put up a tent, and went to bed. When Fog-Man was asleep, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut got up cautiously and walked to her father's house. She descended into the underground house, felt her way to her mother's bed, and fumbled around to find her mother's head. Miti′ woke up and asked, "Who is fumbling around my head?" Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said, "I am your daughter, I have come. I am married, and now I have come here with my husband. We are stopping for the night not far from here, and I have run ahead to inform you of our arrival." After that, she returned to her tent, and lay down with her husband. They got up on the following morning, and started off to Big-Raven's house. When they were approaching, Miti′ went out to meet them with a fire-brand. Then Kïlu′ came out to meet them, and Eme′mqut followed her. Eme′mqut asked his sister, "Where do you come from?" She answered, "Fog-Man made me come to him, and he has married me." The guests were conducted into the underground house, and were given food to eat. Eme′mqut asked his sister whether her husband had a sister. She answered in the affirmative. "Then I am going with you to serve for your husband's sister," said Eme′mqut.

When Fog-Man and his wife started on their return journey, Eme′mqut went with them. Fog-Man's mother met them, carrying a fire-brand. On seeing Eme′mqut, she asked, "Who is that who has come with you?" — "This is my brother," answered Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. "He came to woo my sister-in-law and to serve for her." When they entered the tent, Fog-Man said to his mother, "Let Eme′mqut marry her right now, without service. I did not serve for my wife, either." His mother consented, and said to Eme′mqut, "Well, go ahead, catch your wife." Eme′mqut ran after Fog-Man's sister, caught her, and she gave birth then and there. Fog-Man asked his mother, "Well, has Eme′mqut married her?" — "Yes, he has married her, and a son has been born to them." Soon Eme'mqut made preparations to go home with his wife. Fog-Man gave to Eme'mqut half of his reindeer-herd, and they left for Big-Raven's home. When the people from Big-Raven's house saw them approaching, they said, "Eme'mqut is driving a large herd over here." He arrived with his wife, and Miti' came out to meet them; and since then they have lived with Big-Raven.

Told by Eu'ña, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village
of Mikino, Jan. 10, 1901.

67. How Triton-Man abducted Eme'mqut's Wife.

Gull-Man (Yaxya'xımtıla'n) once said to Raven-Man (Valva'mtıla'n), "Let us go to Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) and serve for his daughters." They went to Big-Raven's house, and began to work there. After some time Big-Raven said to his wife, "What shall we do? Shall we give them our daughters?" Miti' consented. Both the young men married. Raven-Man married Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and Gull-Man married Čan·a'ï-ña'ut, and they staid with Big-Raven. Then Eme'mqut said, "I will also go and serve for a wife," and went to Root-Man's (Tatqa'hıčñın) house. When he arrived there, Root-Man was making snowshoes. On seeing Eme'mqut, he exclaimed, "Oh, here is a visitor! Come inside!" They went inside, and Root-Man ordered refreshments to be served. They offered some to Eme'mqut; but he ate very little, for he was anxious to announce to Root-Man the object of his visit. "I came to you to woo your daughter," said Eme'mqut. "All right," answered Root-Man, "you may stay here." Eme'mqut staid at Root-Man's house, serving for the woman, and soon married his daughter, Grass-Woman (Ve'ai). Eme'mqut lived there for a long time. A daughter was born to him. Once Eme'mqut said to his father-in-law, "I should like to go home, and take my wife with me." His father-in-law replied, "You might have done so long ago if you had so desired." They were fitted out for the journey; but only four driving-reindeer were given to them, — two to Eme'mqut, and two to his wife, — because Root-Man was not well supplied with reindeer.

When Eme'mqut and his wife reached home, they were met by Miti'. They went into the house, and staid there. Gull-Man and Raven-Man were still living with Big-Raven.

Once Grass-Woman went to pick berries, and did not return home. Eme'mqut looked for her everywhere, but could not find her. After some time, Gull-Man told him that Triton-Man (Wāmına'mtıla'n) had carried his wife away. Eme'mqut went back to his father and told him of what had happened. Big-Raven replied, "Never mind! Don't follow her, you will be killed." But Eme'mqut said, "No, I must go. I do not care, even if I should suffer death."

Eme'mqut set out on his trip, and at nightfall arrived at the camp of

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Triton-Man, who was out with his herd. Eme'mqut went into the tent, took his wife, and started homeward.

In the mean time, Triton-Man, who was far away with his reindeer, suddenly jumped to his feet, and said, "How my heart flutters! I must go home. Surely something has happened there." He went home at once. When he entered his tent, he asked his mother, "Where is Grass-Woman? Where is my wife?" — "Eme'mqut was here and took her away," answered his mother. Then Triton-Man started in pursuit, overtook Eme'mqut and killed him; then he carried Grass-Woman back.

Big-Raven waited for his son a long time. Finally he said to his sons-in-law, "It is a rather long time since Eme'mqut left, and still he has not returned. Go out and look for your brother-in-law. You are married to his sisters, and you ought to try to find him." Gull-Man and Raven-Man started in search of him. Soon they found Eme'mqut, and brought his body home. Again Big-Raven spoke to his sons-in-law, saying, "You must do something to revive him." To this, Raven-Man replied, "I will try, but you must first kill a white reindeer." Big-Raven killed a white reindeer, which was brought into the house. Its meat was cut up. Raven-Man ordered the meat taken away, and had only the blood left on the reindeer-skin. Then Raven-Man took a drum, beat it several times, and poured some blood over Eme'mqut's head. Eme'mqut began to stir. Then Raven-Man thrust a piece of bone-marrow into Eme'mqut's mouth, and asked him, "Do you taste the sweet of the marrow?" — "No," answered Eme'mqut, "it is as tasteless as wood." Raven-Man again took up the drum, beat it several times, and poured some blood over Eme'mqut's head. Then he gave him some more marrow, and asked him if he tasted its sweetness. "Yes," answered Eme'mqut. "When I shot wild reindeer, and took marrow out of their bones, it tasted as sweet as what I taste now." — "You are now entirely revived," said Raven-Man, "and you may arise."

As soon as Eme'mqut rose to his feet, he said, "I shall set out once more to recover my wife." Big-Raven said to his son, "Don't go! Triton-Man will kill you." — "No, I won't stay. I do not care if he does kill me," said Eme'mqut. He came again to Triton-Man's camp in the evening, when Triton-Man was out with his reindeer, and called out, "Come out, Grass-Woman! let us go." She came out, and Eme'mqut and his wife started home. In the mean while Triton-Man became alarmed again, and said, "Why is it that I feel so much disturbed? I must go home to see if anything has happened. Eme'mqut must have come again to carry off his wife."

He ran home, and asked his mother if his wife was at home. "No," said his mother. "Eme'mqut took her away." Triton-Man started in pursuit, overtook Eme'mqut, and, after killing him, cut him up into small pieces. "Now," said he, "you will not revive." He took Grass-Woman back with him.

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Big-Raven waited in vain for Eme'mqut, and finally said to his sons-in-law, "Go and look for your brother-in-law." They went in search of him, and soon found his body, which had been cut to pieces. They gathered up the pieces and took them home. When they brought Eme'mqut home, Big-Raven said, "Well, Raven-Man, revive him again." Raven-Man replied, "I will try, but I do not know whether I can revive him or not. Kill two white reindeer." Big-Raven killed two white reindeer and brought them into the house. Raven-Man began to beat the drum. After he had beaten it for a long time, the pieces re-united. Raven-Man again beat the drum. After a while he stopped, poured some blood over Eme'mqut's head, and gave him some marrow taken from a reindeer-leg. Then he asked, "Do you taste the sweetness of the marrow?" — "No," said Eme'mqut, "it is as tasteless as wood." Raven-Man again beat the drum, and poured some more blood on Eme'mqut's head. Then he put more marrow into his mouth. "Do you taste the sweetness now?" he asked Eme'mqut. "Yes," replied Eme'mqut. "It is as delicious as the marrow which I used to take from leg-bones of the wild reindeer that I killed." — "Then you may arise," said Raven-Man. "You are entirely revived."

Before he had time to rise to his feet, Eme'mqut said again, "I shall set out again to recover my wife." Big-Raven said, "Don't go! Triton-Man will kill you." — "No, I won't stay," said Eme'mqut. "I do not care if he does kill me." Again he reached the camp of Triton-Man at night-time, while Triton-Man was herding the reindeer. He said, "Grass-Woman, come out! I will take you away!" She came out, and they went away. Triton-Man, although far away, noticed that something was happening, and said to himself, "I must hasten home. Eme'mqut must have carried his wife away again." He reached home, and asked his mother, "Is Grass-Woman at home?" — "No," answered his mother, "Eme'mqut has carried her away." Triton-Man started in pursuit. He overtook Eme'mqut, killed him, burned his body, and threw the bones into different lakes. "Now," said Triton-Man, "you will not revive." Then he took Grass-Woman back home.

Big-Raven, after waiting for his son a long time, again said to his sons-in-law, "Go and look for your brother-in-law." They went to look for him, and found his ashes, but could not find his bones. Then Gull-Man flew about over the lakes, dived into the water, and pulled up from the bottom one bone at a time, until he had gathered them all up. After that, Raven-Man and Gull-Man took them home. Big-Raven again told Raven-Man to revive Eme'mqut. "This time I cannot revive him," said Raven-Man. "Oh, try!" said Big-Raven. "I do not know whether I can revive him. Let four reindeer be killed," said Raven-Man. They were killed and brought into the house. Raven-Man beat the drum all day and all night. Then the bones re-united, and covered themselves with flesh. Raven-Man poured reindeer-blood over Eme'mqut's head, and put marrow into his mouth. "Is the marrow sweet?"

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asked Raven-Man. "No," replied Eme'mqut. Raven-Man again beat the drum, poured more blood over Eme'mqut's head, and put more marrow into his mouth. "Well," asked Raven-Man, "do you taste the sweetness of the marrow now?" — "Yes, this marrow is just as sweet as the marrow of the wild reindeer which I used to kill," answered Eme'mqut.

Then Eme'mqut arose hale and well. One whole day he did not mention his wife; but when evening came, he asked his father, "Shall I not go and recover my wife?" But Big-Raven said to him, "No, do not go again; better go hunting."

Next day Eme'mqut started out on a hunting-trip. Soon he killed a wild reindeer, and lay down under a stone-pine-bush to rest. All of a sudden he heard a voice from under the ground. "Grandma," a child's voice was saying, "tell me a story!" — "What shall I tell you?" answered an old woman's voice. "I do not know how to tell stories, unless I tell you the story of Eme'mqut." — "Well, well! tell me that story," said the child. "Triton-Man," began the old woman, "carried Eme'mqut's wife away. Eme'mqut took his wife back three times; but Triton-Man overtook him every time, and killed him." — "And how is Eme'mqut going to get his wife back?" asked the child. "If I were to tell Eme'mqut how to get her, he would be able to take her back," answered the old woman.

Eme'mqut looked under the stone-pine-bush and saw a hole leading into an underground house. He descended, and found old Spider-Woman and her grand-daughter, who lived there.

The old woman served Eme'mqut with food, but Eme'mqut did not touch it. He only said to her, "You just told your grand-daughter that you could tell Eme'mqut how to get his wife back from Triton-Man. I am Eme'mqut, will you tell me?" Spider-Woman replied, "Go to Triton-Man, but do not take your wife. First you must take the box which stands in a corner of the tent. In this box lies the heart of Triton-Man. Take this out of the box and carry it away."

Eme'mqut left with the old woman the reindeer that he had killed, and ran home. Big-Raven was lying there; but, on seeing Eme'mqut, he sat up, and asked him, "Why are you so cheerful? You must have some good news." Eme'mqut replied, "Spider-Woman has told me how to kill Triton-Man, and how to get my wife back." — "Then try once more," said Big-Raven. Eme'mqut arrived at Triton-Man's camp, entered the tent, took the box that was in the corner, took Triton-Man's heart out of it, and carried it home. When he reached home, he started a great fire, and threw the heart into it. When it began to burn, Triton-Man, who at the time was out with his herd, felt very sick; and when the heart was burnt up, he died.

Then Eme'mqut went to take his wife back home. After that, they lived quietly with Big-Raven.

Told by Ka'mak, a Maritime Koryak man, in the village of Mikino, Jan. 10, 1901.

X — MYTHS OF THE CAMPS ON THE PALPAL MOUNTAIN-RIDGE.

68. Big-Raven and Dog-Man.

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Dog-Man (Aᵋta′nvalaᵋn, said, "I am going to Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) to serve for his daughter." He went and served for her. The people fed him. Once a bone was thrown to Dog-Man. He lay down, and sang, "The girl that is hidden in Miti′'s head wishes to have me."

Once Big-Raven said, "Miti′, give me my strap." She gave him the strap. He went for wood. He gathered the wood, tied it in a bundle, and put it on his back and carried it home. When he came home, he turned around, and noticed that what he had carried was dried fish instead of wood.

Then he went to fetch ice. He came to the river, put some ice into his bag, and went home. When he had brought the bag home, he looked inside, and found out that the ice had turned into seal-blubber.

Then Big-Raven said to his daughters, "Go and gather some berries. There are plenty of them in the field. The geese may eat them if you do not go now." They went for berries, but did not find any. They returned home, and said, "There are none: the geese have eaten them all up." Then their father said to them, "Go and gather stone-pine-cones. There are plenty of nuts in them." They went to the stone-pine, but found nothing. The nutcrackers[1] had eaten all. They came home, and said, "There are none." Then Big-Raven said to his daughters, "There are many haddock[2] in the river. Go and catch them with the hook." They went fishing. They angled and angled, but caught only one haddock. Raven came flying along and took even that fish away from them. They came home, and said that they had not caught anything.

Thereupon Big-Raven said to Dog-Man, "Bring some water." He replied, "It will hurt my hands." — "Why do you not put on your mittens?" asked Big-Raven. Dog-Man answered, "My mittens will get torn." Big-Raven said, "Then sew them up with a needle." Dog-Man rejoined, "The needle will break." — "Then sharpen it," said Big-Raven. He continued, "Well, go to your camp and fetch some meat." Dog-Man went. Soon he returned, and said to Big-Raven, "I brought a reindeer flank and brisket." — "Where are they?" asked Big-Raven. "The fire has burned them," answered Dog-Man.

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[1] *Nucifraga caryocatactes L.*

[2] *Boreogadus polaris.*

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"And where is the fire?" asked Big-Raven. "The rain has put it out." — And where is the rain?" asked Big-Raven. "The rain went up to the sky," answered Dog-Man.

Told by Ñaya'va, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in a camp on the Palpal Mountain-Ridge, March, 1901.

69. Big-Raven's Daughters and the Wooden Whale.

Once Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) said to his wife, "Let us take our daughters to the wilderness; let them live there." Then they took their daughters, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Čan·a'i-ña'ut, into the wilderness. They settled down by themselves in an underground house. Their father and mother would eat fat reindeer-meat, but to their daughters they would send the lean pieces.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Čan·a'i-ña'ut became angry with their parents. They fetched a large log, made a whale out of it, and put it into a pail of water. On the following morning they looked into the pail, and saw that the whale had grown so large that there was no room for it inside. They carried it to a small lake. On the following morning they saw that there was no room for it in the lake. They transferred it to a larger lake; but on the next day the whale had grown so large that there was not room enough for it in the large lake. They put it into the river, entered it, and said, "Spotted-Whale, take us over where there is a settlement." Thus they were carried to sea. That's all.

Told by Ñaya'va, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in a camp on the Palpal Mountain-Ridge, March, 1901.

70. Big-Raven and Young-Kala.

Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) said to his wife, "I am going to take a swing on the strap." He took his strap, went to the woods, attached it to a tree, and began to swing. "I wish some one would swing me!" he said. Young-Kala (Qai-ka'la) came and said, "I will swing you." He began to swing him. Big-Raven asked, "Who is swinging me? is it a man, or somebody else?" Young-Kala replied, "It is a man who is swinging you. You and I have the same reindeer, with the same antlers on their heads." That's all.

Told by Ñaya'va a Reindeer Koryak woman, in a camp on the Palpal Mountain-Ridge, March, 1901.

71. Eme'mqut and Little-Charm-Man.

Little-Charm-Man (Ikle'mtılaᵋn) said to Eme'mqut, "Let us go and eat king-salmon's[1] heads." They went; but Eme'mqut took out Little-Charm-Man's stomach, and put in a mouse-stomach instead. They arrived at the river and began to eat. Little-Charm-Man ate just one small piece, and felt that he had enough. Then Eme'mqut cut some king-salmon's heads for him, and said, "Take them home." Little-Charm-Man carried them home. Suddenly he noticed his stomach hanging in his underground house. He asked, "Who hung the seal-stomach up here?" Eme'mqut then said, "That is your stomach. Put it back, and eat the salmon's heads." Little-Charm-Man put his stomach back, began to eat, and ate all there was, and felt that there was not enough for him. That's all.

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[1] *Salmo chawicha.*

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Told by Ñaya'va, a Reindeer Koryak woman, in a camp of the Palpal Mountain-Ridge, March, 1901.

XI. — TALES OF THE MARITIME KORYAK OF THE COAST OF UPPER PENSHINA BAY.

Villages Kamenskoye (Va'ikenan) and Talovka.

72. Big-Raven and Hare.

x713 539 There was Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu). Once he said, "I want to go and search for some kind of food." He went into the woods and cut down willows. One of the willows he did not take along, saying, "I shall leave this one for to-morrow. I shall fetch it to-morrow." During his absence, Hare (Mi'lut) came and carried off the willow. Big-Raven came on the following morning, and did not find his willow. "Hare has stolen it," said he. He went to look for Hare's house. He found the house late at night, went in, took the youngest Hare, flayed it, and left it there.

The cries of the little one awakened its mother. She said to her husband, "Something has happened to our son. Arise and call a shaman." He went, but was unable to find one. His wife said to him, "Go to Big-Raven's: he will, no doubt, restore our son to health." He went to Big-Raven's and said, "Our son is ill, come and cure him." Big-Raven consented. He put the skin of the little Hare in his bosom. When they came into the underground house of Hare, Big-Raven said, "Put out the light. I will commence my work." They put out the light, and he began to beat the drum. Then he drew the little skin out of his bosom and put it on the young Hare, like a little shirt; but he put it on so that the mouth appeared at the back of the neck. "Light the lamp," he said. When he discovered, however, that he had made a mistake, he cried, "Oko-ko-ko-ko! quick, put the light out again!" When it was dark again, Big-Raven continued his incantations. He pulled off the skin, put it on again, and asked the people to relight the lamp. But once more he shouted, "Oko-ko-ko-ko! put out the light quick!" He had made a mistake the second time: the under lip had been put in the place of the upper lip. The people put out the light, and this time Big-Raven put on the skin in the right way. "Light the lamp," said Big-Raven, "I have now restored your son's health."

They lighted the lamp, and the little Hare ran about in the house. The Hares said to Big-Raven, "What shall we give you for your skill? We wish to make you a present of a herd of reindeer." — "No," said Big-Raven, "I do not need them: return the willow that you stole from me in the woods." — "Here, take it! You may also take along our son for some time, you may

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use him for errands. He will carry out all your orders." However, he did not take the boy, but only the willow.

When he came home, his wife asked him, "Where have you been?" — "Well, I have been in the woods and cut down a willow, but it was stolen from me. I have recovered it from the Hares. First I pulled off the little one's skin, and then I restored it to him. In payment, the Hares offered me a herd of reindeer, but I did not take them. I asked only for the willow. They gave it to me, and I have brought it home." That's all.

Told by Anne Qači'lqut (Strongly-arisen), a Koryak woman,
in the village of Kamenskoye, November, 1900.

73. How Big-Raven burnt up the Kamaks.

Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) said, "The kamaks want to devour all our children. Heat plenty of stones, we shall kill all the kamaks with them." Big-Raven took some sedge-grass (*Carex*), twisted it together with hare's hair, and began to swing it. The kamaks came, descended the back of the ladder, and screamed, "Če-re-re-re! what is the old man calling us for?" Big-Raven put red-hot stones on the front side of the house, which is assigned to guests, and said to the kamaks, "Come on! the place is ready for you." They came, sat down on the place assigned to guests, and cried out, "Če-re-re-re!" They were roasted. The kamaks who came later also sat down on the stones, were burnt, and screamed, "Če-re-re-re!" But Big-Raven kept on swinging his wand of sedge and hare's hair, and struck them with it. Finally the great old kamak came and said, "Če-re-re-re! why does the old man call me?" Big-Raven answered, "We shall enjoy very much spending a night together. All your friends are already asleep here: I have prepared a soft bed for them." The great kamak also sat down on the glowing stones, and cried out, "Če-re-re-re! the bottom of my trousers (qu'yım) is burning!" All the kamaks were burnt. Only ashes were left of them. Big-Raven covered the ashes with sedge and hare's hair, pressed them with stones, and said, "I have killed all the kamaks: now the children will always be well, and will never be sick again."

Miti', Big-Raven's wife, said to the children, "Now you may run about freely out-doors, father has killed all the kamaks." But there remained one old woman, the old kamak's wife. She said at home, "Why do the old man and the children stay away so long? I am going to look for them." She started, and finally reached Big-Raven's house. Big-Raven had just gone to bed, when he heard a noise. The old kamak-woman (kama'keña) cried, "Če-re-re-re!" Big-Raven said to Miti', "A short time ago you said that the old kamak had no wife, and there she is coming now!" But to the kamak-

773x 539 woman he shouted, "Come, come! I have killed all your folks." Then he said to Miti', "You are both of you women: you shall fight with her. Here is father's wooden knife. Stab her with it." The kamak-woman came down. Miti' was frightened, and, horror-struck, she shouted to her husband, "Khot, khot! where shall I stab her? Khot, khot! where shall I stab her?" Then she threw herself upon the old woman, but she could not master her. Out of sheer terror, she could not hit her. Then the old man himself jumped up. He said to Miti', "You are so ready to get angry with me, and now you have not courage enough to kill her." He took the wooden knife, and killed the kamak-woman. Then he said to his sons, "Now you can go about everywhere unhindered, I have killed all the kamaks."

Told by Anne Qači'lqut, a Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, November 1900.

74. How Eme'mqut killed the Kamaks.

It was in the time when Big-Raven (Quikmn·a'qu) lived. He became ill. His son Eme'mqut was returning from his hunt; and when he was near their house, he heard his father's loud groans. He spent some time at home, and then went again into the open. On his way he came to an underground dwelling. It was a house without a ti'wotil.[1] He approached cautiously. He looked in and saw a kamak-woman (kama'keña) with her child sitting in the house. The kamak was absent. Presently Eme'mqut heard the kamak-woman say, "He goes out hunting, and cannot bring any food home. It is a long time since he first attacked him, but he cannot conquer him, and our son is starving." Suddenly Eme'mqut saw the kamak step out from the hearth-fire. The kamak-woman shouted to him, "Again empty-handed! You go there every day, and I instruct you, 'Stab him in his ear and he will die,' and still you cannot kill him!" The kamak replied, "It is not easy to kill him: both he and his wife are shamans. They see me from whatever side I try to approach them." The kamak-woman said, "Get up early to-morrow morning and go to them. Attack him before sunrise. Again and again you come home empty-handed, and your son is starving. He may die of starvation." Eme'mqut heard it all, and said, "It seems that my father will die to-morrow morning."

He left the house of the kamaks, and, deeply absorbed in thought about the impending death of his father, he went into the wilderness. Suddenly he saw an old woman sitting at the foot of a steep hill. When she noticed him, she said, "Why are you sad, good fellow?" — "I am sad," he answered, "because my father is going to be killed and devoured to-morrow. I heard the kamaks

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[1] A funnel-shaped structure — a sort of storm-roof — built above the entrance-opening in the underground house of the Maritime Koryak.

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say so." — "Well," asked the old woman, "what ails your father?" — "He has pain all over his body. He has grown quite thin, only his bones are left." — "Your father and mother are both shamans, and they cannot master the kamaks!" said the old woman. She then drew out a hare's head and gave it to Eme'mqut. "Take it over to the kamaks' house and throw it in there. If nothing happens, come back to me." Eme'mqut took the hare's head, went to the kamaks, and looked into the house. They were still sitting by the hearth, and talking. The kamak-woman was saying, "You must kill him to-morrow, by all means." After she had said this, Eme'mqut threw the hare's head into the house. The kamak and his wife seized their little son, and disappeared in the fire. Eme'mqut let himself down into the house, took the hare's head, put it on the hearth, and got away.

"My father will die, nevertheless," he thought on the way. Far from the house he could hear his father groaning; but when he came nearer to the house, the groans had ceased. "Now my father is dead," he said. He reached the roof of the house, looked into the entrance-opening, and saw his father sitting by the fire, and heard him say to his mother, "I am completely recovered." But Miti' replied, "This is only the temporary relief from the disease which takes place before death occurs." As soon as Eme'mqut heard the cheerful words of his father, instead of descending the ladder, he jumped into the house. He said to his father, "I have killed all the kamaks, now you will be well." — "If you have really killed all the kamaks, my son, then you are right, I shall not be ill any more." Big-Raven recovered completely and lived as before.

Told by Anne Qeči'lqut, a Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, November, 1900.

75. Big-Light and the Kamaks.

It was in the time when Eme'mqut lived, and his father Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) lived with him. Eme'mqut married Grass-Woman (Ve"ai), the daughter of Root-Man (Tatqa'hıččın), from up the river. Eme'mqut had a little brother by the name of Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu). Soon Grass-Woman gave birth to a son, whom they called Born-again (To'ñovet). Both boys grew up together. When they were grown up, they went hunting and killed a reindeer. Soon after that, Born-again killed another fat reindeer. Grass-Woman pulled off the skin, and cut up the reindeer. Then she said, "If my fathers, [i. e., parents] could taste this! I never saw such fat meat in my life!"

Big-Raven heard this, and said to Big-Light, "Go with your nephew to Root-Man, and take him some of the reindeer-meat. Go up the river, but on your way back avoid the river." Big-Light and Born-again prepared for

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the journey, loaded two sledges, and drove off. When they approached Root-Man's house, so that they could be seen, the sisters of Grass-Woman came to meet them. They knew Big-Light, but this was the first time they had seen Born-again, and they asked, "Who is this?" — "This is your nephew," replied Big-Light. They embraced him, unloaded the sledges, and carried the meat into the house. They entertained both youths, treating them to berries. The sisters of Grass-Woman asked, "What do your folks want us to send them?" The young men said, "They wish for berries of whatever kind you have: even cloud-berries will do." The girls invited them to stay over night, but the young men declined. They said, Big-Raven has ordered us to return this very day." — "You will lose your way and get to the kamaks," said the girls. But the boys insisted, and drove back.

On the way, Born-again said, "Grandfather told us not to drive along the river on our way back." But Big-Light replied, "Never mind, let us go along the river." They went down the river, and soon lost their way. They reached a forest, where they found two underground dwellings. One was poorly built, the other one was much better. The former was without the usual storm-roof: the latter had a platform over the entrance, on which clothing was hanging.

The youths looked into the shabby house, and saw an old woman and two boys. One of these had a child's combination-suit on, the other one was dressed like grown people. The woman, their grandmother, was a kamak-woman. The boys lived in the second house. Their parents did not eat human flesh. The kamak-woman said to her grandchildren, "Go home." They went. Then the old woman took the boiling kettle off the fire, and pulled a child's hand and a human head out of it. She said, "We have only one true son who eats human flesh like us: the others occupy another dwelling and are no cannibals, as if they were not our children." Then the youths heard a noise from way up the middle of the house, and suddenly they saw the kamak's son step out of the hearth-fire, dragging behind him a sledge full of human flesh. Born-again said, "Let us go back." But his uncle said, "First let us look into the other dwelling: probably human beings live there." They went to the other dwelling, looked into the opening, and saw on the sleeping-platform two men, one woman, one girl, and the children that they had seen before. Big-Light said, "If the girl would only come out!" At once the old woman ordered the girl to go out on the roof of the porch and close up the vent-hole.[1] The girl put on her jacket. Big-Light said, "If she would only untie the bands of her coat!" The girl immediately untied the bands of her coat. Then Big-Light shot an arrow from his bow, and it hit the girl's chest. She fell down dead. Big-Light and his nephew fled. They did not drive home, however, but went to the reindeer-herd.

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[1] See p. 14, Footnote 4.

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The people in the dead girl's house sent a man to see who had killed her. His name was Distant-One (Ra'vač). He went, and found the tracks of the sledges, which led him late at night to Big-Raven's house. Eme'mqut asked him, "What has brought you to us so late?" — "An unknown man killed my sister, and the tracks lead from our house to yours." — "They cannot be ours. Our youths left yesterday, and have not come back yet." — "Yes, yes, they have done it! Not far from your house the tracks turn toward your herd." Eme'mqut sent out one of his men, who found the youths sleeping right in the middle of the pasture-ground. The messenger aroused them and said, "Arise and come on! You are summoned. A man accuses you of having killed his sister." Born-again said, "I do not want to go, I will rather run away." But Big-Light said, "Don't be afraid! Let us go!" When they got home, Eme'mqut said to them, "Why did you kill a stranger's sister? Now, go and revive her. We ought not to live in discord with the people." Big-Light was a shaman. He drove off with Distant-One.

When they arrived, the older brother of Distant-One asked, "Did you kill my sister?" — "Yes," answered Big-Light, "I did; but I shall also revive her. Give me a drum, and spread a white reindeer-skin for me." He covered himself with the skin, and beat the drum. He turned to the ground, crying, "Ba, ba, ba, ba, ba!" The earth became quite loose. Then he lifted his eyes to the sky, crying, "Ba, ba, ba, ba, ba!" And the clouds disappeared and the sky became clear. Then he put his hand to his mouth, uttered some magic words, and then touched the girl's wound with it. The wound disappeared at once, and the girl arose hale and hearty.

Big-Light wooed the girl, and she gave her consent to his suit. He married her. The bride's elder brother said, "Return to your fathers,[1] that you may not be devoured by my fathers." They drove back to Eme'mqut's house. Distant-One went with them. When they arrived, Eme'mqut said, "Why did you not stay at your own house?" And Big-Raven added, "Go back and live there." They replied, "The kamaks will devour us if we stay there." Then Big-Raven swung the flaps of his coat toward the sea, and all the large sea-animals — whales, white whales, walruses, sea-lions, and seals — came to him. The whales were the last to arrive. Big-Raven hitched them to the sledges, like so many reindeer, and, after he had given his daughter in marriage to Distant-One, he had a couple of sledges loaded with blubber and meat, and ordered Big-Light to depart. When they arrived at the house, Eme'mqut's sister went up to the dwelling of the kamaks, and shouted to them, "Come out to meet us!" The kamaks came out, and the kamak-woman said, "Now, I will eat my daughter-in-law and my son-in-law." Her daughter-in-law replied, "Well, open your mouth." The kamaks opened their mouths, and all the sea-animals and the loaded sledges rushed in. The whales tore

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[1] In Koryak the dual of "father" (*sing.*, x'əpič; *dual*, xəpi'čiket; *pl.*, xəpi'čö) signifies "father and mother."

X773 539 up their intestines, so that the bellies of the kamaks burst. Their bodies were thrown into the river and were washed ashore on the banks of the upper course of the river. Then all the people who had been devoured by the kamaks before came back to life.

Big-Raven's daughter walked up the river to see her father-in-law and mother-in-law, whom she had killed. She cut their bodies open, took out their entrails, and put in mice-entrails instead. "Now, you will not be able to eat human flesh any more," said she. She breathed a new breath into them, and the kamaks returned to life. All the newly revived people returned into their dwellings. The kamaks, also, went back into their dwelling. They ceased to kill men, and henceforth were unable to consume human flesh. Their village became desolated, and the other inhabitants removed to Big-Raven's. Finally the kamaks also came to Big-Raven's. "I thought," said the latter, "that you were dead. Now remain here." They lived together ever after. That's all.

Told by Anne Qači'lqut, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, Nov. 2, 1900.

76. Big-Raven and his Son Bear's-Ear.

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) and his wife Miti' lived. They had two sons, Eme'mqut and Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu); and a daughter, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. Miti' ceased bearing children. Once Big-Raven said to his wife, "You do not wish to have any more sons, give birth to a little bear for me. Time hangs so heavy on me, it would amuse me to see the little bear play with the boys, and tear their clothing." Miti' replied, "Do not talk nonsense! It is a sin to bring forth a bear." Big-Raven went out hunting, killed a reindeer and brought it home. He called his wife to come out and receive the reindeer. She replied, "I cannot. You told me to give birth to a bear, and I did so." Big-Raven laughed for joy, and shouted into the opening, "Now we shall have a jolly time here!" The little bear grew very fast. He played with the boys, and tore their clothes. Whenever Big-Raven saw the little bear tear his playmates' clothing, he would break out into loud laughter. "Kha, kha, kha!" he would say, "see what a lively son was born to me!"

One day Big-Raven's neighbor came to complain about the little bear, which had torn the entire backs from the fur coats of his children. Then Big-Raven grew angry, and hit the bear, saying, "You are a wild fellow. Go into the wilderness." Bear's-Ear (Ka'ñı-vi'lu) — this was the bear's name — left his father's house, went into the wilderness, and built himself a den. He went hunting.

Once he met a man who carried an entire forest on the palm of his hand. Bear's-Ear asked him, "What are you doing?" — "I am carrying forests hither

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and thither. I heard that a son was born to Big-Raven that possesses extraordinary power. His name is Bear's-Ear. Now, I will develop still greater power through these exercises, so that I may get the better of him when I meet him." — "Who are you?" asked Bear's-Ear. "I am One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither [Θ´mkɪna`lqatat]," answered the man. But Bear's-Ear said, "You will never see Bear's-Ear. He is far away from here." One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither asked, "And you, who are you?" Bear's-Ear answered, "I do not know: I have no name yet. Come into my house," he added. They entered Bear's-Ear's house. The latter soon left his guest and went out again. He reached a chain of mountains, and found a man who carried a mountain on the palm of his hand. "What are you doing?" Bear's-Ear asked the stranger. "I am carrying mountains hither and thither," answered the man. I was told that a son, a bear, was born to Big-Raven, and that he has extraordinary powers. I wish to develop in me still greater power by exercising, so that I may be able to conquer him when I meet him." — "Who are you?" asked Bear's-Ear. "My name is One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither [Tɪno´pɪna`lqatat]," said the man. Bear's-Ear said, "You will never see Big-Raven's son. He is far away from here. Come to my house. I have one friend in my house already. We will live together, all three of us." One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither consented. On the following morning, after having spent the night together, the three men went out hunting. They hit upon a herd of mountain-sheep that belonged to a kamak. Bear's-Ear said to his companions, "Let us kill one." They replied, "It is not well to kill somebody else's animals: something wrong might happen to us on account of it." Bear's-Ear retorted, "You are strong men, who carry mountains and forests hither and thither, and you are afraid of the kamak! You ought to be ashamed of yourselves! Let us kill one buck!" They killed one buck and carried it home.

On the following morning Bear's-Ear left One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither at home to cook the mountain-sheep meat, and he went hunting with One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither. When One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither had hung the pot full of meat over the fire, he heard a terrible voice, saying, "Ŭm-m-m! why did you kill one of my reindeer?" and he beheld a kamak entering the house. One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither was so terrified that his entire body trembled. The kamak pressed him to the ground, and, sitting astride him, pulled the cooked meat out of the pot, ate it quietly, and kept on pressing One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither until his ribs were broken. When he had eaten enough, the kamak took the remaining meat with him, and withdrew.

Soon Bear's-Ear and One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither, who had killed another mountain-buck, entered. One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither groaned. Bear's-Ear asked, "What ails you?" He answered, "The

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kamak came here during your absence, ate up the cooked meat, and broke my ribs." Bear's-Ear said, "You shall go with me to-morrow."

On the following morning the two went hunting, and One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither remained at home to cook the meat. Hardly had he hung the pot over the fire, when the kamak appeared, and shouted, "Um-m-m! again one of my reindeer is killed." He seized One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither, pressed him to the ground, and, sitting astride him, ate most of the meat, and finally withdrew, taking the rest of the meat and the remaining bones along. But he was unable to crush the ribs of One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither, since the latter was stronger than One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither. Bear's-Ear and One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither returned from their hunt with a mountain-buck, and asked One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither, "Well, what has happened?" — "Yes, he was here again, and took the meat; but he could not break my ribs," said One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither. "I shall stay at home to-morrow to cook the meat, and you two go out hunting," said Bear's-Ear.

On the next morning One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither and One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither went hunting. Bear's-Ear staid at home. Soon he heard a thundering voice, saying, "Um-um-um! again one of my reindeer has been stolen." The kamak entered and threw himself upon Bear's-Ear; but the latter overwhelmed him, threw him down to the ground, sat astride him, and, while eating the meat, crushed the kamak's ribs. Then he let him go free. When One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither and One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither were going home, they saw the kamak, who moved along slowly, groaning all the time. One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither said to his companion, "It seems that our friend has been killed by the kamak." When they approached their house, Bear's-Ear came out towards them; and One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither said, "Let us flee! there is a kamak outside." But One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither set him at ease, saying, "It is our friend, to be sure!"

Bear's-Ear heard their conversation, and said to them, "Come, come, do not be afraid! I am alive." When they were inside, he told them how he had received the kamak, and continued, "You wished to know who I am. Well, I am Bear's-Ear. Now you may eat the meat that I have cooked, and go to bed." When they got up on the following morning, Bear's-Ear said to One-who-carries-Forests-Hither-and-Thither, "Go and open the door." He went, but could not open it. Then Bear's-Ear sent One-who-carries-Mountains-Hither-and-Thither, but he also was unable to open it. He just pushed it forward a little. Then Bear's-Ear jumped up, went to the door, gave it one push with his hand, and it opened. The kamak had shut it up with a mountain. Bear's-Ear said, "Let us go now and bar his door with a still larger mountain." They went, and blocked the kamak's house forever, so that he could not get out any more. The three friends took possession of the kamak's herd, divided it into three parts, and went off in three different directions.

Bear's-Ear went with his herd near Big-Raven's dwelling. Big-Raven said to his folks, "Who is it that has moved into this vicinity? Go and find out about it." One of Big-Raven's men went and asked the stranger, "Who are you?" — "I am Bear's-Ear, Big-Raven's son. I am coming with a herd, but I have neither house nor tent." The messenger came back to Big-Raven, and said to him, "It is your son, whom you drove into the wilderness, that is roaming in this neighborhood." — "I am going myself to invite him over here," said Big-Raven. When he approached his son, the latter did not go to meet him. Big-Raven addressed him, but Bear's-Ear did not reply. Big-Raven returned home, and said to his wife Miti', "My son is angry with me: you go to him." She went then. As soon as Bear's-Ear saw his mother, he ran to meet her, and shouted with joy, "Mother is coming, mother is coming!" When she came near him, he asked, "What do you want of me!" — "I want you to come to our house." — "If you had not come, I should not go: I do not mind brother or father." Then he moved over there with his herd, but he did not go into Big-Raven's house. He put up a separate tent, and lived alone. He would speak to his mother, but he never spoke to his father.

Told by Anne Qačı'lqut, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, March, 1900.

77. How Self-created kills his Father.

To'ñel came to Eme'mqut to serve for his sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and married her. To'ñel went with his wife to hunt wild reindeer. They put up a tent. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut gave birth to a son, whom she called Self-created (Tomwo'get). One day To'ñel went out of the tent to hunt reindeer. Soon after Yiñe'a-ñe'ut also went out to pick berries. She gathered berries, and found fly-agaric too. She brought them home, ground them together with cloud-berries, and, when her husband came back from hunting, she gave the mixture to him to eat. She said, "Eat some berries;" but she said nothing about the fly-agaric. Her husband ate, and became quite intoxicated. She put him into a seal-skin bag, together with whaling and sealing harpoons, and threw the bag into the river. It floated down into the sea, and was carried to and fro by the waves. When To'ñel came to, he felt hungry. Then he took a harpoon-point used for catching seals, and cast it into the sea. The harpoon hit a seal, which To'ñel drew to himself. The Seal asked him, "Where do you come from?" To'ñel replied, "My wife gave me fly-agaric to eat, put me into a bag, and threw me into the river, which brought me over here, and now I am hungry." — "I will give you something to eat, only let me go free." He pulled out the

X773 539 harpoon from the seal, and the latter dived into the deep, and brought back some seal-meat. To'ñel ate until he had enough. The waves carried him farther. He threw a whaling-harpoon into the sea, and it caught a whale. To'ñel drew it to himself, and the Whale asked him, "Where do you come from?" He answered, "My wife gave me fly-agaric to eat, put me into this bag, and threw me into the river: now carry me to my parents." The Whale dived into the deep, emerged again after a while, and said, "Sit down on my back." He swam off, and brought him to the shore, near the place where his parents lived.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, after having rid herself of her husband, went back to her parents. To'ñel did not stay long at home, but took a spear and went to Big-Raven's (Quikinn·a'qu) house with the intention of killing his wife. As soon as he arrived, he descended into the dwelling, and beheld his wife sitting on the floor and nursing her boy. He killed her by stabbing her in the heart with his spear. Then he went out again and returned to his parents. Miti' took charge of the boy, and Eme'mqut carried the body of his sister over to the place where they burned their dead. There she was burned.

Self-created grew up. He hunted wild reindeer. Once he came back from his hunt and brought a reindeer. Miti' saw him, and began to cry. "Mother," said Self-created, "why do you cry?" He believed Miti' to be his mother. "I am not your mother, I am your grandmother," answered Miti'. "Your father killed your mother." Then he became enraged, and said, "I am going to kill father." Eme'mqut wanted to keep him back, but Self-created would not listen to him. Then Eme'mqut said, "Let us go together." Self-created did not consent to this, either. "I am going alone," said he. He took his spear and went to his father's house. When he arrived, he shouted, "Come out!" As soon as To'ñel appeared, Self-created buried his spear in his heart, and killed him: then he returned to Miti'. Soon To'ñel's relatives came out of the house. They discovered his body, and conveyed it to the burning-place. After the corpse had been burned, both Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and To'ñel arose from the ashes of the funeral-pile. They went to To'ñel's father, and they lived together. To'ñel's relatives said, "Live here, and do not go hunting any more, that nothing may happen to you again." Thus they lived and brought forth many children. That's all.

Told by A'yu-ña'ut, a Maritime Koryak woman in the village of Kamenskoye, Nov. 5, 1900.

78. Big-Raven and the Kamaks.

Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) went sliding down a slope. He slid down several times, until finally he landed on the roof of a kamak dwelling, and fell into

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the vent-hole of the porch. In the evening the kamak's wife said to her children, "Go up and open the ventilator in the roof of the porch, I want to make a fire." They obeyed, and tried to take out the plug from the opening; but Big-Raven held it tight. They descended into the dwelling, and said, "We cannot remove the plug from the vent-hole." The kamak's wife shouted to her elder son, "Able-to-do-Everything (Apka′wka), go and take out the plug." Able-to-do-Everything went out and did as he was told. Then the kamak's wife said to her children, "Open the door into the porch;" but not one of them was able to open it. She shouted again, Able-to-do-Everything, open the door!" Able-to-do-Everything went, opened the door, and saw Big-Raven sitting in the porch. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "our food has come to us." They took Big-Raven into the house, and said, "Now we shall eat you." Big-Raven replied, "Now, this is not right. When I catch a seal, I do not eat it on the same day; only the next morning do I eat of my game." The kamak's wife thought it well to leave him until the following morning. But then he said, "Do not eat me! I am old and lean. I have a young and fat son, Eme′mqut. I will send him to you if you will let me off." — "Go, then," said the kamaks, "and send your son to us." The kamak's wife led Big-Raven up the ladder, but it was so dark outside that he could not find his way. The kamak's wife then came up to a post supporting a small hut, in which her elder daughter was hidden, and said, "Stretch out your hand!" She stretched her hand out of the hut, and it became light because of the brilliant beauty of the kamak's daughter.

Big-Raven arrived at home, and said to his son, "Eme′mqut, I promised to send you to the kamaks, to be eaten up by them. Go over there. On your way call upon Big-River (Veyemn·a′qu) and Large-Bowlder (Vočeñi′ln·aqu), and take them along. Take them to the kamak's house, and shout into the entrance-opening, 'Dance! Here I am. We also dance when we catch a whale.' Then they will begin the welcome dance. Next say to them, 'Open your mouths! I will throw my companions down to you first. You would not be satisfied with me alone.' They will open their mouths, and you must throw in your companions, Big-River and Large Bowlder."

Eme′mqut went off. On his way he took Big-River and Large-Bowlder along, and on his arrival called down into the house, "I came to be eaten up by you, dance now!" Then he said, "Open your mouths! You shall eat my companions first." Eme′mqut first let Large-Bowlder fall down, who turned into a huge rock, which crushed the kamaks. Then he let Big-River fall down, and he turned into a large stream, which carried off the crushed kamaks. Eme′mqut went to the post on which the kamak's daughter was, and wanted to take her down. But she said, "You have killed my fathers [parents], and now you want to take me for your wife. That must not be." He did not pay any heed to her words, but took her down. Big-River and Large-Bowlder

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resumed their human appearance, and the four went home. Eme′mqut gave his two sisters, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and Čan·a′i-ña′ut, to Large-Bowlder and Big-River. Eme′mqut married the kamak's daughter, whose name was Aten·a′ut. Thus they lived together.

Once Big-Raven said to his son, "Why do you not take your wife to visit her parents?" Eme′mqut asked his wife, "Shall I take you over to your parents?" But she replied, "You have killed my folks." He replied, "Let us go, all the same." They drove there, reached the dwelling of the kamaks, and found them all alive again. They had ceased, however, to eat human flesh. They staid there some time, and all came afterward to Big-Raven's house, and lived together from that time on. That's all.

Told by A′yu-ña′ut, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, November, 1900.

79. Lo′čex the Cannibal.

Lo′čex came to Big-Raven's (Quikinn·a′qu) to serve for his daughter Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. He married her, and drove with his wife to his own house. Then Lo′čex himself kept house. He cooked, and fed his wife until she grew quite fat. He was a cannibal.

One day he was busy heating stones. At that time his cousin Abundant-in-Water (I′mlelın) visited him, and asked, "What are you heating stones for?" — "I want to steam wood for a bow." Abundant-in-Water went outdoors, where Yiñe′a-ñe′ut was, and seized her, saying, "Do not believe him. He wants to roast you. Come, I will carry you away." He took her into his house, and married her. When Lo′čex stepped out of the house to look for his wife and did not find her, he turned into seaweed.

Abundant-in-Water and Yiñe′a-ñe′ut lived together. She gave birth to a son, whom she named Self-created (Tomwo′get). Abundant-in-Water said, "I want to go with you to your parents." They started, and soon reached Big-Raven's dwelling, where they were met by the people. Miti′ also came out to meet them, and said to Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, "How is it? One man took you, and now another one brings you back." She replied, "If it had not been for Abundant-in-Water, you would not have seen me again. Lo′čex wanted to eat me up." They staid some time with Big-Raven, and then returned home. Eme′mqut went with them, and married Abundant-in-Water's sister. That's all.

Told by A′yu-ña′ut, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, November, 1900.

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80. Grebe-Man.

It was in the time when Big-Raven (Quikinn·a′qu) lived. For a long time he could not go out in his boat. Whenever he went aboard his boat, and started to go out to sea, a violent storm would break out, and he would be compelled to turn back. This happened several times. Big-Raven was unable to overcome the sea. He said to his son, "Eme′mqut, we must get a shaman in order to find out why the sea rages whenever we get ready to go out. Go to Grebe-Man (Yo′vala'n) and bring him over here. He will surely be able to find out." Eme′mqut went, arrived at Grebe-Man's house, and said, "I come to ask you to call on us. As soon as we want to go to sea, it begins to blow. You will discover the cause of it." They went to Big-Raven's house. Grebe-Man was given a drum, and he began to exercise his magic powers. After some time he stopped beating the drum, and said, "Over in the middle of the sea there lives a woman that lets loose the stormy weather. If Eme′mqut will marry her, she will stop her practices."

On the following day they went out to the sea in search of the woman. They landed on an island, found a woman there, took her along, and Eme′mqut married her. Soon afterward they went out whale-hunting. The weather was fine, and they caught a whale. Eme′mqut's sister Čan·a′i-ña′ut, and her cousin Kilu′, went out to gather sedge-grass for the whale feast.[1] Kilu′ said to her cousin, "Can you imitate Grebe-Man's shaman song?" Čan·a′i-ña′ut answered, "The grebes are walking about here in the grass, and Grebe-Man may hear how he is being mocked." Kilu′ took a stick, hit the grass, and cried, "Hat, hat, hat!" to drive off the grebes. Soon she stopped, because nothing stirred. She said to her cousin, "There is no one in the grass. Try his song." Čan·a′i-ña′ut sang just as Grebe-Man had done. Suddenly, however, he himself appeared from the grass, and shouted, "Why do you make fun of my incantation?" Kilu′ was frightened so badly that she cried, "The penis hangs, the vulva hangs" (Toñakan·a′palı, upakan·a′palı);[2] and both girls, seized with great fright, ran away with the grass they had gathered. They came home and made ready for the whale feast. Big-Raven said to Eme′mqut, "Go and invite Grebe-Man to the feast." When he reached Grebe-Man's house, he said, "I come to invite you. We are celebrating the equipping of the whale now." Grebe-Man replied, "I will not come." Eme′mqut returned home and reported Grebe-Man's answer. Big-Raven sent him a second time. He went to Grebe-Man, and said, "Father invites you to come." — "Well, I will go," said Grebe-Man. When the two arrived, the feast began, the whale was sent

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[1] See p. 65.

[2] Koryak women, when frightened, generally shout in this manner, and it must be considered as a symptom of hysteria.

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off, and they ate of the food that had been prepared. When the celebration was over, Grebe-Man withdrew, and in passing by he took Čan·a'ī-ña'ut's heart away. After he had gone, Čan·a'ī-ña'ut died.

Again they sent Eme'mqut to call him. He said, "Can·a'ī-ña'ut has died. Come and revive her." They went, and came to Big-Raven's house. Grebe-Man beat the drum, and sang his shaman's song. Then he put her heart in its former place, and Čan·a'ī-ña'ut returned to life. He married her and took her to his house. At the same time Big-Raven gave his elder daughter, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, in marriage to Fog-Man (Yiña'agit). Finally all returned to Big-Raven's house, lived together, and hunted whales successfully. That's all.

Told by A'yu-ña'ut, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the
village of Kamenskoye, November, 1900.

81. Cloud-Man's Marriage with Yiñe'a-ñe'ut.

Fog-Man (Yiña'agit) came to Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) to serve for a bride. He married Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. She gave birth to a daughter, whom she named Yellow-Woman (Če'ipi-ñe'ut). Fog-Man said, "Let us go to my mother." They drove off, and arrived at his mother's house. After they had lived there *for some time, Fog-Man said to his* wife and to his younger brother, "Let us go hunting." They left their village, went into the wilderness, and put up a tent. Whenever one of the brothers went out hunting, the other one would stay at home. They caught many reindeer.

Once Fog-Man went out hunting, and the younger brother remained at home with his sister-in-law. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut went outside with a reindeer-skin and a scraping-knife, and scraped the skin outside. Then her brother-in-law came to her and coveted her. She resented his overtures, and just lifted her scraping-knife to strike him, when her brother-in-law fell down dead. She was frightened, and said, "My husband will scold me for killing my brother-in-law." She took the corpse, carried it into the storehouse (on poles), wrapped it up in a dressed reindeer-skin, and put it into a seal-skin bag, which she tied up. Then she returned into the dwelling.

Soon after that, her husband came home from hunting. He asked, "Where is my brother?" Yiñe'a-ñe'ut replied, "I do not know: he probably went to visit his parents." Fog-Man went out of the house to hang up his bow on the posts under the storehouse, and a drop of blood dripped down on his head. He climbed up to the storehouse, searched everywhere, and could not find whence the blood came. He descended again. While he was attending to his work, more blood dripped down. He climbed up again, looked over all the bags, and untied them. Finally he came to the bag that contained the corpse. He unwrapped the reindeer-skin, and found his brother's body in it.

Then he descended to his house, and killed his wife. After he had done so, he climbed up to the storehouse again, and found his brother alive. "Why did you make believe that you were dead? I have killed my wife on account of you." They went into the house together, wrapped the corpse in a white reindeer-skin, hung it up, and returned to their father. They deserted the house in which the corpse lay.

When they had gone away, Wolf, who was roaming about the country, said, "Let us see if they have not left something in the house." Wolf went in, and searched all over the house. First he did not find anything, but finally he looked at the rafter, and observed a bundle hanging there. He said, "I shall take the bundle down and see what there is in it." He took it down. Yiñe´a-ñe´ut kept her daughter, Yellow-Woman, hidden in a glass bead, which was among her ornaments. When Wolf took down the bundle, Yellow-Woman thought, "I wish Wolf would not eat here, but carry her outside first." Wolf did just what she had thought, — he carried the bundle outdoors. Then Yellow-Woman thought again, "I wish Wolf would take the bundle up on a high mountain and eat it there." Therefore Wolf said, "I will rather carry it up the mountain, eat it there, and take a view of the wide world." Wolf carried the corpse up the mountain, and untied the bundle. When he opened the reindeer-skin, the corpse rolled down the slope of the hill. He went in pursuit, but could not catch up with it. It rolled down farther and farther. Suddenly Wolf saw two women arise and run on afoot. "It was a corpse, and now I see two women. Isn't it strange?" said Wolf, and continued his pursuit.

The women became tired and hungry. Then they saw two reindeer with locked antlers. Yiñe´a-ñe´ut said to them, "We are hungry. Wolf is pursuing us. Give us something to strengthen us." The reindeer gave them some meat. They ate and ran ahead. Meanwhile Wolf came up quite close to them.

Suddenly they saw a ladder which was let down from the clouds. They ascended, and a youth who was standing on the upper end drew them to himself, and carried them above the clouds. He was Cloud-Man (Ya´halaᵋn). "Where do you come from?" he asked. "Wolf was pursuing us. He wanted to devour us. We were running away from him, saw the ladder, and ascended," answered Yiñe´a-ñe´ut. "It was I who did it all. I caused your brother-in-law to fall down dead when you had just lifted your skin-scraper. I wanted your husband to kill you, sent Wolf to eat you and to carry you out of the house. Now I will marry you." She became his wife, and her daughter married another youth who was called Ya´vač.

Cloud-Man said to Yiñe´a-ñe´ut, "Let us go to your parents. Do not leave them in the belief that you are still living with your former husband." They got ready for their journey, prepared food and presents, made a kind of paste of meat and fat pounded together with a stone hammer, and drove

77 off. They passed by Fog-Man's house. The latter shouted, "Who is there?" Yiñe'a-ñe'ut shouted back, "We are going to our father." Fog-Man recognized
53 her voice, and said, "Do not be angry with me! We used to be husband and wife; let us live together again." She retorted, "You have killed me, and, if it had not been for my daughter, Wolf would have eaten me."

They went on, and reached Big-Raven's house. He asked, "How is it? One man took you away, and another one brings you back." She replied, "That other one killed me, and, if it had not been for my daughter, Wolf would have eaten me. We fled, and Cloud-Man lifted us to the clouds."

For a long time they lived with Big-Raven. Then they prepared food for their return journey. Eme'mqut accompanied them. When they again passed Fog-Man's house, he shouted as before, "Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, let us again live together as formerly." But she replied, "Do not waste your words."

They drove on, and reached Cloud-Man's house. Eme'mqut wooed Cloud-Man's sister, Cloud-Woman (Ya'hal-ña'ut). They were married, and made preparations for their homeward journey. Some Tungus people who were among the guests went along with them, and they all reached Big-Raven's house at the same time. A rich Tungus courted Kïlu', Eme'mqut's cousin. His courtship was accepted, and the young married couple drove off to the husband's parents; Eme'mqut's younger brother, Big-Light (Qeskıñ·a'qu), accompanying them. There Big-Light wooed a young Tungus girl, and she was given to him. Then they prepared for Big-Light's return to his parents. They were given a large reindeer-herd, and Big-Light went back to Big-Raven. Thus they all lived happy, often attended feasts, and visited each other. That's all.

Told by A'yu-ña'ut, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye in November, 1900.

82. Little-Bird-Man and Raven-Man.

Little-Bird-Man (Pıči'qala'n[1]) and Raven-Man (Valva'mtıla'n) came to Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) to woo his daughter. Miti' said, "I prefer Raven-Man." Big-Raven said, "I prefer Little-Bird-Man." While they were discussing the merits of the visitors, a violent snowstorm broke out. Big-Raven said, "Whoever will put an end to the snowstorm shall marry my daughter.." Raven-Man said, "Prepare some travelling-provisions for me, and make a few pairs of boots. I intend to go far away." No sooner had Raven-Man gone out than he dug a hole in the snow behind the dwelling, and ate his provisions. When he had eaten all, he returned into the dwelling, and said, "I have been unable

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[1] All little birds are called pıči'k.

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to stop the snowstorm: the sky is all broken." — "Enough! I see that you are not the one who can accomplish this task." — "I will try," said Little-Bird-Man. "Well," said Big-Raven, "we will prepare provisions for your journey." But Little-Bird-Man replied, "I do not want anything. Just give me a pail-cover, a shovel, and reindeer-guts." They gave him everything he asked for, and he flew up to the sky, right to the spot where it was pierced. He tried to cover the hole with the lid of the bucket, but it was too small. Little-Bird-Man put the guts around the cover and stopped up the hole temporarily. Then he returned to Big-Raven. "The cover is too small," he said. "There is a crack left, through which the wind may still blow, though not so violently as before." They gave him a large lid, and again he started off to the sky. He flew up, changed the lid, pushed the guts around the rim, and covered it over with snow, which he piled on with his shovel. Then he flew back to Big-Raven.

The storm had stopped completely. "Well," said Big-Raven, "I will give you reindeer to go to your people." But Little-Bird-Man replied, "We do not need any reindeer: we will walk." Off they went. When they came to a river, Little-Bird-Man said to his wife, "Sit down on my back, I will carry you across." She replied, "You are too small, I shall crush you." — "No," he responded, "I can easily carry you across, you will not crush me." As soon as Yiñe´a-ñe´ut sat upon Little-Bird-Man, he was completely crushed, and lay there dead. Yiñe´a-ñe´ut put her husband's body upon the palm of her hand, and sat down under the shade of a stone-pine tree. She sat there for a long time. At last she began to cry, and said, "I shall die of starvation, my husband is dead." Suddenly she heard a voice behind, saying, "Why are you crying? Here I am, your husband." She turned back, and beheld a young, powerful man. Near by there was also a tent, and a herd of reindeer were in the pasture. The reindeer had silver antlers and silver hoofs. She said to the man, "You are lying. Here is my husband, he is dead." He answered, however, "This is only the shape that I assumed in order to serve your father for your sake. Now you see me in my true shape. Here are my relatives too. I purposely let myself be killed, that I might appear in my true shape, and to bring my reindeer over here." She trusted him, and followed him into his tent. Everything in the tent was made of iron, — posts, sledges, and snow-shoes. Soon she gave birth to a son named Self-created (Tomwo´get), who had iron teeth, which, when he laughed, emitted sparks.

Once Little-Bird-Man said to his wife, "I want to drive you over to your father. Your parents, no doubt, think, 'Our daughter left our house on foot, and we do not know whether she is alive or not.' Let them see how you are getting along." They prepared plenty of meat-paste for the journey, extracted an ample supply of marrow from the bones, and got ready to go. When they reached Big-Raven's house, the people shouted from inside, "Little-

Bird-Man is coming!" and they came out to meet them. They were conducted down into the dwelling. There they staid for some time, played, and had a very jolly time.

Suddenly it grew dark. Raven-Man had swallowed the sun. It grew so dark that the women could not go out for water. Nevertheless, the two sisters, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and Čan·a′i-ña′ut, managed to bring some water. They groped their way to the river as though they were blind, and drew some water. A young man came up to them unexpectedly, and said to Čan·a′i-ña′ut, "Give me your pail: I will carry the water for you." The girl did not wish to give it to him, and said, "I will carry it myself." But he insisted, and carried her pail into the house. They asked the girl, "Where has this man come from?" The women said, "We did not want to let him carry our water, but he took our buckets by main force. He wooed Can·a′i-ña′ut, and married her." His name was River-Man (Veye′mılaᵋn).

"I am a shaman," he said, "and I want to discover who causes the darkness." They gave him a drum, and, after he had tried his skill, he declared, "I see! it is Raven-Man, who has swallowed the sun." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said, "I will go to him, and set the sun free." She put on her reindeer-leather coat and went to Raven. She found Raven-Man lying in his house. He did not get up, and remained silent so as not to open his mouth. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut approached him, and said slyly, "I have left Little-Bird-Man. I have a longing for you." She embraced him firmly, and tickled him under his arm. He laughed, and opened his mouth. Then the sun escaped, and it became light again. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said to Raven-Man, "Have you no fork?" He gave her a raven's beak. "Well," she said, "I am your wife now. Let us go to my father's house."

They started off. She said to him, "Go ahead, and I will follow you." He went ahead. Then she stabbed him with the raven-beak from behind, and killed him. Raven-Man's sister, Raven-Woman (Ve′lvem-ñe′ut or Ve′svem-ñe′ut), was yearning for her brother. She went to see him, and found him lying dead outside. She cut off his beak, and went back crying. Her mother asked, "Why are you crying!" — "Yiñe′a-ñe′ut has killed my brother," said she, and threw to her the beak that she had cut off. It struck her mother's eye, so that the old Raven-Woman died.

Yiñe′a-ñe′ut came home in the mean time, and told how she had set the sun free, and killed Raven. "Now, we shall always have light," said she. Meanwhile the young Raven-Woman came, and Yiñe′a-ñe′ut gave her dried fish to eat.

Big-Raven said to Little-Bird-Man, "Now you may go to your folks." Big-Raven gave reindeer and well-loaded sledges to Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. Later on River-Man and Čan·a′i-ña′ut also drove off. Eme′mqut went with them and married River-Man's sister, River-Woman (Vaya′m-ña′ut). Eme′mqut returned with his wife to his father's. She bore him a daughter, who was called Ice-Hole-Woman (Ai'me-ñe'ut). Thus they lived together with Big-Raven. That's all.

Told by Pa'qa, a Maritime Koryak girl, in the village of Kamenskoye, Jan. 11, 1900.

83. Cloud-Man and Kĭlu'.

It was in the time when Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) lived. He had a son, Eme'mqut. Eme'mqut had a wife, whose name was Kĭlu'. Once upon a time Kĭlu' went to pick berries. All of a sudden she saw a man coming down from the clouds. When he reached the ground, she stealthily approached him, and stole his knife. The man's name was Cloud-Man (Ya'hala'n). She carried the knife home and hid it away. She said nothing about it to her husband. Once Eme'mqut said to the women-folk, "Make some nice new clothes. We will go up to the clouds to engage in some games and fights in the settlement beyond the clouds." The women began to sew skins and make them into clothing. Kĭlu' and Miti' went outdoors to sew there. Later Eme'mqut said to his wife, "Go and get the grindstone, I want to sharpen my knife." Miti', his mother, remarked, "Why don't you go yourself? I am in a hurry, and we must go on sewing quickly." Eme'mqut went himself.

While looking for the grindstone, he found the knife stolen by his wife, took it outdoors, and said to her, "Where did you get this knife? You surely have another husband." He beat her until he had killed her, and then he threw her body away. After that, all went into the house.

Cloud-Man from the clouds saw Kĭlu' lying dead, came down, revived her, and took her up with him. There he took her as his wife. Eme'mqut's mother finished sewing the clothes, and Eme'mqut went up to the clouds. He arrived, and entered Cloud-Man's house. Suddenly he saw Kĭlu', and said to Cloud-Man, "How did you get Kĭlu'? Have I not killed her?" Cloud-Man answered, "I purposely put it into her mind to steal my knife and to make you kill her. Then I revived her and took her along with me."

Kĭlu''s father, Great-Cold (Čaičan·a'qu), her mother, Ha'na, and her brother Illa', went over to Cloud-Man's house. Now games were played in the cloud village. Eme'mqut and the dwellers of the village kicked the ball. Nobody equalled Eme'mqut in kicking the ball. Then they wrestled, and he beat them all. Cloud-Man gave him his sister, Cloud-Woman (Ya'hal-ña'ut), in marriage.

In the mean time down below, Big-Raven, outdoors, took some dog-food, and called to Kĭlu''s relatives in the sky as though they were dogs. They fell down on the ground, and ate from a trough, like dogs. Kĭlu' also fell down with them. And thus they remained, to live with Big-Raven as laborers.

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Once Big-Raven went outside and looked around. Large beads were falling down with snowflakes. He said to his folks, "It looks as though guests were coming from the clouds to visit us. It used to be the same way before: whenever the cloud-people were about to visit us, beads would begin to fall with the snow." Soon they saw Eme′mqut and his wife coming down, followed by the cloud-people. His reindeer had iron antlers and iron hoofs, and as they ran it sounded like pealing thunder. The cloud-dwellers followed in the rear, Cloud-Man among them. They came down to the earth. Eme′mqut gave his sister Yiñe′a-ñe′ut in marriage to Cloud-Man. After they had thus become related to Eme′mqut's family, the cloud-dwellers remained with Big-Raven through the summer.

Early in the summer, Big-Raven, with the help of his people, launched his skin boats. After the festival[1] was over, they went whale-hunting. They killed a whale. Eme′mqut, Cloud-Man, and the rest of the people, dragged it ashore. At that time Kĭlu′ went out of the house and shouted back through the opening, "They are coming, they must be towing a whale!" Miti′ would not believe her, and said, "Kĭlu′, surely you are lying!" She sent her younger daughter, Čan·a′i-ña′ut, to see whether it was true. She went out, looked, and shouted into the house, "It is true: they are towing a whale!" The skin boats with the whale were approaching the shore.

Then Miti′, Ha′na, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut Čan·a′i-ña′ut, and Kĭlu′ put on embroidered dancing-clothes and went out with fire-brands to meet the whale. They sang and danced on the shore. The people hauled the whale ashore, and began to carve it. They cut it to pieces, and carried meat and blubber into the storehouse. On the following day they built inside their house a hut of sedges for the whale, and made drums, covering them with the pleura of the whale and with the membrane of its liver. Then they beat the drum and sang.

The festival of welcoming the whale was over. They divided the meat, blubber, and skin. Then Eme′mqut said, "Let us go up to the river: the women shall pick berries and roots for the feast in celebration of the whale's home-sending." They went up the stream in their skin boat, landed at a place abounding in berries; and the women picked berries, dug roots, picked willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), and put them into seal-skin bags. At last Eme′mqut said to the women, "Hurry up! let us go home." The women finished gathering, loaded the skin boat, and set out for home. Upon their arrival, they emptied the skin boat and put everything into the storehouse, which was filled to the very top. Big-Raven said to the men, "Prepare a trough to cook puddings in." So they did. Then the women hauled in some willow-herb, roots, and berries. Some of them pounded these together with blubber; others beat the drum and sang shaman-songs. Then they made a pudding. When it was done, they opened the home-sending festival of the whale

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[1] See p. 79.

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with a dance. After the dance was over, they went to bed. The next morning they arose and resumed dancing. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut put on dancing-clothes with silk embroidery and otter (*Lutro vulgaris*) trimming, and Eme'mqut put on dancing-clothes trimmed with sea-otter. A whole sea-otter skin was used for the trimming. They danced; and good dancers they were, for they killed whales and celebrated whale festivals quite often.

And now the festival of the whale's home-sending was over. The whale went away into the sea. Then they ate whale-skin, blubber, meat, and pudding, and they gave of them to everybody. All the people came from the neighboring settlements, and each one received his share.

Three days later they invited the guests again. They brought in the whale's bag[1] full of pudding, and ate again. When this feast was over, the Reindeer Koryak arrived. They were given whale-skin and blubber. Root-Man (Tatqa'hıčñın), who lives on the upper course of the river, also arrived, and was given a feast.

Finally Cloud-Man prepared to go back to his home in the clouds. Big-Raven gave him as presents a team of reindeer, blubber, and whale-skin. All the guests from the clouds left him. Eme'mqut and his wife remained.

Thus they lived after that, — some up in the clouds, others down on earth, — and they often called on each other.

Told by Pa'qa, a Maritime Koryak girl, in the village
of Kamenskoye, Nov. 6, 1900.

84. Envious-One and the Wolves.

Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) lived with his son Eme'mqut. Once his daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and his niece Kılu', went to pick berries. While they were outside, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, married a stick. Kılu' came home, and said to Big-Raven, "Your daughter has married a stick." Eme'mqut went instantly to the place where the women had picked berries, broke the stick into small pieces, made a fire, and threw the pieces into the fire. Then he returned home.

On the following day Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Kılu' went again to pick berries. Soon Kılu' came running home, saying to Big-Raven, "Your daughter has married a dog." Eme'mqut heard this, went immediately to the place where Yiñe'a-ñe'ut was, and killed the dog. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut went home and complained. "Yesterday," said she, "Eme'mqut came out to the wilderness and broke up my husband, the stick, and to-day he has managed to kill my second husband."

The third day Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Kılu' went again to pick berries. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut married a tree. On the following day Eme'mqut went to the woods, cut the tree up into small pieces, and went home.

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[1] At the festival for equipping the whale for the home journey, some meat is put on the roof in a bag made of twisted grass (see Fig. 33). It is intended to serve as provision during the whale's journey. It remains on the roof for three days, after which it is eaten (see pp. 65-77).

The fourth day the women went again to pick berries. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut arrived at the woods, and, finding the tree cut to pieces, she cried. She wailed, and said, "I wish a man with wolf's mittens, a wolf's cap, and wolf's trousers, would come here, and wipe my tears off with his wolf's mittens!" No sooner had she spoken than she saw before her a man in wolf's mittens, a wolf's cap, and wolf's trousers. He said, "I will wipe away your tears with my wolf's mittens;" and he wiped off her tears. They went home together, and the man married her. His name was Envious-One (Nıpai'vatıčñın).

A boy was born to them. One day Envious-One said, "Now let us go to my house." They prepared food for the journey, and went. No sooner had they covered half of the distance than a violent snowstorm broke out. They lost their way, and strayed into a Wolves' settlement. The Wolves came out of their houses to meet them, and, looking at their sledge, saw wolves' skins on it. They looked at the man, and saw that he, too, was dressed in wolves' skins. Then the Wolves said, "This must be the one who killed our brothers who were lost." Envious-One answered, "I killed them. I am the hunter of Wolves." — "And how did you kill them?" — "Some I ran down on my snowshoes, and crushed them with those shoes, and others I strangled with my hands." The Wolves said, "How, then, shall we kill you? What death do you want to die?"

They carried them to their house. The Wolves put the husband on one side of the house, and the wife and child on the other. The Wolves said to one another, "To-night, when they are asleep, we will kill them all." As soon as Envious-One and his wife and child lay down, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut pinched her little son to keep him from falling asleep. He began to cry. The oldest among the Wolves said, "Why does the youngster keep on crying? He keeps us awake." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut answered, "His uncle at home has spoiled him: he used to take the reindeer-sledge into the house, and the boy always slept on it." The oldest Wolf said, "Bring the sledge into the house: let the mother and child sleep on it. They cannot escape from the house: there are watchmen outside." The sledge was brought in, and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and her son were placed on it. Again she pinched her boy so that he cried. The eldest Wolf said again, "What a restless boy! he does not let us sleep." She replied again, "His uncle has spoiled him. He used to hitch reindeer to the sledge, and would put the three of us to sleep in it." The eldest Wolf said again, "Bring two reindeer: they cannot leave the house." They brought the deer, and put the three on the sledge. Then they put their son to sleep by means of songs, which also made the Wolves sleepy. They fell asleep, and the watchmen also fell asleep. Then Envious-One and his wife ran away. They drove out of the house, and the deer trampled the watchmen under their feet.

The next day, when the Wolves got up and saw that Envious-One, with wife and child, had run away, they pursued them. A whole pack of Wolves ran in pursuit of them. Soon they began to catch up with the fugitives. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said to her husband, "There is a whole pack of Wolves behind us!" He answered, "What can we do? If they reach us, they will devour us." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut took out from her bosom a little stone and threw it behind her. Sharp rocks stood out on the road. They cut the Wolves' feet. Many of the Wolves died. Only a small number of them succeeded in crossing the ridge. Now Yiñe′a-ñe′ut took out a chip from a larch-tree and threw it behind her. It turned into a dense forest. Then the Wolves said, "Let us go back, else we shall all perish."

They returned home. The eldest Wolf asked, "Did you kill them?" And they replied, "We were catching up with them, but suddenly sharp rocks stood out between us and Envious-One. Many of us perished on that rocky ridge. Then a dense forest grew up. We could not pass through it. Many of us were injured by the sharp branches, and we came back."

Envious-One and his wife went back to Big-Raven, who asked them, "Why did you come back?" They answered, "We strayed to the Wolves during the snowstorm, but we ran away from them at night." Envious-One settled down there.

Once Big-Raven said to him, "Go home!" But Envious-One answered, "We may again lose our way and stray to the Wolves." Envious-One went out hunting, and killed some wolves. Finally he returned home. Eme′mqut went with him, and married there the sister of Envious-One.

Big-Raven built a fence around his house to keep out the Wolves; but when the Wolves came to fight, he escaped to the clouds. Envious-One and Eme′mqut also went up to the clouds. All their houses remained empty. They started to live in the clouds with Cloud-Man (Ya′hala′n). Eme′mqut's younger brother, Mocker (Kotha′ño), served for Cloud-Man's sister, Cloud-woman (Ya′hal-ña′ut), and he married her. Big-Raven said, "The Wolves have left. Let us all go down again to my home." All went down. The Reindeer Koryak also moved over to Big-Raven's. They settled down and killed whales. After a while the Cloud people went back home. Cloud-Man took along with him Čan·a′ï-ña′ut, Eme′mqut's younger sister.

After their departure the Wolves came back again and killed Big-Raven, Eme′mqut, Envious-One, their wives and children, and the Reindeer Koryak. Once Čan·a′ï-ña′ut practised her shamanistic art in the clouds. She said, "I see those below all lying dead." Cloud-Man said, "Let us go down and see." They let themselves down, and found all of them killed. Ravens had pecked out Envious-One's eyes. He lay with his face up. The eyes of others who happened to lie with their faces to the ground remained. The Cloud people revived the dead. Envious-One said, "What has happened to me? I do not

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see the light." Then they took out the eyes of a dog and put them into his empty sockets. He was unable to see; but as soon as a dog barked, he would run out of the house. They took out the dog's eyes, and put in a reindeer's eyes. Then, when the people drove the reindeer and they became frightened, he would take fright too. They took out the deer's eyes, and Čan·a′i-ña′ut put in real eyes. As soon as the Reindeer Koryak came to life, they moved away to their homes.

Čan·a′i-ña′ut gave birth to many children, and named them after all her relatives, — Big-Raven, Eme′mqut, Miti′, and others; so that there were two Big-Ravens, two Eme′mquts, two Mitis. Once some Ducks arrived and sat on the storehouse. Old Eme′mqut aimed at them; and one of the Ducks said, "You want to kill me, and I came to tell you that the Wolves want to come and kill you." He spared the Duck, which flew away; and Big-Raven, with all the rest, again made their escape to the clouds. When the Wolves arrived, they found only empty houses, and went away. Again Big-Raven, with all his men, came down. The Wolves ceased to attack them. They said, "It is just the same. If we kill them again, they will only revive afterward and grow more numerous." After that Big-Raven lived undisturbed. That's all.

Told by ɪlwa′aña (Wild-Reindeer-Woman) a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, November, 1900.

85. Eme′mqut and Triton-Man.

Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) lived alone with his wife and children. His son Eme′mqut was a very strong man, an athlete. The Triton-Man (Wāmına′m-tıla‘n), who lived in the wilderness, said, "I will injure Eme′mqut by means of sorcery, and deprive him of his strength. He shall give birth to a son." And Eme′mqut gave birth to a son. Eme′mqut's sister Yiñe′a-ñe′ut lived alone in the wilderness. Spider told her the news of Eme′mqut having given birth to a son. She asked him, "What shall we do now?" Spider replied, "Triton-Man has a sister who also lives in the wilderness. Her name is Triton-Woman (Wa′mıne-ñe′ut). Go and kill her." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut went. She killed Triton-Woman. Then everything was as if nothing had happened to Eme′mqut. His son ceased to exist, and his power returned. After that, all the Tritons migrated from their settlement to the mossy tundra, and Eme′mqut lived as before, enjoying great strength. That's all.

Told by ɪlwa′aña, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, November, 1900.

86. Magpie-Man's Marriage with Yiñe′a-ñe′ut.

Magpie-Man (Vakı′thımtıla‘n) went to serve Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) for his daughter Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. He married her. Magpie-Man said to his wife,

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"Let us go home." They walked away and came to the woods. Magpie-Man had no tent. Only a few reindeer which Big-Raven had given him were grazing near by. So they lived in the woods until they had eaten up all the reindeer. Then they were starving.

Finally Magpie-Man sent his wife to Big-Raven to ask for food. She went, and came to her father, who asked her, "What did you come for?" — "My husband sent me to ask for food. We are starving." — "You had many reindeer: how quickly you ate them up!" said Big-Raven. "We ate nothing but reindeer: my husband does not procure anything else." Her father gave her nothing, saying, "You ate your share of reindeer. I have nothing else to give you."

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut went home. Magpie-Man asked her, "What did you bring?" She replied, "I brought nothing. Father said, 'You ate up your share. I have nothing else to give you.'"

They went to bed. In the morning they got up very hungry. Magpie-Man said to his wife, "Go and look for food." She went. In the wilderness she saw a man walking about, — a well-dressed man, who looked like a trader. She went up to him. "Who are you?" he asked. "I am Yiñe'a-ñe'ut," she answered. "We have nothing to eat. Magpie-Man sent me to look for food." The man said, "Come to my house." She went to his house, and he gave her a team of reindeer, sledges, and skins and poles for a tent, which she took home. That man was Magpie-Man himself. He flew off ahead of her, and turned into a man to meet her.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut arrived home, and called out to her husband, "Magpie-Man, see what I have brought!" He was glad to see his wife, and hopped about. They lived there for a short time, and then moved to Big-Raven's. They put up their tent near his house, and they lived together, killing whales. That's all.

Told by ɪlwa'aña, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the
village of Kamenskoye, November, 1900.

87. Eme'mqut's Marriage with the Daughter of Mountain-Sheep-Man.

Eme'mqut went to Mountain-Sheep-Man (Kıte'pımtıla'n) to serve for his daughter. Mountain-Sheep-Man's tent was pitched on a rock. Eme'mqut married Mountain-Sheep-Man's daughter. Her name was Immovable-Woman (Navi'li-ñe'ut). Eme'mqut kept asking his wife and father-in-law to go to his father's house. They did not want to go, and therefore he went away alone.

When he returned to his wife, he took his cousin Illa' along, carrying him on his back. Illa' was a feeble-minded, ugly, and ill-dressed man. Eme'mqut took him into the tent, and put him down near his wife's sleeping-room. He himself hid in the tent. Illa' went to sleep as soon as he lay down.

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Eme'mqut's wife awoke and saw a man in poor clothes lying near by. She thought that it was Eme'mqut who had returned in that condition, and called to him, "Eme'mqut, arise!" Illa', who was half awake, said, "I am not Eme'mqut, I am Illa'." She retorted, "You lie! you are Eme'mqut. You say so, because you are not quite awake." Illa' then struck his head against the post of the sleeping-tent, saying, "It may be I hear it in my sleep; let me awake."

Eme'mqut's wife ceased talking and went to bed again, thinking, "What may have happened to Eme'mqut?" Eme'mqut, however, took Illa' back home. Then he returned and lay down in the same place where Illa' had lain. In the morning Eme'mqut's wife asked him, "Were you here in the night, or was it somebody else?" Eme'mqut answered, "At times my mind gives way here, and therefore I asked you to go with me to my father." After that, they all moved over to Big-Raven's. They lived together, and never went back to Mountain-Sheep-Man's home. That's all.

Told by Ilwa'ńa, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, November, 1900.

88. Big-Raven and the Mice.

Big-Raven (Quikinn'a'qu) lived in the same village with Mouse-Man (Pipiqilgi'nnila'n). Mouse-Man said, "I shall go along the seashore to hunt for something." He found a small shell-fish. When he saw it, he cried out, "Aha! What have I found? The shell looks like a human finger-nail." He took the shell-fish home. His wife cooked it, and the whole family ate of it.

The next day Mouse-Man sent all his children off to the shore to look for shell-fish. Little-Mouse (Qai-pipi'qilñin) went with them. Suddenly Little-Mouse squealed, "Ma, ko, o, o!" The eldest Mouse child said to its brothers and sisters, "Go and see what our little sister has found." They looked, and saw a large black shell-fish. They carried it home, cooked it, and the whole family ate of it.

On the third day the Mouse children went to the seashore again to search for food. Little-Mouse saw a small ringed seal left on the shore by the tide, stepped over it, and began to shout, "I have found something round with claws!" When they heard her shout, the other Mouse children came running to her, saw the seal, and rejoiced over it.

Big-Raven heard the noise from a distance, and said, "I shall go and see why the Mouse children are shouting." When they saw Big-Raven approaching, they threw themselves upon the seal and covered it entirely, for they were afraid that Big-Raven would take it away from them when he saw it.

Big-Raven came up to the Mouse children and said, "Louse my head;"

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but none of them would consent to do so. Finally Little-Mouse said, "I will do it." When she began to louse Big-Raven's head, the rest of the Mouse children also left the seal, and joined her. As soon as they were all crawling about in his hair, Big-Raven shook his head, and all the Mouse children were scattered in different directions. Then Big-Raven took the seal and carried it home.

The Mouse children soon crawled out of the places where Big-Raven had thrown them. Some emerged from the sea, some from the river, some came running up from the tundra. They asked one another, "Where did you fall?" One said, "I fell into the sea;" another, "I fell into a stream;" a third, "I struck upon a mountain;" a fourth, "I fell into a swamp;" etc.

They went home. When they arrived, their mother asked them, "Well, have you found anything?" — "We found something round and large, but Big-Raven took it away from us." Their mother became angry, and said to her daughters, "Let us go there in the evening and take it back from Big-Raven." She sent one of her daughters to see what was going on in Big-Raven's house. Soon she returned to her mother, and said, "The seal has just been cut open." The mother sent her second daughter to see what was going on there; and soon she came running back, and said, "They have cut up the seal and put it away." She sent her third daughter; and she returned with the news that they were getting ready to cook the seal, and had just gone for water. At last the old Mouse sent her fourth daughter, who came back saying that Miti′ was now taking the meat out of the pot.

Then the old Mouse said to one of her daughters, "Give me some grass, I will work a spell over it." Then she gave the bewitched grass to one of her daughters, and said, "Go up on the roof of Big-Raven's house, and throw it inside." The Mouse obeyed; and while on Big-Raven's house, she heard Big-Raven say, "Miti′, serve the seal: we will eat." Thereupon the Mouse threw her bunch of grass into the entrance-hole of the house.

When Miti′ served the meal, Big-Raven said, "Let me have some grass before I eat: I want to wipe my hands." Miti′ picked up the bunch thrown in by the Mouse, and gave it to Big-Raven. As soon as he took the grass, he said, "We will rather eat the seal-meat to-morrow morning; and now let us go to bed." Big-Raven's people then went to bed.

Mouse-Woman (Pipi′qča-ña′ut) sent another of her daughters to find out whether the people in Big-Raven's house were asleep. The little messenger came back, saying that all were in bed. Then Mouse-Woman said to her daughters, "Now, let us go and take back from Big-Raven what he stole from us." They started: and some took along wooden buckets; others, seal-skin bags; still others, woven baskets. They descended into Big-Raven's house, where all the people were asleep, and filled up their buckets, bags, and baskets with cooked seal-meat. The Mouse people took everything. They only left the soup of the seal-meat, but threw some sharp stones into the pot. They also put some stones into Miti′'s and Big-Raven's boots. Then they returned home.

The next morning Miti′ arose, and, as soon as she put her feet into her boots, she screamed, "O, ko, ko, ko!" Big-Raven scolded his wife, saying, "What are you screaming about?" She answered, "Somebody has put sharp stones into my boots." Big-Raven remained silent, and pulled on his shoes. Then he also screamed, "O, ko, ko, ko!" Then Miti′ said, "Now you see why I screamed: it hurt me too." — "Well, let us stop talking," said Big-Raven. "Serve the seal." She went for the meat, but did not find any. So they ate the soup, but they found it mixed with stones.

Big-Raven said, "I know who has stolen our meat and put stones into our boots and soup. Mouse-Woman has done it. Give me a club with a large top. I will go and kill them all." Miti′ gave him a club. He went off.

The Mouse people saw Big-Raven approaching their house, and said, "Father [thus they generally call the old people] is coming here: maybe he wants to kill us with his club." Mouse-Woman said to her children, "Go meet him, and tell him that we will give him various puddings." The Mouse children went to meet Big-Raven, and said to him, "Father, come, we will treat you to puddings." — "I do not want your treat," said Big-Raven. One Mouse said, "Father, we will treat you to a cloud-berry pudding." — "Ah! if you are going to give me cloud-berry pudding," answered Big-Raven, "I shall throw away the club. I am very fond of cloud-berries." Big-Raven threw away the club, went with the Mouse children, and descended into their house. There the Mouse people treated him to different kinds of berry-pudding. After he had gorged himself with food, the Mouse people said, "Father, stay over night with us. We will treat you again in the morning." He remained over night. When he had fallen asleep, the Mouse people sewed a seal-bladder to his buttocks.

Big-Raven awoke in the morning, and said, "I will go home now." — "Father," said the Mouse people, "we will first give you something to eat, and then you may go home." — "Yes, yes!" answered Big-Raven, "I will eat pudding and gruel." Again the Mouse people fed him. After he had finished, Mouse-Woman said, "You have eaten, now you may go to stool on your way home." — "Certainly," answered Big-Raven, "I shall go to stool on the way." Big-Raven went out of the Mouse house, and started for his home. After he had gone halfway, he said, "Now I will go to stool." He had a movement, and the excrement fell into the seal-bladder. Big-Raven got up, looked on the ground, and said, "How strange! where is the excrement?" He looked around, and went on.

He reached home late, when his people were ready to go to bed. He lay down with his wife. Miti′ asked him, "What is it that is hanging down

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behind you? Is it not a seal-bladder?" Big-Raven felt of his back, and said, "Now I understand why I did not find anything on the ground. It is Mouse-Woman who has been making fun of me. To-morrow I will go and kill them."

The next morning Big-Raven again took a club and started for the dwelling of the Mouse people. Again the Mouse family saw him approaching, and shouted, "Father is coming!" and ran out to meet him. "Father," they said, "we will treat you to all kinds of puddings." — "I do not care for anything," answered Big-Raven. "I shall kill you all." — "Father, we will treat you to sweet-root pudding, said the Mouse people. Big-Raven was tempted by sweet-root pudding, and said, "That I like very much. I will throw away my club." Big-Raven descended into the house of the Mouse people, and they immediately treated him to puddings. When he had eaten his fill, the Mouse people said, "Father, stay with us over night." — "No," said Big-Raven, "I shall not sleep here any more. I am going home." — "No," objected the Mouse people, "stay with us. You are an old man, and have come from afar. Take a rest now, eat some pudding, and stay over night." Big-Raven remained over night. When he had fallen asleep, the Mouse people stuck to his eyelashes some hair dyed red.

Big-Raven got up in the morning, ate some gruel and pudding, and went home. As he approached his house, he saw that it was all red, as if in flames. He ran to it, and shouted, "Miti, get out! Our house is on fire! Put out the fire!" The frightened Miti' ran out upon the roof of the house, and cried, "What shall I put it out with?" — "Take one of our boys," answered Big-Raven, "one that is rather poorly. Tear him in halves, and extinguish the fire with him." Miti', in her fright, got hold of one of her sons, and tore him in twain. Finally she said, "Where is the fire? What shall I put out? There is nothing burning." She looked at Big-Raven, saw the red seal-hair over his eyes, and exclaimed, "Again Mouse-Woman has played a trick on you!" Big-Raven then said, "Now I shall surely kill them!"

Again he took his club and started out. When he came up to the house of the Mouse people, the children cried to their mother, "Father is coming over again! What shall we tell him? It seems he wants to kill us." — "Tell him that you will treat him to all sorts of puddings." The Mouse children went to meet him, and said, "Father, come to our house. We will treat you to different kinds of pudding." But Big-Raven answered, "I do not want anything from you. I shall kill you all." — "Father," said the Mouse children, "there is the blackberry [*Rubus arcticus*]. We will treat you to blackberry-pudding." — "It is true that I like blackberries," said Big-Raven. "I am going to your house to eat some pudding." He ate of the pudding, and staid over night. While Big-Raven was asleep, the Mouse children painted his face with charcoal. They woke him up in the morning. He arose, ate some pudding, and went home. "Father," said the Mouse

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people, "you will come to a stream on your way. You will surely be thirsty. Drink some water out of it." — "Very well," answered Big-Raven, "I shall drink."

When he had reached the stream, and had stooped down to take a drink, he noticed a painted face in the water, and cried, "Ah, Many-colored-Woman [Kali'la-ña'ut]! you are here? Here, I am letting down a stone hammer for you." He dropped the stone hammer, bent over to drink, and fell into the water. The current carried him way down to the mouth of the stream. There he drifted ashore, clambered out of the water, and turned into a raven.

There was a settlement not far from that place. Soon a number of little girls came from the settlement to the seashore in search of kelp. They noticed Big-Raven, who sat all wet on the bank, and laughed at him. Only one little girl did not join in the laughter. She was an orphan, and lived alone with her grandmother. She ran home, and said, "There is somebody at the seashore who looks neither like a man nor like a raven, and the children are laughing at him." Her grandmother replied, "It must be a man. Do not laugh at him."

On the following day the little girl went again for kelp. She took the raven home, and fed him there. After eating, the Raven said, "I am a man, I am Big-Raven. Mouse-Woman caused me to fall into the water. I drifted ashore here, and was very hungry. I had not strength enough to go home, therefore I turned into a raven." The girl continued to feed him. When he had grown fat, he said to the old woman, "I shall go home now. My wife has been looking for me for a long time."

Big-Raven went outside, and flew away home. When he had reached his house, he turned into a man again, and shouted, "Miti', come out! I have arrived." Miti' went out, and said, "Where have you been so long?" — "Well," answered Big-Raven, "Mouse-Woman played a trick on me again, and caused me to fall into the stream. The current carried me off to sea. I came ashore quite faint with hunger, and turned into a raven. All the children laughed at me there. Only one little orphan girl did not laugh, but took me to her house, and fed me until I recovered." Thereupon he said to Eme'mqut, "Go and woo the little orphan girl."

Eme'mqut went and served her grandmother for the sake of the orphan girl. Later on he married her. All the girls in the settlement envied her. Eme'mqut's wife brought forth many children. Subsequently Eme'mqut, with his wife, visited his father, and they lived either at his father's or at his wife's grandmother's house. That's all.

Told by Pa'qa, a Maritime Koryak girl, in the village of Kamenskoye, Dec. 25, 1900.

89. Eme´mqut's Whale Festival.

It was at the time when Eme´mqut lived. He always went whale-hunting in his skin boat. Once he killed a whale. The whale was taken to the village, and Eme´mqut ordered his men to call all the neighbors to the festival. The Foxes, the Ravens, and the Magpies also came to celebrate the festival. Eme´mqut said to Magpie-Woman (Va̍kı´thı-ña´ut), "Dance." She answered, "I cannot dance, and do not know what to sing while dancing." But she danced just the same, and sang, "Mother said, 'Peck a hole with your beak in the bottom of the food-bags, and you will eat all their contents. If you begin to eat at the opening of the bag, you will have to leave some of the food.'" — "Ah!" said Yiñe´a-ñe´ut, "this is the reason that we find our bags empty, and with holes in their bottoms, when we come to get them after we have left them outside. It is you who are doing this." Magpie-Woman felt ashamed, took wing, and flew away. 773x 539

After that, Eme´mqut said to Magpie-Man (Vakı´thımtıla^{e}n), "Now it is your turn to dance." Magpie-Man answered, "How shall I dance, and how shall I sing? Wa, ki, ki, ki, ki!" Then he sang, "I went under the storehouses with my three-toed feet, and stole provisions."

After Magpie-Man had finished, Fox-Woman (Yayo´c̆a-ña´ut), intoxicated from eating fly-agaric, began to sing, "I forgot my knife at home. My son Mocker [Kotha´ño] put it away at home, and therefore I forgot it."

Then Raven-Woman (Ve´sve-ñe´ut) sang, "Ko, ko, ko, ko! my cousins were standing on the prows of the skin boats, and we were glad when they caught something, for they threw some pieces from their hunt to us also." Eme´mqut said, "I must go out to defecate." He went outdoors, looked under the little storehouse, and saw the Magpies sitting there. One of them said to another one, "Sing like Eme´mqut." Then the Magpie sang, "Reindeer-excrement, dog-excrement!" Eme´mqut cried, "Why do you lie? When do we eat dog-excrement? We do not even eat reindeer-excrement when we kill a reindeer." The Magpies were abashed at Eme´mqut's words, and flew away, while Eme´mqut went back into the house.

Yiñe´a-ñe´ut said, "Somebody shall help me skin a dog." — "I will help you," said Raven-Woman. Both women went outdoors and skinned the dog. Yiñe´a-ñe´ut had turned away for a minute, and Raven-Woman quickly pecked out one eye of the dog, and ate it. Yiñe´a-ñe´ut looked, and said, "Where is the dog's eye? Did you eat it?" — "Where was the eye?" asked the Raven-Woman, pointing first to the dog's leg, then to its belly, "was it here?" She did not want it to be known that she had eaten of the dog. They stripped off the skin, and went into the house. The festival of sending the whale home was over. The Reindeer Koryak made ready to leave, and were

X773 given whale blubber, skin, and meat. The guests loaded their sledges and drove away.

539 Eme'mqut remained, and continued to kill whales. That's all.

Told by A'qan, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, December, 1900.

90. Hare and Fox.

Once upon a time there was a Hare (Mi'lut) and a Fox (Yă'yol). One day Fox said to Hare, "Let us go down to the sea and play floating on the ice." Hare agreed, and they went down to the sea, jumped upon a cake of ice, and started off. Hare said, "Well, nobody will catch up with me now, nobody will eat me now." Fox also said, "And nobody will catch up with me now, either. No one will eat me."

They floated for a time, until they wished to return to the shore. The ice drifted near the land, and they jumped ashore. Hare made a good jump; but Fox fell into the water, and came ashore quite wet. She took off her skin, took out her eyes, pulled out her intestines, and hung them up in the sun to dry.

Suddenly she saw Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) walking along, and took flight. She had time to carry away only her skin and intestines, while she left her eyes behind. She could not see anything. On her way she felt blea-berries under her feet. Then she took two berries and put them into her head in place of eyes. She resumed running, and the berries fell out of her eye-sockets, as they were too small. Than she ran on gravel, and she felt white pebbles under her feet. She picked up two pebbles and put them in place of her eyes; but they, too, fell out again. Then she took some ice and made a pair of ice eyes. Thus she ran home and said, "Big-Raven probably thinks that he has killed Fox, and here I am alive. Some trick ought to be tried on him."

On the following day Big-Raven went to his summer place to get some dried fish. He put some fish on his sledge and drove back. Fox watched him, ran after the sledge, and threw the fish upon the ground. Then she gathered them up and took them home. Big-Raven reached home with an empty sledge. He looked at it, and said, "It is Fox who has done it. I shall put an end to her life now." Big-Raven went to the summer place and left some poison there. On the following day he went there and found Fox lying dead. He took her home, and said to Miti', "Now I have killed her." That's all.

Told by A'qan, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, December, 1900.

91. Grass-Woman.

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Root-Man (Tatqa′hıčñin) had a daughter, Grass-Woman (Veʻai). She had many suitors, but refused to marry any of them. Finally Big-Kamak (Kamakn·a′qu) came, and said to Root-Man, "I will marry your daughter." He took his chamber-vessel into Root-Man's hut, and said, "I am going to urinate. Let Grass-Woman carry the chamber-vessel out." The girl took the vessel to carry it outside. Then Big-Kamak put her and the vessel on a shovel and carried them into Big-Raven's (Quikınn·a′qu) house. There Big-Kamak urinated again, but Big-Raven took him, together with his chamber-vessel, put them on the shovel, and threw them out.

Grass-Woman remained in the house, and Eme′mqut married her. Soon she was delivered of a son. After a while Eme′mqut went with his wife on a visit to Root-Man, who, however, did not recognize his daughter. He said, "This is not Grass-Woman. It was Big-Kamak who married my daughter."

After spending some time with his father-in-law, Eme′mqut prepared to return home with his wife. Grass-Woman's brother, Tree-Trunk-Man (Otkı′ñin), went with them. Tree-Trunk-Man married Čan·a′i-ña′ut, the daughter of Big-Raven, at her father's house. They got along very well; and Eme′mqut and Tree-Trunk-Man, with their wives, often went to visit both Root-Man and Big-Raven. That's all.

Told by Pa′qa, a Maritime Koryak girl of the village of Kamenskoye, Dec. 26, 1900.

92. Raven-Man.

Once upon a time there lived Raven-Man (Valva′mtıla‘n) and his wife. They had nothing to eat. One day Raven-Man said to his wife, "Go look for some food." She answered, "Go yourself! you are a man." Still he did not go, so she herself went to look for food. After she had gone, Raven-Man, while rocking the baby, sang, "Your mother has gone, and I am rocking you, Qave′u-ve, qave′u-ve." In the mean time Raven-Man's wife was flying over the Koryak houses, and soon came to the house of Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu). Just before she arrived, he had slaughtered a reindeer for food, and sacrificed a dog to The-One-on-High (Gı′čhola‘n). As soon as Raven-Man's wife discovered the carcass, she took it home. Raven-Man saw his wife coming carrying the load, and said to his child, "Ma-ma-ta, ma-ma-ta, your mother has brought a reindeer." Raven-Man's wife carried the dog's carcass into the house, and scolded her husband, saying, "You are a man, and still you never go out hunting: you always stay at home." Raven-Man did not listen to her. He laid the child on the dog's carcass, and said, "Your mother has brought

x 773 a reindeer." In the mean time he hurriedly picked at the meat, and swallowed some of the pieces. Raven-Man's wife said, "Wait a little, we will eat together."
539 She took the dog-meat away from him, cooked it, and served it in a dish. Raven-Man got angry, and would not eat. He went outside, saying, "I will die rather than eat it."

He flew away to look for food himself. He flew and flew everywhere, but could not find anything. Finally he came to the house of Big-Raven, who had just slaughtered a reindeer. Big-Raven's daughters, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Čan·a'ï-ña'ut, skinned the reindeer and began to cut it up. Meanwhile Raven-Man pecked at the kidneys. They saw it, and said, "Raven-Man has come! He is going to steal again." Then they saw Raven-Man catch up a piece of meat and fly away with it to the tundra, where he became a man, and ate the meat. Then he came again, in the shape of a raven, to get more meat, and again flew back to the tundra. The two girls said to their father, "Just look! He is coming here as a raven; and when he flies back to the tundra, he will become a man." Then Big-Raven sent Eme'mqut to overtake Raven-Man. Eme'mqut went to the tundra, and asked Raven-Man, "What kind of a man are you?" Raven-Man answered, "When I appear among people, I am a raven; but on the tundra I am a man. That is just how I am." Eme'mqut said, "Come live with us;" and Raven-Man went with him. Big-Raven looked at him, and then said, "Oh! he is the thief who stole the meat." Then he said to Raven-Man, "Are you single, or married?" Raven-Man answered, "I have a family living at some distance from here." — "Come, bring your family and live with us," said Big-Raven. Raven-Man went to get his wife. She asked him, "Where have you been, and where do you come from?" He answered, "Big-Raven wants us to live with him. Let us go down to his place." They went to live with him. After some time Big-Raven said, "This is the first time I ever saw such a quick worker." He gave Raven-Man part of his herd, and then they separated, but lived near each other. That's all.

Told by Anna Qači'lqut, a Maritime Koryak woman, in
the village of Kamenskoye, Dec. 27, 1900.

93. Čan·a'ï-ña'ut and Twilight-Man.

Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) lived with his elder son, Eme'mqut; his younger son, Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu); his elder daughter, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut; and his younger daughter, Čan·a'ï-ña'ut. His elder daughter he gave in marriage to a Reindeer Koryak, Frost-Man (Anna'mayat) by name.

Frost-Man took his wife to his camp. With him lived Twilight-Man (Gi'thilila^en). Yiñe'a-ñe'ut once said to Twilight-Man, "It would be well for

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you to marry, then I should have a friend. I am going to take you to my younger sister, Čana′ī-ña′ut, and you must woo her." — "All right," answered Twilight-Man.

They went on reindeer-sledges to visit Big-Raven, who asked his daughter, "Who is this Reindeer man that you brought with you?" — "It is Twilight-Man," answered Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. "I want him to marry my younger sister. When my husband goes out, I always remain all alone in the camp; and now we shall be two friends, two sisters." — "All right," said Big-Raven, "take your sister." To his son Eme′mqut he said, "Divide the herd, and give the greater half of the reindeer to your sister, because Twilight-Man is a good herdsman." Eme′mqut picked out the reindeer, and Yiñe′a-ñe′ut went away with Twilight-Man and Čan·a′ī-ña′ut, and they took the herd of reindeer with them.

When they arrived at their camp, they were met by Twilight-Man's mother, who was glad to see her only son married. They got along very well. Twilight-Man's mother cared for her daughter-in-law, petted her, and fed her with reindeer-tongues.

Eme′mqut once went to the games at Lower Village[1] (Taivıvo′laken), — running, wrestling, ball-playing, — and on his way there he stopped at the camp of his brothers-in-law to invite them to go with him to the games in Lower Village. Frost-Man said that he would go; but Twilight-Man refused, saying, "I cannot leave the herd." Then Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said to her brother, "Now you will understand why I asked father to give him more reindeer. He is a good herdsman, and will not leave the herd. Eme′mqut and Frost-Man went without him, and Twilight-Man moved with his reindeer from Frost-Man's camp.

Eme′mqut and Frost-Man arrived at Lower Village, and the games commenced. There was a runner in Lower Village, Fog-Man (Yıña′mtıla′n) by name, who could outrun everybody. Eme′mqut was unable to beat him. Then he said to Frost-Man, "Let us go home and bring Twilight-Man here: let him try to outrun Fog-Man." They started for their camp. Eme′mqut stopped at his father's house, but did not stay there over night: he went right ahead to Frost-Man's camp. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut asked him, "Well, who won the races?" Eme′mqut replied, "Fog-Man outran us all." Then Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said, "Bring me a good reindeer. I am going to find Twilight-Man, and will ask him to go with you to Lower Village. He will outrun Fog-Man."

They gave her a reindeer, and she went to her sister, whom she asked, "Where is your husband?" — "He is watching the herd," replied her sister. Twilight-Man soon came home. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said to him, "Go with Eme′mqut and Frost-Man to the races at Lower Village. They could not outrun Fog-Man, so you must do it." He answered, "How can I go? Who will take charge of the reindeer?" — "Never mind them," said Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. "Perhaps

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[1] This is the village of the lower world (see p. 121).

you think your clothing is not good enough, and they will laugh at you there. I will give you some new clothing." — "Well, I will go," said Twilight-Man. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut returned home.

Next morning Eme'mqut and Frost-Man started again for Lower Village, and on the way there stopped at the tent of Twilight-Man to give him new clothing. Then they continued their journey with him.

When they arrived at Lower Village, they did not enter the house, but immediately began to play ball, and Twilight-Man won. During the game he grew tired. He stopped playing, and told Eme'mqut that he was very thirsty. Eme'mqut said, "There are some girls carrying home water: go and get a drink from them." Twilight-Man ran toward the girls, and called out to the last one, "Stop, girl! I want a drink." She paid no attention to his words, and went on her way home. Twilight-Man followed her, and called after her into the house, "Bring me some water." The girl refused to do so. "Come into the house and get some water yourself," she said. He went down. Then the girl's brother, Strong-One (A'n·qiw), took hold of him, saying, "Why did you run after my sister? Do you want to marry her? Now you must marry her." The girl, whose name was Driftwood-Woman (Yo'm-ña [1]), also took hold of him, and said, "Now you must take me for your wife." They did not allow him to leave the house.

Eme'mqut, after waiting some time for his friend, sent a man to look for him. The man came to Strong-One's house, and called out, "Come, Twilight-Man! your reindeer are hungry." He answered, "You will have to go alone: they will not allow me to leave this place." The messenger returned to Eme'mqut, and said, "Twilight-Man says that they do not allow him to leave the house." Then Eme'mqut went there himself. He arrived at the house, and called out, "Twilight-Man, where are you? We are going home." Twilight-Man answered, "They are holding me here; I cannot get away; and you will have to go alone."

Eme'mqut went to the reindeer. He unharnessed Twilight-Man's reindeer, and, turning them into the pasture, he and Frost-Man went away.

When they approached Frost-Man's camp, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut came out of the tent to see who was coming. She saw that only two people were returning, and that the third one was not with them. She thought, "Probably one of them was hurt at the games, and will remain until he gets well." When Eme'mqut and Frost-Man came into the tent, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut asked them, "And where is Twilight-Man?" Eme'mqut answered, "He got married in Lower Village." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut then pondered for a while, and said, "Čan·a'i-ña'ut has no children, and probably for this reason he has married another woman. I am going to my sister, and will tell her that her husband has married another woman."

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[1] The literal meaning of this word is "thrown out by the water."

Eme'mqut, on his way home, stopped at Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut's tent. She came out to meet him, and asked him where her husband was. "Your husband has married another woman," answered Eme'mqut. But Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut replied, "It is not true, you are deceiving me." — "Yes, it is true," said Eme'mqut: "your husband married Strong-One's sister, Driftwood-Woman." Then Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut believed him, and said, "Well, since he is married, it cannot be helped. Let him bring his second wife home: she shall be my friend." Then Eme'mqut returned home.

Twilight-Man did not come back for a long time. Meanwhile Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut came to be pregnant, and the time of her confinement was approaching. One day she went to draw water at an ice-hole, and right there she was delivered of a daughter. She thought, "Some people might say, 'Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut bore a child without having a husband.' I had better hide it." She hid the girl in one of the beads which she wore around her neck. She took some water home. Her mother-in-law looked at her, and asked, "What has changed your looks so?" She answered, "I was carrying water, and all of a sudden I felt a sharp pain in my stomach."

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut was all the time planning to visit Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut. Once she said to her family, "I am going to see my sister." Her father-in-law, Frost-Man's father, remarked, "Well, she is going to her sister's, and will tell her all sorts of stories: maybe something bad will result from it." But Yiñe'a-ñe'ut paid no attention to her father-in-law's words, and went to visit her sist

Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut came out to meet her sister, who said, "I think you are n cheerful because your husband has married another woman." — "No, never mind, let him marry," answered Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut. Both sisters went into the tent. Twilight-Man's mother hung a kettle of meat over the hearth to prepare a meal for the guest; but Yiñe'a-ñe'ut laughed at the old woman, and said, "Now you are eating of our reindeer: probably, since your son married another woman, he will soon bring home a larger herd." To her sister she said, "Put up your sleeping-tent,[1] and we will talk over matters in there." Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut put up her sleeping-tent. The sisters entered and began to talk. Finally Yiñe'a-ñe'ut said to her sister, "If I were you, I should go back to my brothers. I have no children, either: I also am going to leave my husband." After that, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut returned.

When Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut came out of the sleeping-tent, the old woman looked at her, and saw a change in the expression of her face. Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut took out some meat from the kettle. Heretofore she had taken care of the old woman and had given her the best pieces, but now she gave her the poorest piece. Then she went outside, brought in a seal-skin bag, put some meat and fat into it, and started for Lower Village, where her husband was married.

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[1] The Koryak erect a small tent, made of reindeer-skins, inside the house, for each married woman or grown-up girl.

When she arrived at Lower Village, she was met by Fog-Man, who called out to his sister, Fog-Woman (Yĭña´m-ña´ut), "Come out and welcome the guest!" Fog-Woman came out. Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut gave her the bag of meat and fat. Driftwood-Woman also came out of the house. Then Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut and the other woman entered. Driftwood-Woman untied the bag and took out the meat. She took a fat piece, turned it about in her hand, and said, "When my husband comes, we will eat the meat, and laugh at Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut." Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut became angry, but did not answer. Soon she made preparations to go back to her parents. Everybody went outside and gave her presents. One gave an otter; another, a wolverene. Driftwood-Woman came out carrying a woman's knife, and said to Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut, "Lately Twilight-Man, running on snow-shoes, has overtaken a wolverene and trampled it to death. I will give you a strip of its skin to trim of your coat." Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut, in her wrath at Driftwood-Woman, who was sneering at her, snatched the knife out of her hand and cut off her nose. Then she sat down on her sledge, and made the reindeer run at top speed.

Fog-Man said to his sister, "I will go in pursuit. Since she has cut off her friend's nose, she certainly does not want to live with Twilight-Man any longer, so I am going to marry her." With this he ran in pursuit of Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut, but went astray.

When Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut returned home, she broke up camp, put the tent on her sledge, gathered the herd together, and went to her father's home. She left a small tent for her mother-in-law. When she was approaching Big-Raven's house, the people went out to see who was driving the reindeer, and they saw Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut. Her brothers asked her, "Where is your husband?" but she did not answer. She remained at her father's house.

In the mean time Twilight-Man came back from his trip; and when he saw Driftwood-Woman with her nose cut off, he immediately left and went toward his old camp. He found his old mother sitting in a shattered tent. When she saw him, she scolded him, saying, "Why did your wife leave you?"

He went on to the house of Big-Raven. Eme´mqut discerned him at a distance, and called out to Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut, "Your husband is coming!" When Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut heard that, she put on several coats of reindeer-skin, and said, "If he stabs me with his knife, he cannot get at my body."

Soon Twilight-Man arrived, entered the house, and sat down near Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut. She saw that he was not angry with her, and said to him, "You see that I have put on several coats, for I thought that you would kill me for having cut off your second wife's nose. If you should stab me with your knife, the knife could not get at my body."

Soon after that, Fog-Man, who had wandered about for some time, but who had found his way to Big-Raven's house, arrived. Čan·a´ĭ-ña´ut knew that he was pursuing her. She took the beads off her neck, gave them to

Fog-Man, and said, "Here are my beads. My daughter is concealed in one of them. Let her grow up at your house. When she is grown up, you may marry her."

Twilight-Man asked her, "What have you there?" And she replied, "You left me with child, and in your absence I was delivered of a daughter, and hid her in one of my beads." Then Twilight-Man and Čan·a′i-ña′ut went home and lived as before, and his mother again cared for her daughter-in-law.

Eme′mqut and Fog-Man went to Lower Village. Eme′mqut courted Fog-Man's sister, Fog-Woman. He married her there, and took her to his home. One day Čan·a′i-ña′ut said to her husband, "Go and get your second wife." Her husband, answered, "What for? I am not going to do so, she has lost her nose." So they lived. That's all.

Told by Anne Qači′lqut, a Maritime Koryak woman of the village of Kamenskoye, Dec. 27, 1900.

94. Fog-Man and Driftwood-Woman.

Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) lived with his wife Miti′. A daughter, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, was born to them; then a son, Eme′mqut; then a son, Big-Light (Qeskın·a′qu); then other children were born. Their son Eme′mqut grew up. He began to kill wild reindeer. He would bring reindeer every day from the chase. His mother, Miti′, used to put the fattest parts of the reindeer into bags, and hide them in the storehouse. The children would always ask their mother, "For whom do you save those bags of meat?" but she would say nothing in reply.

Once Big-Raven went outdoors, looked at the sea, and saw that a light fog was coming up from it. Soon he beheld through the fog a skin boat with people in it. They were paddling. When the boat came nearer, he shouted into the house, "Somebody is coming to us!" Everybody left the house to meet the guests. The boat landed; and it turned out that, with the exception of one old woman, all the new-comers were men. Big-Raven saw that it was Fog-Man (Yıña′mtıla'n) who had come. All the visitors were asked into the house. Among them was also Fog-Man's father, Atta′gen. He said to Big-Raven, "I have brought my son to you to serve for your daughter. Would you rather have me leave my son with you, or shall I take your daughter along?" To this Big-Raven replied, "You may take my daughter along with you." Then they got Yiñe′a-ñe′ut ready for the voyage. Miti′ took the bags with pieces of fat reindeer-meat from the storehouse. At last Miti′ had finished her preparations; and she said to her daughter, "There are clothing and fat meat in these bags and sacks. Take them to your bridegroom's house." Thus Fog-Man got Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, and carried her away in his skin boat. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut was still almost a little girl.

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When Fog-Man landed with his wife at his father's settlement, everybody came out to meet them. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut did not go into the house, however, but remained outside to play with the girls. The people laughed at Atta'gen, saying, "A nice bride did he bring for his son! She had hardly reached shore, when she began to play with the children."

Soon a skin boat was seen to approach, which came to Fog-Man's house from another village. It reached the shore, and Fog-Man's sister, Fog-Woman (Yıña'm-ña'ut), stepped out of it. They asked her why she had come. She answered, "I heard that my brother is to be married, and I came to see my sister-in-law." — "She is playing outside," answered her relatives. "Well, then, call her in to me," said Fog-Woman. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut was called in. When Fog-Woman looked at her, she said, "Why did you say she was not a proper wife for my brother? She is simply very young, and she wants to play all the time."

Later on, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut said to her husband's sister, "I am going to give you some of the presents that I have brought along from mother." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut went out and threw down from the sledge two bags, — one full of fat meat, and the other one full of reindeer-fawn skins; but she could not carry them: they were too heavy for her. Then she went back to the house, and said to her sister-in-law, "Go and take for yourself one bag of fat meat and another bag filled with fawn-skins." They went out, and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut pulled out of the bags fat meat and black fawn-skins. Fog-Woman said, "You see what a kind and good sister-in-law we have." To this, Fog-Woman's mother replied, "That is the reason we went to Big-Raven to make this match."

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's sister-in-law prepared for her homeward trip. When she was taking leave of her brother, she said, "You ought to be considerate of your wife, she is so very young yet." To Yiñe'a-ñe'ut she said, "Play one day, on the next work and attend to the household."

Fog-Woman went away in her boat. When she arrived at her house, she told her daughters about her sister-in-law, saying, "She is so good! she has given me many presents, — meat and skins."

After Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's departure from her parents' house, her brother Eme'mqut married Grass-Woman (Veᵛai), Root-Man's (Tatqa'hıčñın) daughter. Soon a son, Born-again (Io'ñovet), was born to them, and a daughter, Yellow-Woman (Čei'pı-ñe'ut).

In a short time Yiñe'a-ñe'ut also was with child, and gave birth to a girl. They named her Ice-Hole-Woman (A'ime-ñe'ut).

Once Fog-Man went to sea, hunting, and killed a whale. The people came up to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's house, and shouted, "Come out to meet Fog-Man! He is towing a whale." Girls from the neighboring houses came and derided Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, saying, "Well, what kind of embroidered dancing-clothes will she put on now to meet the whale? She has not embroidered anything. She has done nothing all day but play." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut kept silence. When the boats

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with the whale approached the shore, she said to her father-in-law, "Come to the storehouse with me." The two went into the storehouse, and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut pulled out from the bags that she had brought from home, hatchets, knives, coats of fawn-skins with fur trimmings, embroidered and beaded edges, and put them on the women who were there. She herself put on a dancing-suit with rich fur trimmings and magnificent embroidery. Thereupon the women accompanied Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to the shore to meet the whale with dances.

The skin boats landed, the whale was hauled up on the shore, and the women stopped dancing and singing. Then everybody, with knives in their hands, crowded around the whale, and began to cut it up. Only Fog-Man and his wife were sitting aside. The people called to him, "Fog-Man, we are carving the whale, come join us!" but he replied, "Let the people cut for themselves, there will be enough left for me." Soon another skin boat full of people came in sight. They landed, and joined in cutting up the whale. Fog-Man shouted from his place, "Let the new-comers cut plenty for themselves, let them fill their skin boat."

At that time Yiñe'a-ñe'ut went to look after her daughter. She returned, and said to Fog-Man, "Our daughter is thirsty. Go to the boat of the people who have just arrived, and get some fresh water there. They always keep a supply of it." Fog-Man ran down to the boat, and saw a girl standing in the water, holding the boat. She would not come up to the shore. Fog-Man said to her, "Push the boat farther up the beach. I want to get some fresh water from the bucket." The girl did not say a word in reply. He took her by the shoulder, intending to draw the boat nearer; but she shouted to her brothers, "Come here! Fog-Man has assaulted me." The girl's brothers stopped cutting the whale, ran down to the shore, tied Fog-Man, threw him into the boat, and went off to sea. He had only time to call to his mother, "Take care of your daughter-in-law."

The people in the skin boat took Fog-Man to their house, on the other side of the sea. The girl whom Fog-Man had touched was called Driftwood-Woman (Yo'm-ña). When the skin boat landed, her older brother, Strong-One (A'n·qiw), said to Fog-Man, "You insulted the girl: now you have to marry her." Fog-Man answered, "Well, I will take her: how can I get away from you, now that I am on this side of the sea?" Thus Fog-Man lived at Strong-One's house.

After Fog-Man had been carried off by strangers, his father took care of the whale, and celebrated the festival of sending it home. Then he said to his people, "Let us go along the trail leading to Big-Raven's house. Let the women gather berries." They got ready and started off in a skin boat in the direction of Big-Raven's village.

At this time, Strong-One also made up his mind to take a trip in the direction of Big-Raven's village for the purpose of gathering a supply of roots

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and berries. He went with all his people. When Strong-One was paddling toward the shore, Fog-Man noticed some people on the shore some distance away, and said, "It seems to me that our people are also here picking berries." Then Driftwood-Woman said to her brother, "Do not land at the same place, land somewhere farther off." Strong-One turned the boat, and landed far away from the other people.

As soon as they got ashore, Fog-Man took his bow and arrows, and went off until he found his own people. He sat down by the side of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. His sister was also there. But he did not sit there long. As soon as he had left Strong-One, Driftwood-Woman said to her brothers, "Where did your brother-in-law go? Bring him back." Then her brothers went to look for him, found him with his relatives, and took him back to the boat. Strong-One was an athlete, all his brothers were powerful warriors, and the people were afraid of them.

Soon after that, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's supplies of provisions became exhausted. She said to Fog-Man's sister, "Go to Strong-One's, and ask for some food. They may give some to you, although they would refuse it to me." But Fog-Woman refused to go. Then she sent her little daughter. Ice-Hole-Woman arrived at Strong-One's skin boat. The people asked her, "Whose daughter are you?" She answered, "I am Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's daughter." Fog-Man was not at home, he was away hunting. The brothers said to Driftwood-Woman, "Look, your husband's daughter has come!" She ordered the girl to be brought to her, and asked her, "Who sent you here?" — "Mother sent me," answered Ice-Hole-Woman. "We have no more food." Driftwood-Woman took the little girl, strangled her, and thrust her into a crevice in the ground.

Fog-Man soon came back from hunting, and brought a wild reindeer which he had killed. The people said to him, "Your daughter has been here to ask for food: they have nothing to eat." And Driftwood-Woman added, "Yes, yes! she has been here. I gave her some seal-meat, and she took it home." Fog-Man was grieved to know that Yiñe'a-ñe'ut was without food, and said to Strong-One, "I have staid with you long enough. I am going home now." Then he left; but Driftwood-Woman said to her brothers, "Bring back your brother-in-law, otherwise I shall get sick." Her brothers ran after Fog-Man, overtook him, and carried him back in their skin boat to the other side of the sea.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut waited and waited for her daughter to return. Finally she said, "How long she is staying away! I will go and look for her." But Fog-Woman said, "No doubt her father has taken her along with him."

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's father-in-law did not let her go in search of her daughter. After a short time he said to the women, "You have picked enough berries and roots: let us go home." They went to their village in the skin boat.

Fog-Man was longing to go home. Once he said to Strong-One, "I want

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to go home. Take me back, and let your sister go with me. We shall live there together." The brothers of Driftwood-Woman consented, and took them across the sea. When they arrived, Fog-Man asked Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, "Where is our daughter?" She answered, "When we were picking berries, I sent her to Strong-One for food, and she never came back."

Behind a high ridge of mountains, far away from the sea, lived two brothers with their mother. One was called Wolf-Man (Eʿhı'mtılaʿn); the other, Hathope.[1] Wolf-Man was a shaman. Once he said to his brother, "I see that beyond the mountain-ridge near the sea, in Big-Raven's country, a dead girl is lying in a crevice in the ground. I will go there, bring her to life, and you shall marry her." The brothers crossed the mountain-ridge, ran down to the crevice, and found the dead girl, whom Wolf-Man revived. Thereupon Hathope married her. Then Wolf-Man wanted to go home; but Hathope said, "Let us live for a while in my wife's country before she leaves it forever." Thus it happened that they staid and lived some time in Big-Raven's country.

One day Big-Raven said to his son Big-Light, "Take your sister Čan·a'i-ña'ut, your nephew Born-again, and your niece Yellow-Woman, and go hunting wild reindeer. Yonder are many reindeer." Big-Light obeyed his father's orders. He reached the hunting-ground accompanied by his sister, his nephew, and his niece, and built an earth lodge. There they spent the night, and on the following morning Big-Light went hunting. Čan·a'i-ña'ut, Born-again, and Yellow-Woman remained in the lodge. After Big-Light had left, Čan·a'i-ña'ut went outside, walked off some distance from the house, and discovered two men, and a girl between them. One of the men was beating the drum, singing, and saying repeatedly, "To-day my wife sees her land for the last time. Soon we shall leave here, and she will not see this country again." Čan·a'i-ña'ut thought to herself, "I will go nearer, and see what kind of people they are;" but as soon as she approached, they jumped up and started to run. Čan·a'i-ña'ut looked, and saw two wolves running away and a woman behind them. Čan·a'i-ña'ut ran home, called Born-again and Yellow-Woman, and said to them, "I do not know what it is that I have seen. First three persons were sitting on the ground. One of them was singing. As soon as I went near, the two men turned into wolves and ran away, followed by the woman."

Big-Light killed a wild reindeer. Suddenly he heard a voice. Some one was singing. "I will go and see who is singing there," said Big-Light to himself. He went; and when he came near enough, he understood the words of the song: "My brother has revived a girl, I married her. Now she sees her country for the last time. Soon we shall leave for our own country." Big-Light came up closer, and saw two men on the ground, and a woman between them. He looked at the woman, and thought, "How much she resembles my sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut!" Suddenly the men became wolves, ran

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[1] A name of the wolf which is used only in myths; also Athap.

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away, and the woman followed them. Then Big-Light went back to the killed reindeer. He lifted it upon his shoulders and carried it home. Čan·a´i-ña´ut came out to meet him, and said, "I will tell you what I have seen to-day;" but he answered, "I have seen myself what you wish to tell about. Tell me, how did it appear to you?" Čan·a´i-ña´ut said, "I went outside, walked a few steps away from the house, and saw two men sitting on the ground, and a woman between them. One of them was singing, 'It is the last time that my wife sees her land, soon we shall go to our own country.' Then, when I came nearer to them, the men assumed the shape of wolves and ran away, and the woman followed them." Big-Light said, "I have seen the same thing." Then he added, "Let us go home now." They went home, and took along the killed reindeer.

When Eme´mqut, who stood outside, saw them coming, he went and told his father. Big-Raven said, "Something must have happened to them. They went hunting only yesterday, and to-day they are coming back. Maybe one of the children has been hurt." When they arrived, they told him that they had seen two men, and a woman resembling Yiñe´a-ñe´ut; and that when they would approach nearer to them, the men would turn into wolves, and would run away, the woman following them. Then Big-Raven said, "It is a long time since we have seen Yiñe´a-ñe´ut: something must have happened to her. Keep a watch for her." On the same day, Eme´mqut, Big-Light, and Illa´ went out in the wilderness. Soon they saw two men sitting on the ground, and a woman between them. One of the men was singing. As soon as the men noticed them, they ran away in the shape of wolves, and the woman followed them. Eme´mqut went back home with his brothers.

On the following day Čan·a´i-ña´ut went to pick berries. She went far from the house, and chanced upon a camp consisting of several tents. Suddenly she saw coming out of one of the tents a young woman carrying a basket in her hand. Čan·a´i-ña´ut looked at her own reflection (wi´yil-wi´yil), which she could see in a pool of the swamp, and then at the woman, and she noticed that the latter looked very much like her own reflection. The woman went down to the river with her basket to draw water. Čan·a´i-ña´ut went after her, and sat down on the bank. The woman began to sing, "Where may my mother be?" Čan·a´i-ña´ut then came up to her and asked, "Who is your mother?" — "My mother is Yiñe´a-ñe´ut," answered the young woman. "If Yiñe´a-ñe´ut is your mother, then I am your aunt," said Čan·a´i-ña´ut. "Where do you come from?" The woman answered, "Driftwood-Woman killed me, the Wolves revived me, and one of them has married me. Now we shall soon go away from here. When you reach home, tell Grandmother Miti´ and grandfather to make an offering to Something-Existing (Yaqhı´čñin), — a few white and a few spotted old reindeer, — and perhaps he may bring me back to you. When anybody approaches our houses, the village disappears, and

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the inhabitants turn into running wolves." She also told Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut that her father had left Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and married Driftwood-Woman.

Čan·a'ĭ-ña'ut went home and told her parents all she had seen and heard from their grand-daughter.

Then Big-Raven remarked, "I have never killed any of my old white and spotted reindeer, but now I must kill a few as an offering to Something-Existing." He killed the reindeer which his grand-daughter had designated as the desired sacrifice.

Suddenly a noise arose in the sky. Something-Existing said to his son, Cloud-Maker[1] (Taᵉyañ), "Go out and see what that noise is, Cloud-Maker." When he returned, he said to his father, "Big-Raven has old reindeer, white and spotted. Heretofore he would never kill them for us. Now that they have come up here, it seems that Big-Raven has sacrificed them." Then Something-Existing said to his son, "Look down upon the earth and see what has happened there that should have induced Big-Raven to kill the reindeer which before he has always spared." Cloud-Maker went and looked. When he returned to his father, he said, "I have seen Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's daughter, whom Driftwood-Woman killed. The Wolves have revived and married her. Big-Raven seems to wish to recover her. This is why he killed the reindeer for us." Then Something-Existing suggested to the Wolves to go nearer to Big-Raven's village.

Thus it happened that the mother-Wolf said to her sons, "Let us move nearer to Big-Raven. Perhaps he and his people would like to have a look at their child before we take her away to our far-off land." The Wolves moved nearer to Big-Raven's habitation. One evening Big-Raven's people came running to him with the news that a long train of reindeer-sledges was approaching his house. The Wolves were bringing Ice-Hole-Woman. When they arrived, Ice-Hole-Woman entered the house, but the Wolves did not wish to enter. The slightest noise would make them shudder. Finally Big-Raven's children succeeded in persuading the Wolves to go into the house. They came in, and they were feasted. Then Big-Raven said to them, "You ought to take Ice-Hole-Woman to her mother, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, before you go far away." — "Well, we will take her," said the Wolves. Thereupon they went to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. Eme'mqut and Big-Raven went with them. They arrived at Fog-Man's village. When Fog-Man was told that people came to visit them, he sent Driftwood-Woman to meet them. She took a fire-brand and went out; but Ice-Hole-Woman snatched it from her hand, pushed it into Driftwood-Woman's mouth, and said, "You strangled me before, now I shall burn you to ashes." Then Ice-Hole-Woman ran into the house and exclaimed, "Where is my mother? Is she alive?" Her mother came to greet her. She was thin and bruised, for, ever since Driftwood-Woman had come to the house, her husband had hated

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[1] The same personage as Cloud-Man (Ya'hal, Ya'halaᵉn).

x-73 and beaten her. Ice-Hole-Woman said to her mother, "We will take you along with us." They sat down for a while, and then got ready to go. Eme′mqut
539 took his sister Yiñe′a-ñe′ut home with him. Her son-in-law, Wolf-Man, blew upon Driftwood-Woman, and she turned into driftwood. Fog-Man also expressed a desire to go with them. Eme′mqut did not want to take him, but he went, just the same. Upon their arrival, Big-Raven asked what had happened to them, and Fog-Man told him everything. Then all of Big-Raven's people hated Fog-Man, but he did not grumble. He said, "You are treating me now the way I used to treat Yiñe′a-ñe′ut."

The Wolves staid with Big-Raven for some time, then they made ready to go home. Big-Light proposed to accompany them. When they came to their camp, the mother-Wolf asked them, "Why did you stay away so long?" — "Big-Raven asked us to visit my wife's mother," answered her son Hathope. "Now we will leave for our own country," said the mother-Wolf. To this her son Hathope replied, "I have become used to this country: let us live here, near my wife's relations." The old mother-Wolf consented. Then Hathope said to her, "Big-Light came to us to make a match, but we have no sister." — "Yes, you have," said the mother-Wolf. "I have brought up a daughter without your knowledge. She lives at large in a separate house. Her name is Storm-Woman (Yo′ye-ñe′ut)." She was given in marriage to Big-Light. They all went to Big-Raven's and lived there together. Soon after that, Fog-Man went back to his settlement with his wife Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. That's all.

Told by Anne Qači′lqut, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, Jan. 2, 1901.

95. Big-Raven's Journey to the Sky.

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) lived. Once he said to his wife, his sons and daughters, "Let us move up to the sky, but do not look back on the way." They prepared for the journey, fitted out a train of reindeer-sledges, and began to ascend to the sky. Eme′mqut was sitting way behind, on the last sledge. He was quite small then. When they were half-way up, he looked back, in spite of his father's order; and immediately the thong[1] by which his sledge was tied to the rest of the train broke, and he fell down. Eme′mqut cried, "I am falling!" Miti′, who was in front of Eme′mqut, heard his cries, and called to Big-Raven, who was sitting on the first sledge. She said, "Eme′mqut has fallen down." Then Big-Raven, without looking back, shouted in reply, "Cut the thong which holds the two reindeer in the rear. One of them is mine, and the other one is yours: let them be Eme′mqut's companions." Eme'mqut and the two reindeer fell down, and struck the ground near Big-Raven's house. As soon as they reached the earth, the reindeer turned into human beings. One of them became a man; the other, a woman. The man was called Reindeer-Big-Raven (Qoya'-Quikınn·a'qu); and the woman, Reindeer-Miti' (Qoya'-Miti'). They raised Eme'mqut as if he were their own son. 773 x 539

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[1] The method of attaching one sledge to another in a family train of reindeer is by means of a thong going from the halter of the animals in the rear to the back of the preceding sledge.

When Eme'mqut was grown up, his parents said, "Let us go and make a match for our son. Let us get Root-Man's (Tatqa'hıčñın) sister's daughter for him." They went. When they came to Root-Man, they said, "We have come to make a match for our son." Root-Man answered, "My niece is very young: wait until I have consulted with my sister." Suddenly some one shouted from outside, "Another old man and another old woman have arrived!" When they entered the house, Root-Man asked them, "Who are you?" They answered, "We are the parents of Frost (Qeli'va). We have come to arrange a match for our son Frost."

Root-Man's sister, Root-Woman (Tatqa'-ña'ut), said, "I will not give my daughter, Wild-Rye-Woman (Tuwa'ña[1]), in marriage to Raven-Big-Raven's[2] (Va'lvam-Quikınn·a'quts) son." Thus Wild-Rye-Woman was married to Frost. Frost's parents took her home.

Thereupon Root-Man said to his wife, River-Woman (Vaya'm-ña'ut), "Let us give our own daughter, Grass-Woman (Veᵉai), to Big-Raven's son. The poor old people came walking over here." Root-Man then made his daughter ready for the journey. She was given clothes and sinew thread, but no reindeer. Root-Man himself had only a few reindeer. The old couple went back on foot with the girl. They brought her home and married her to Eme'mqut.

Big-Raven, with his family, lived in the sky for quite a long time. There he married his daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut to Cloud-Man (Ya'halaᵉn), and his son Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu) to Cloud-Man's sister, Cloud-Woman (Ya'hal-ña'ut). Both he and Miti' had entirely forgotten their son Eme'mqut. Once Big-Raven said to his people, "It is time to go home: let us go down to the earth." They left the sky, taking along their herds of reindeer with iron antlers. Cloud-Man accompanied them.

At that time Eme'mqut was out gathering wood. He met Big-Raven's reindeer-train. Miti' asked Big-Raven, "Who is that dirty and ragged man?" Big-Raven called him, and asked, "Who are you?" He answered, "I am Eme'mqut." Big-Raven continued, "And who is your father?" — "My father," answered Eme'mqut, "is Big-Raven." — "And who is your mother?" — "My mother is Miti'." — "And where are your parents?" — "My parents are at home." — "Have you any reindeer?" — "We have no reindeer: we go afoot." Then everything came back to Big-Raven's mind, and he said, "Well, this is our son Eme'mqut: he was torn away from us when we were ascending to x773 the sky. We detached two reindeer and let them down. They turned into human beings, and brought up Eme′mqut." Then he hit Eme′mqut, who

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[1] Ta'wai or wild rye (*Elymus mollis*) is one of the materials from which the Koryak plait bags and baskets.

[2] See p. 17.

539 broke in two; and the real, nice-looking, and well-clad Eme′mqut came forth.

When Big-Raven arrived at his house, the old people inside began to feel uneasy. They said to their daughter-in-law, "Go and see what the noise outside means. Somebody must have arrived." She went out and looked, and, coming back to the old people, said, "Somebody has come here with a large herd of reindeer. The noise we hear is the thundering clatter of their iron antlers." Grass-Woman looked at the old people, and noticed that their heads were turned into reindeer-heads, and their feet into hoofs. She asked them, "Why are you changing thus?" They only said, "Do not look at us: look up."

Outside Big-Raven said to Eme′mqut, "Take the reindeer that you have had: we will offer them to The-One-on-High (Gɪ′čholaᵋn) as a sacrifice." Eme′mqut went up to the roof of the underground house and shouted through the entrance-hole, "Wife, where are you?" Wild-Rye-Woman answered, "I am not your wife. My parents-in-law have turned into reindeer, and I do not know where my husband is." She did not recognize Eme′mqut because he was so clean and nice looking. Eme′mqut answered, "I am Eme′mqut, your husband. My real father and mother have come, and you may bring out the reindeer. We will kill them as a sacrifice to The-One-on-High." Then Wild-Rye-Woman came out and brought the reindeer along. Big-Raven sacrificed them, and he lived again in his former home.

Soon after Big-Raven's return, Root-Woman said to River-Woman, "Let us call upon our daughters. You go to your daughter, and I will go to mine." They started off on foot. On the way, Root-Woman teased River-Woman, saying, "I shall drive back on reindeer, ehe′ĭ, ehe′ĭ! and you will have to drag yourself back on foot, huč, huč!" Soon they arrived at the pasture-land where Big-Raven's reindeer were grazing. The women looked, and noticed that the reindeer had iron antlers. Root-Woman said to River-Woman, "It seems that somebody has come down here from the sky." Then she saw the herdsmen. Root-Woman called to them, "Who are you? Whose herd is this?" Big-Light, who was watching the herd, said, "It is our herd, Big-Raven's herd." — "And where is Frost's underground house?" asked Root-Woman, surprised. "It is far off," answered Big-Light. "I will leave you here," said Root-Woman to River-Woman.

Root-Woman reached Frost's underground house, and, seeing him outside, she asked him, "Why didn't my daughter come out to meet me?" — "Your daughter is not with me," answered Frost. "I lived with her only two days, and then I gave her away to my laborer, One-who-jumps-over-the-Snow (Elpi′nku). He lives in the next house." Then Root-Woman went to One-who-jumps-over-the-Snow. Her daughter Wild-Rye-Woman, and her daughter's husband, were still asleep. She took her daughter by her braids, pulled her out of the house, 773 R

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and said, "You fool! you had a good husband, and you could not keep him. Let us go home." Both women walked away.

Leaving the herd, River-Woman went toward Big-Raven's house. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and River-Woman's daughter Grass-Woman, came out to meet her. Grass-Woman said to her mother, "The couple that came to our house to arrange a match between Eme'mqut and myself were not really Big-Raven and Miti', but their reindeer, who had assumed human form. Now Big-Raven and Miti' have come back from the sky, and have killed those reindeer as a sacrifice. Eme'mqut has become nice-looking. Drive back home and tell father that I am rich now."

River-Woman was conducted into the house, and was given food. When she got ready to return home, Big-Raven said to his sons, "Give half of the herd to Root-Man. Our herd is too large, and he has plenty of herdsmen. I will also give my daughter Čan·a'i-ña'ut in marriage to his son."

They gave River-Woman half of the herd; and Eme'mqut, with his wife and sister, Čan·a'i-ña'ut, accompanied her to Root-Man's. On their way they overtook Root-Woman and Wild-Rye-Woman. The snow was deep, and they were plodding along with difficulty, falling down every once in a while. River-Woman saw them, and said to Eme'mqut, "Let us give them a lift on our sledges." Eme'mqut did not reply, but whipped up his reindeer. Thus they left the women on the road. When Eme'mqut was approaching Root-Man's underground house, Root-Woman's little son went out to look, and called into the house, "There comes mother driving up on Frost's reindeer." Root-Man immediately went out to meet his sister. When the sledge had stopped, he asked, "Who has come?" — "It is I," answered his wife, River-Woman. "I have come with Eme'mqut and our daughter. Those who were here before, and arranged the match with Eme'mqut, were Big-Raven's reindeer. The real Big-Raven has just now come back from the sky with a large herd of reindeer. He gave us half a herd, and is sending his daughter Čan·a'i-ña'ut to be married to our son." — "And where is sister?" asked Root-Man. "She is coming afoot with her daughter," answered River-Woman. We told Eme'mqut to give them a lift, but he only whipped up his reindeer." — "Well, let them walk," said Root-Man.

Then they all went into the house. They killed some reindeer as a sacrifice. Root-Woman and Wild-Rye-Woman did not arrive until after sunset. They stole into the house and sat down quietly behind the hearth. Root-Woman's son asked her, "Mother, when shall we kill some sacrificial reindeer?" But she struck her son, and said, "Keep still!"

After some time, Eme'mqut said to his father-in-law, "Let us all leave, and return to our own place." Then they all went back to Big-Raven's house, where they all lived together. That's all.

Told by Anne Qači'lqut, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Kamenskoye, Jan. 6, 1901.

96. Big-Raven and Fox-Woman.[1]

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Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) once carried on his back a seal-stomach filled with blubber. He met Fox-Woman (Yayo'ča-ña'ut). "Carry me," she said, "I am sick." Big-Raven took her and carried her, together with the seal-stomach. On the way she drank half of the blubber, leaped down, and said, "Thou art cunning, Big-Raven, but I fooled thee; I drank the blubber." And she ran away. To avenge himself, Big-Raven took a heap of fish, let it freeze, and said, "Now the Fox-Women's children will wish to eat the fish, their tongues will freeze and stick to the fish, and I shall kill them all with a club." So he did. The children of the Fox came running, and started to eat the frozen fish: their tongues froze to it. Big-Raven proceeded to stun them with his club, and killed two of them. But Fox-Woman came, and said to Big-Raven, "Why dost thou kill my children? Thoud'st better let them off; they will bring berries for thee." Big-Raven let them go; but they never came back. That's all.

Told by Opuka an Maritime Koryak Ka'mmake, in the village of Kamenskoye.

97. Mouse-Woman.*[2]

Mouse-Woman (Pipı'qča-ña'ut) said to her people, "Let us play!" They began to play. Suddenly the people noticed that one of her teeth was missing. They asked her, "How did you lose your tooth?" — "Envious-One [Nıpai'va-tıčñın] shot at me from the sky, and knocked out my tooth. Surely I am going to die. How can I live after that?" The others said, "You shall not die outside. Let us take you into your house." They took her to her house, and her mother asked her, "What has made you ill?" She answered, "Envious-One hit me from the sky with his arrow." The mother said, "Let us send for your grandmother." They sent for her grandmother, and carried her into the house. The grandmother beat the drum, and asked, "Where has our daughter's illness come from?" There was no one to answer the question. The breath of the old woman did not fit into anything. Then she said, "Let us go and look into the porch." She called to Ermine-Woman (Imča'nam-ña'ut), "I am going to the porch. Let us inspect the puddings there. The little [Mouse] girl has been pilfering the provisions in the porch, and there she lost her tooth." They found the puddings. One made of nuts of the stone-pine had been gnawed, and there they found a tooth. The little pilferer lost her tooth close to the stone-pine-nut pudding. Ermine-Woman brought the tooth, saying, "Whose tooth is this? Let us try and fit it into every small girl's

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[1] A sketch illustrating this tale, drawn by the narrator, is shown in Fig. 57, p. 116.

[2] The myths marked with with an asterisk (*) were recorded by Mr. Bogoras (see p. 15).

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mouth." They said to one girl, "Open your mouth!" She opened her mouth, and they tried to place the tooth; but there was no room for it. The tooth did not fit the mouth of any of the small girls. Then Ermine-Woman said to the sick girl, "Try this tooth!" and the tooth fitted into the socket in her mouth. Ermine-Woman said, "She has been pilfering the provisions in the porch. What shall be done to her?" Then the mother of the girl scolded her, saying, "It is best for you to die. Go and strangle yourself with a forked willow-twig!"[1] She came back, however, saying, "I was unable to strangle myself." Her mother scolded her again, saying, "Go away from here!" She went away again, and at last died. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

98. How a Small Kamak was transformed into a Harpoon-Line.*

A small kamak said to his mother, "I am hungry." She replied, "Go to the storeroom behind the sleeping-room (yı′ñun) and take something." He said, "I do not want to. I will go to Big-Raven's (Quikınn·a′qu) house." The mother said, "Do not do it! It will be your death. You will be caught in a snare. Better go to the porch and take something to eat from there." He answered, "I do not want to. Those provisions taste of the porch."

Big-Raven spread a snare before the entrance of his elevated storehouse. The small kamak ran to the storehouse, and was caught in the snare. He cried and blubbered, "Oh, oh! I am caught! I am caught!" Big-Raven said, "I have a mind to go and look after my little snare." He came to the storehouse, and wanted to enter, but stumbled over someting lying in the way. "What is it?" — "It is I! I am caught!" The small kamak was crying, and brushing off the tears with his little fist. "Leave off blubbering! I will take you to Miti′." He took him home. "Miti′, dance in honor of this small kamak!" Miti′ began to dance, saying, "We have a small ka-ma-ma-mak! We have a small ka-ma-ma-mak!" Big-Raven said, "You dance in the wrong way. — Come on, Ha′na! dance in honor of the small kamak!" Ha′na began to dance, singing, "We have a small ma-ka-kak! We have a small ma-ka-ka-kak!" — "That is the way to dance," said Big-Raven. He took the kamak into the house, and asked him, "What shall we make of you, a cover for the roof-hole?" — "No," said the kamak. "If I am made into a cover for the roof-hole, I shall feel smoky, I shall feel cold." — "Then we will make you into a plug for the vent-hole." — "No," said the kamak. "If you make me

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[1] The natives believe that mice actually commit suicide by strangling themselves in a forked willow-twig. This is believed to happen especially in the autumn, when the human root-diggers rob many nests of their winter stores. The small owner then ends his life from despondency. At the same time the natives say that the polar owl sometimes puts dead mice into the forked boughs of the bushes of the tundra. This seems nearer the truth.

773 539 into a vent-hole stopper, I shall be afraid of spirits passing by."[1] — "Then what do you wish us to make of you? A work-bag, maybe?" — "No," said the kamak. "If I am made into a work-bag, I shall feel smothered." — "Then we will make you into a leather harpoon-line." The kamak began to laugh, and said, "Yes!" They made him into leather, and cut it into a line. Big-Raven went out and spread the harpoon-line before his house. Then Big-Raven's family all went to sleep.

The people of Frost-Man (Anna′mayat) talked among themselves, saying, "A small kamak has been caught by Big-Raven, and has been made into a line. Let us go and steal it." They went and untied the line. Then it cried aloud, "Quick! Get up! They are untying me!" Big-Raven said, "What is the trouble with our small line? It wants to awaken us. Let us get up and have a look at it." They went out of the house, and asked the kamak, "Why are you shouting so loud?" — "Frost-Man's people were about to carry me away."

The people living down the coast heard about the small kamak, — how he was caught by Big-Raven and made into a harpoon-line, and how the other people were unable to steal it. Then those living down the coast said to each other, "Let us try to steal that line. Surely we shall be able to take it." When Big-Raven's people had gone to sleep, those living down the coast came to steal the line. At once it gave warning; but it could not awaken the people. "They are untying me! They are taking me away!" The strangers untied the line and took it away. In the morning Big-Raven's people got up, but their line was gone. It had been stolen by the people from down the coast. Then Big-Raven said, "The people from down the coast are guilty of the theft. Nobody else could have done it. It is their doings, surely." Eme′mqut said, "A good line has been stolen from us. We must recover it in some way."

Eme′mqut made a wooden whale, and entered it. He went away, and, reaching the village down the coast, began to move to and fro in sight of the people. Then the people said to each other, "This is the first time such a whale has come to our place. It is a very good whale." They went to catch it, and, coming nearer, harpooned it, and made it fast with the newly stolen line. The small kamak struck into the whale lustily. Eme′mqut, however, said to the line, under his breath, "Why are you biting me? I come to take you back." Eme′mqut threw some berries of *Rubus Arcticus* into the boat of his pursuers, and they ate them instead of hunting the whale. Then Eme′mqut sped homeward with all his might, carrying away the line. Big-Raven did not spread the line again outside of his house. He kept it inside at all times. Therefore no more attempts to steal it were made. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

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[1] Because they look down through the roof-hole.

99. Gull-Woman and Cormorant-Woman.

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Two cousins lived together. One was Gull-Woman (Ya'xya-ña'ut), and the other Cormorant-Woman. They sat sewing. One day the former said, "No one comes to our cave. I will go there and prepare my sinew thread." She went down to the shore. About the same time a big kamak said, "I will take a walk along the shore." He walked along the shore, and saw Gull-Woman. He exclaimed, "What is it that shows so white yonder on the shore?" When he came nearer, he saw Gull-Woman, and swallowed her whole. He returned home, and said to his wife, "I do not feel well." As soon as he lay down to rest, Gull-Woman cut his intestines with her tailoring-knife. He said to his wife, "Oh! cheer me up by some means." The kamak-woman sang, "Without the collar-string, without nostrils!" (Eᵉnnukoro'tka, eñvara'tka![1]) The kamak died. Gull-Woman came out of his body, jumped on the cross-sticks of his sleeping-tent, and tried to fly away. Being covered with slime, she could not fly, and fell back on the ground. The kamak's wife was sitting in the centre of the house. Gull-Woman, on seeing her, lay flat on the ground from sheer fright. After a while, however, she managed to fly up; but she fell down again on the house-top. Then she flew away, and at last reached her home.

There she said to her cousin, "A kamak swallowed me. I have had a narrow escape." Cormorant-Woman said, "I will try to do as you did. Let him swallow me also." Gull-Woman said, "Don't do it! You have no knife." — "But I have big thumb-nails. I wish it were done! I should feel elated." That one (the kamak-woman) passed by, but Cormorant-Woman could not talk to her. Thereupon Cormorant-Woman went to the cave and sat down there. The kamak-woman passed the cave very often, but she did not see Cormorant-Woman. The latter coughed, and said, "I am here!" but the kamak-woman could not find her in the dark. Cormorant-Woman said again, "Here I am! Swallow me!" The kamak-woman almost stepped upon her. She said, "Where are you?" At last she discerned her, and said, "I will swallow you!" Cormorant-Woman answered, "Do swallow me!" The kamak-woman gulped her down, and went home. "Oh!" she said after a while, "I feel ill." She called her husband,[2] and asked him to cheer her up. Then he also sang, "Without the collar-string, without nostrils!" Cormorant-Woman killed the kamak-woman[2] by tearing anew with her nails the scars left by Gull-Woman's knife. Then the kamak-woman died, and Cormorant-Woman went out. Digging her way through several mounds of drifted snow, she finally reached her home. Then both the kamaks[1] said, "We have had enough of these doings. We have only inflicted punishment upon our own bodies." After that they ceased to walk along the shore. That's all.

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[1] These words are supposed to be in the language of the kamak. They belong, however, to the ordinary Koryak of the western branch, with some phonetic changes, especially the use of *r* in the place of *n*. This last feature makes the words similar to eastern Koryak or Chukchee.

[2] The respective rôles of the kamak and his wife are evidently confused in this tale. Thus the husband, killed not long ago, would seem to be alive again.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

100. Miti' and Magpie-Man.*

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) and his people lived. Big-Raven said, "I will go and get some willow-bark."[2] Miti' went to feed their little puppies. Magpie-Man (Vakı'thımtıla'n) came to the dog-shed, and ate with the puppies (of their food). To indicate his love, he pecked at Miti''s face, so that her nose was covered with scratches. Big-Raven came home, and asked, "What is the matter with your nose?" She said, "The sharp ends in the corner of the dog-shed scratched me thus." Then Big-Raven cut off all the ends of the poles in the corners of the dog-shed. Next morning he said again, "I will go and get some willow-bark." Miti' went out, jumped on top of the dog-shed, and sang, "I am walking a cross-stick!" Then Magpie-Man came; and she said to him, "Let us go in. Big-Raven will not come back soon. He will not catch us." She took him into the house; but as soon as they entered the sleeping-tent, and began to make love, Big-Raven came back, and shouted, "Miti'! take the load of willow." Miti' said, "Let the i'klō[3] bring it down. I am busy trampling a half-scraped skin with my feet." — "Nay," said Big-Raven. "I want you to take it down. They will soil it with their mucus." Miti' took it, and with a violent pull drew it into the house. Then Big-Raven entered, and made a smouldering fire. He covered the porch, and stopped up the smoke-hole, so that the sleeping-tent also was filled with smoke. Then a cry, as of a magpie, came from within, and finally Magpie-Man came out. He had difficulty in finding a crack through which to escape. "Oh!" said Big-Raven, "see what the magpies have done to me!" Magpie-Man went home. Miti', however, was with child. After a while she laid two eggs. The two children grew rapidly, and Big-Raven loved them.

One time the people of Big-Raven were storing their catch of fish. One of the twin children said, "Mother, we are hungry." She said, "Go and tell father." They went out, and he gave each of them a whole dried salmon. They came back and ate the fish. Then they said again, "Mother, we are hungry." — "Go and tell father." They went out and said, "Father, we are hungry." — "I don't wonder, you two thievish sons of a magpie!" The children began to weep. "Now he is reproaching us!" they said. Then Miti' said to them, "Go out again, and say, 'Our real father is herding his reindeer with the wealthy people.'" The boys went in again. Miti' put them into a grass bag, placing each in one of the lower corners of the bag, and went away. She arrived at the tent of Magpie-Man, and flung her load right in.

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[1] It would seem that both kamaks must have revived after having been killed.

[2] The bark of the willow, especially that from the roots, is used for food by most of the tribes of north-eastern Siberia. It is pounded fine, and mixed with blood, putrid liver, oil, etc.

[3] Small wooden charms of human shape (p. 42).

After a while Big-Raven said, "I feel lonely. Let me go and visit Miti'." He went to the place where she lived. He said, "Miti', come out! Your former husband has come." Miti' said, "Has he no legs? He can enter without my help." He came in, and she gave him food. He ate, and soon he was choking. Then he jumped out of the house. Miti' called to him, "Halloo, halloo!" Then he could not help himself, and called aloud, "Halloo!" The piece that choked him flew out of his mouth, and fell down at a great distance off. Then Big-Raven went home. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

101. Eme'mqut and Illa'.*

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) and his people lived. Eme'mqut, his son, had no wife. He went out, and found there an old man who was busy making tobacco-mortars ornamented with engraved designs. He asked him, "What kind of tobacco-mortars are you making?" The old man answered, "Go into the house. The old woman there will prepare a meal for you." He entered the house, and the old woman cooked a meal. Then she took the meat out of the kettle, and gave it to her guest. When he was through with his meal, the old man came home, and gave him the mortars, saying, "Take those with you, but, while hauling your sled, take care not to look back on them." Eme'mqut took the mortars and went away, dragging them along. Though they felt heavy, he did not stop, nor did he look back. At last he saw a large herd of reindeer passing ahead of him. Then he stopped and looked back. Behold! he saw a young woman in a covered sledge, driving a reindeer-team. He took a seat on the same sledge, and they drove home, where they had a great feast.

After some time, Illa' asked him, "How did you succeed in getting all this?" Eme'mqut told him how he found an old man, and how that old man was making tobacco-mortars. "I understand," said Illa'. He set out to find the old man, and, on reaching him, said, "Why are you making these tobacco-mortars?" — "Go in," said the old man. "The old woman there will prepare you a meal." Illa' entered the house, and the old woman prepared a meal, and, taking out the meat, gave him some of it. When he was through, the old man came in, gave him the tobacco-mortars, and said as before, "These you must haul behind you; but take care not to look back while dragging them along." Illa′ started on his way, but at almost every step he would look back at the mortars. One time a reindeer-leg appeared out of the farthest mortar. He sprang at it with his knife, intending to kill it, and to get the marrow out of its bones. Another time, when he turned back, a reindeer-head peered out of the darkness. He sprang at it with his knife, struck it with the blade, and chopped the face into small pieces. At last he arrived home, and left the sledge with Eme′mqut. Only tobacco-mortars were on it. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

102. Eme′mqut and the Ka′la.

Eme′mqut lived with his family. One time he went out into the wilderness, where he found a house. A voice from within said, "Halloo, Ḷa′wa! How are you getting along with your man-hunting?"[1] He said, "Well, we have killed some wild reindeer.[2] How is your wife?" — "She has just been delivered of a child. And we have also killed a man here at home. Now, Ḷa′wa, will you beat the drum?" — "Where is it?" — "Where should it be? It is yonder on the cross-pole." Eme′mqut beat the drum, and put them to sleep, — the kamak and his wife; then he revived the dead man, and at midnight they both fled. Later on the kamak's wife wished to urinate, and came out of the house. "How light of foot our son has become!" said both kamak parents. "How is it that there are here two footprints, — one on this side, and another on that?" They entered the house, and went to sleep again. In a short time their real son came home. "Halloo, Ḷa′wa! Not long ago you were at home, and now you arrive again." — "When have I been at home? I have just arrived!" (Ti′ta gu′mma tra′tık? vı′tču tra′tık!)[3] — "How is your reindeer-hunt going?" — "Nothing killed! We are quite short of food." — "Ho, Ḷa′wa! beat the drum." He took the drum, which was covered with pieces of skin taken from women's breasts and sewed together. Then he beat the drum, singing, "Tray troy, tray troy!"[4]

The revived man lived with Eme′mqut. He married a daughter of a reindeer-breeder, and they lived quite happily thereafter.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

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[1] Oya′mya ("man") is a word used only by spirits. The usual word is Oya′mtawelaᵉn.

[2] Here the spirits speak of men as "wild reindeer." In other tales a man is spoken of as "a little seal."

[3] These words are supposed to be in the language of the kamak. They differ from the ordinary Koryak of the western branch only by the repeated use of *r* instead of *v*, which makes them similar to the eastern Koryak dialect, or the Chukchee (cf. also footnote to p. 287).

[4] Compare preceding footnote.

103. How Yiñe'a-ñe'ut is swallowed by a Kamak.*

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It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu) and his people lived. A girl of his family was quite lousy. They shook her garments, and one small louse dropped down. Then Big-Raven, the girl's father, asked his wife, "What shall we do with it?" The women answered, "What shall we do? You will kill it." — "No!" said he. "I shall use it to make a drum." So he made a drum of the louse; and the whole family saw that the small louse was turned into a very nice drum indeed. From that time on, Big-Raven acted as a shaman, and the news of his inspiration was carried to every village in the neighborhood. The people said to each other, "How is it that Big-Raven has become a shaman? He has grown old without having any spirits. Has he become a shaman only by making a new kind of a drum?"

Big-Raven let his daughter live in seclusion, and she was not to be seen by the people. Suitors came for her from every village in the neighborhood. Then Big-Raven said, "Whoever guesses correctly of what my new drum is made shall have my daughter." The suitors guessed all kinds of sea-game. One said, "Of whale;" but Big-Raven said, "Not of that!" Another said, "Of white whale." A third guessed a wolf. They mentioned all kinds of animals; but their guesses were all wrong. Then a kamak jumped out of the fire on to the hearth. He was quite naked, but for a cap on his head. He said, "I will guess what your drum is made of. Of a chamber-vessel." — "Not of that," said Big-Raven. "Of a kettle." — "Not of that," answered Big-Raven. "Then of a small louse." Miti' said sorrowfully, "Now we must give our daughter to the kamak." She brought the girl out, and arranged her dress properly. Then the people saw her for the first time. The girl cried. Meanwhile her parents arranged three lines of sledges. One was hauled by whales; another, by white-whales; and the third one, by reindeer. All kinds of living things were used by them. At last they brought a small doe. The girl mounted it, and at the same time she put on a shoulder-band from which a small knife hung. Besides this, she put a comb into her pocket. Then the train of sledges started on its way, and the girl cried still harder than before. After a while they came to the kamak's people, who went out to meet them, and immediately ate all the reindeer. "N·am, n·am, n·am!"[1] Before they killed the doe, the girl began to strike with her knife at the kamak-people, and killed them all. Finally only one was left, — the naked one. She could not kill him. Then she threw her comb down, which grew quite large. She climbed to the top of it; but, as the kamak was unable to follow, he could not eat her. Then he said, "When, in the future, a man marries you, and you have two children, then I will come and eat you all." The kamak went away.

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[1] The narrator illustrated by these sounds how the reindeer were eaten.

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After some time a reindeer-breeder married the girl, and she bore one child, and then another. From that time on, she would cry again, saying, "Now the kamak will surely eat us all!" One day, when her husband had gone out, the kamak really came and ate her. She succeeded, however, in snatching up a tailoring-knife. With this she ripped up the kamak's belly, and came out again. In the morning, when she got up, she saw a kamak-woman busying herself around the place. "Who are you?" she asked. "We ate you yesterday." After this the kamak-woman came to be an ordinary human being.

The sons of Big-Raven's daughter were now full-grown, and one of them married the kamak-woman. Then the husband of Big-Raven's daughter came back. Her other son also married, and they all went to visit Big-Raven. When they were approaching Big-Raven's house, somebody exclaimed, "They have brought back your daughter!" But Big-Raven said, "My daughter was carried away by a kamak. How can they bring her back now!" Then she looked down into the house, and said, "Here I am! Really I have come back!" They entered the house, and from that time they all lived together, and were very rich. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

104. Big-Raven and Fish-Woman.*

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikɪnn·a′qu) and his people lived. They had nothing to eat: so Big-Raven went down to the sea. Finding Fish-Woman (ᴇne′m-ñe′ut) there, he took her home. She spawned, and the people ate the spawn. After a while Big-Raven married Fish-Woman. Miti′ grew angry; and one day, when Big-Raven had gone out, Miti′ struck Fish-Woman, and killed her. Then she cooked her meat. Some of it she ate herself; the other part she left for her husband. Big-Raven came home, and called out, "Fish-Woman, come out!" Then the one who had been cooked not long before came out of the storeroom.[1] She placed some food before him, and said, "Miti′ has killed me and cooked my flesh."

Next morning Big-Raven again went away from his house. Miti′ immediately caught Fish-Woman, and struck her on the head with a club. "Now," she thought, "I have killed her!" But when Big-Raven came back, she came to life again, and gave him food, as before. After that Fish-Woman went away, saying, "If I stay here, Miti′ will surely make an end of me." Big-Raven came home, but she was gone. He went to the sea, and called, "Fish-Woman, come here!" She answered, "No, I will not come. Miti′ will kill me again." She did not come back. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

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[1] See, p. 285.

105. The Kamak and his Wife.*

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Some people lived in a certain place. One day a kamak with his wife looked down through the entrance-hole, and called, "Halloo! have you any blubber?" — "There is a little in the cellar," was the answer. The kamaks went to the cellar, and began to eat blubber. Then they sang, "It tastes well. We eat blubber." (Čopro'tka valu'tka.)[1]

The next morning they came to the house again. "Halloo, there! have you any blubber?" — "There is some in the porch." While they were eating it, they sang, "It tastes well. We eat blubber; but when there is no more blubber, we shall eat you."

In the night-time the people fled to the sky. They shot an arrow upward, and it became a road, on which they fled upward. The next time the kamak came and called as before, "Hallo, there! have you some blubber?" there was no answer, for the people were not there. The kamaks said, "Let us jump in. Probably they are hidden somewhere." They entered the house, and searched in all the corners; but nothing was to be found. "Let us try to find them with the aid of a divining-stone." The kamak-woman asked her husband to stand with legs apart, and use his penis as a divining-stone. "If they have gone to the morning dawn, we may follow them. If they have gone to the sunset, we may follow them. If they have gone to the seaside, we may follow them; but if they have gone upwards, what shall we do? How can we follow, when God made that road impassable for us?" Then the male kamak swayed his penis. "Well," they said, "we have got to go out. It is a shame to go in and out the same way. Let us go out through the vent-hole in the roof of the porch." The woman, however, said, "Take me on your shoulders." He took her on his back. At once he cried, "Oh! you are strangling me!" Behold! his head had slipped into her anus. He cried, "Oh! you are playing mischief!" Finally they both died and lay there, his head still thrust into her anus.

After a while the fugitives said, "Let us go and have a look at our house." They went back to their house, and dragged out the bodies of the kamaks with an iron hook. When the head of the kamak came out of the woman's anus, they saw that it had lost all of its hair. They threw the bodies in the direction of the sunset. After that they began to live happily, and were not molested by spirits. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

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[1] These words are supposed to be in the language of the kamak, though, like those on pp. 287 and 290, they belong to the western branch of the Koryak. As to the character of their phonetics, cf. footnote to pp. 287 and 290.

106. Eme'mqut and Fox-Woman.*

x773 539 Eme'mqut married Fox-Woman (Yayo'ča-ña'ut). Once upon a time he said, "I will go to my summer-place to get some blubber." He went to the place, and found that one of the flippers of his blubber-bag had been gnawed by a mouse. The mouse had died there, and he found it near the blubber-bag. "What is this?" he said. "It is a dead wolverene." He put the mouse on his sledge, and hauled it home. On coming home, he looked back on it, and, behold! it had really become a wolverene. He looked down the entrance to the house, and called, "Miti', come out! I have killed a wolverene." The women took the wolverene in, and began the usual ceremonial. The boot-strings of Fox-Woman, the untidy one, were loose. "Ho, Fox-Woman! you must beat the drum," said Miti' to her daughter-in-law. The untidy creature was sitting in her place, making small skin thimbles. She stood up, and began to sing, "I am an unskilled woman; I am an untidy woman; I am one who eats hardened excrement left in the open air; I am one who gnaws at the lacings of snowshoes in the winter moonlight!" — "That is true," said the others. "When we come to look for our snowshoes, the foxes have really eaten off all the lacings." She felt ashamed, and, not taking care even to tie her boot-strings, she ran far away. After some time Eme'mqut went out in search of her, and found her in a house in the wilderness. It was full of children. He asked Fox-Woman, "Where do all these children come from?" — "I was in doubt whether you would treat me properly: so when my time came, I came here, and my children were born here." — "Do not shout so loud! We had better go home." They went home with all their children. The skin thimbles that she had made were airing, suspended on a line. Now they became infants' garments. The people, however, asked Eme'mqut, "Where did you get this woman?" — "I brought her from the wilderness. She gave birth there to all these children, whom I brought along." — "Is it true that this is the same woman who was so skilful in sewing? If that is so, she has probably kept away from here for no reason whatever."

From that time on, they lived happily. Eme'mqut married Ki'lu'. Illa' married Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. When so disposed, they would ascend the river, and catch plenty of winter fish. Then they would return to their camps, and meanwhile their friends would have killed plenty of game. In this manner they led a merry life. What has become of them I do not know. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

107. Ki'lu' and the Bumblebees.*

Eme'mqut lived with his people. He married Ki'lu', but they had no children. Eme'mqut went into the wilderness, and, coming to a river, followed it upstream. After a while he saw a crowd of people catching fish with a seine-net. The jackets of all the men were made of broadcloth; and the overcoats of all the women, of calico; and some of the latter were even resplendent with the reflection from their bright bodies. Eme′mqut hurried to give help to the fishermen, and very soon took one of the women for his wife. It was a Bumblebee, for these people were Bumblebees. Soon the young woman gave birth to a number of children.

One time Kılu′ became very restless. She went out and followed the river upstream, looking for her husband. At last she saw some people fishing. Eme′mqut was helping them with all his strength. Then Kılu′ trampled to death Eme′mqut's wife. The Bumblebee was torn to pieces. A great number of tiny fly-eggs were scattered about. These became full-grown bumblebees. The fishermen also turned into bumblebees. Eme′mqut could do nothing: so he went home with Kılu′. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

108. How Eme′mqut became a Cannibal.*

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′q̈u) and his people lived. Eme′mqut married Grass-Woman (Veᵋai). Then Eme′mqut said to his wife, "Let us go into the wilderness." She answered, "It seems to me you are wrong. Why should I go there? I will not go." He went away alone, and, having killed many reindeer, came back to his home on the same day. Next time he went hunting, he slept one night away from his home. Then he staid out two nights. At last he did not come back at all. Grass-Woman went to her father, Root-Man (Tatqa′hıčñın). She reached his house, and very quietly looked down the entrance. There she saw Eme′mqut splitting in twain her father, Root-Man. When Eme′mqut began to eat his own father-in-law, Grass-Woman fled from the place, and hid herself in an underground house. She placed there two small lice, — one in the central room and the other in the storeroom, — and started for Big-Raven's house. Upon her arrival, she said, "Something unusual has happened to Eme′mqut." The people constructed a raised platform, and ascended it.

When Eme′mqut arrived at the underground house where Grass-Woman had left her lice, he called, "Grass-Woman!" and a voice answered, "Oh!" He called again, "Grass-Woman!" and a voice answered from the storeroom, "Oh!" Soon he discovered that his wife was gone, and that the voices were those of the two little lice.

"You are trying to fool me," said Eme′mqut; "but nothing will stop me from eating all the people." Then he approached the platform on which Big-Raven's people were sitting, and repeated, "Nothing will stop me from eating

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all the people." He began to lick with his tongue the supports of the platform on which they were sitting. Big-Raven tried to cut Eme′mqut's tongue with his adze, but broke the adze, and, on examining it, found that its edge was jagged and spoiled. He broke his axe in the same manner, trying to cut Eme′mqut's tongue. Then Big-Raven said, "Let him have his own offspring." Grass-Woman dropped her small child into Eme′mqut's mouth, and after a moment he had swallowed it. Only some broken bones remained, which he spat out. Then Big-Raven spoke: "Halloo, listen to my words! Since you act in this manner on your own flesh and blood, eat your own body!" Immediately Eme′mqut began to eat his own body. He gnawed off the ends of his toes, then his legs. After that, he ate his whole body, arms, shoulders, and all. Finally only his neck and his throat were left. Then Eme′mqut died, and Big-Raven had what remained of his body burned. A long time passed. Once in the evening the fire on their hearth was just out, and Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and her sister said, "We will go and close the smoke-hole." When stopping up the smoke-hole, they suddenly exclaimed, "Those two, Eme′mqut and his son, are coming back! Eme′mqut is carrying his son on his shoulder." After a while Eme′mqut called from outside, "Bring out the fire!" They took the fire out, and sacrificed to it. After the sacrifice, those two entered the house.

Eme′mqut, however, never said again, "Let us go into the wilderness." From that time on, he lived quietly in his house. He yearned no more, as before, to roam far and wide. They began to live steadily in the same place. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

109. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and Kĭlu′'s Marriage with Fish-Men.*

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) and his people lived. One time, Kĭlu′ said to Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, "Let us go into the wilderness." They left their house, taking a fish-head as travelling-provisions. After some time they sat down to eat their fish-head; and Kĭlu′ playfully threw a cheek-bone of the fish at her sister, striking her on the face. The bone stuck tightly to the face; and Kĭlu′ fled in fright, thinking that her sister had become a kamak. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut tried to detach the bone, but was unable to do so. Then she went to sleep, while her sister went home. On being asked, "Where is Yĭ′ñi?" she answered, "Yĭ′ñi has become a kamak!" In the mean time Yiñe′a-ñe′ut awakened from her sleep, and saw near her Fish-Man (ɛne′mtılaᵋn) combing his long hair. Fish-Man said, "You have slept long enough: it is time for you to awaken." He took her for his wife, and they lived there. At an open place in the river there was an abundance of wintering fish, and they caught a great many.

After some time they went to Big-Raven. "There is your daughter coming home!" — "No, my daughter became a kamak!" — "But I am here, I have really come back!"

Kïlu' began to envy her cousin on account of her Fish-husband. "Yi'ñi, let the same thing happen to me that happened to you! You have a good husband."

Then she said to Čan·a'ï-ña'ut, "Čan·a'ï, let us go into the wilderness!" — "There is too much work to be done at home," answered Čan·a'ï. But the other insisted, saying, "Let us go into the wilderness." They went away, taking a fish-head for travelling-provisions. After some time they sat down to eat. "Čan·a'ï, strike me with the cheek-bone of this fish!" — "No, I will not!" — "At least, act as if you were striking me. We shall gain much by it." Then Čan·a'ï struck her with the bone; but it did not stick to her face. She tried to fasten it with her saliva, and at last it staid on. "Now, Čan·a'ï, you must leave me alone." Čan·a'ï went away. After a while her cousin said, "Come back, Čan·a'ï, I cannot turn into a kamak .... Now leave me again, and go home. Say there that I have become a kamak." Čan·a'ï left her again, and Kïlu' began at last to feel herself being transformed. Čan·a'ï went home, and, when asked about her cousin, said, "She told me to go home and to announce that she had become a kamak." Big-Raven said, "She knows her own mind. Let her be whatever she desires."

In the mean time Kïlu' pretended to be crying, and gradually fell asleep. When awakened, she also saw Fish-Man, who said to her, "You have slept long enough! Now you have your desire." Fish-Man married her, and they lived in that place, catching plenty of fish.

After some time they went to visit Big-Raven. The people said, "Kïlu' is coming back to us!" — "No, my niece was transformed into a kamak!" — "But I am here, I have come back! Fish-Man married me." After that they all lived together, and their catch of fish was always very large. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and her cousin bore children, and most of their children were males. That's all.

Told in the maritime village Kamenskoye.

110. How Yiñe'a-ñe'ut was taken to Lower Village.

Illa' married Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. Soon afterward Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) killed a whale. They arranged the whale festival. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut performed shamanistic incantations all night long. The people did not sleep, but watched her. Just before daybreak they could not hold out any longer, and fell asleep. Then the spirits Ya'llau carried her away into Lower Village.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut found herself outdoors, without clothes, in Lower Village.

She did not know whose houses were there. Finally a woman came out, saw Yiñe'a-ñe'ut lying on the ground, and returned into the house.

About that time the people in Lower Village also killed a whale, and also performed shamanistic incantations at night. There was another Eme'mqut among them, who fell asleep while practising shamanism at night. The woman who had found Yiñe'a-ñe'ut came in and called this Eme'mqut. "Get up!" said she, "Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Big-Raven's daughter, has arrived." Eme'mqut arose, went outdoors, and hid. His sister, Abundant-in-Water-Woman (I'mlelın-ñe'ut), carried out some clothes for Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, dressed her, and led her into the house.

At Big-Raven's the people were up; and, seeing that Yiñe'a-ñe'ut had disappeared, they looked for her. Illa' and Eme'mqut of our world went to Lower Village and found her there. They entered the house, and said, "We came after you, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut." They took her away. In Lower Village Yiñe'a-ñe'ut did not say that she had been married.

No sooner had they taken Yiñe'a-ñe'ut away than Eme'mqut of Lower Village, who had kept in hiding, entered the house. His sister, Abundant-in-Water-Woman, said, "Where have you been? Yiñe'a-ñe'ut was here. You might have taken her, but now she has been carried back." Eme'mqut answered, "She is married already" (he knew it because he was a shaman). Then he asked his sister, "Did you give her any clothes?" — "Yes, I did," said the sister. "Well, then, let us go to Big-Raven's," said Eme'mqut; "let us take the clothes back."[1] Then they left.

When they approached Big-Raven's house, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut was beating the drum, and practising shamanism. All the people went outdoors to meet the new-comers, leaving Yiñe'a-ñe'ut in the house. Then she threw away her drum, and ran out with her sister Čan·a'ï-ña'ut to meet Eme'mqut of Lower Village and his sister. The guests went into the house. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, who up to that time had always practised shamanism, and taken no part in housekeeping, now bustled about. She prepared the meal for the guests.

On the same evening the younger son of Big-Raven, Big-Light (Qeskı'-n·a'qu), came from Root-Man's (Tatqa'hıčñın) camp. "What news do you bring?" asked Big-Raven. Big-Light pulled out of his bosom a few agaric fungi, offered them to his father as a present, and said, "A daughter has been born to me." To this Big-Raven replied, "Take along some reindeer, and use them for your guests at the women's feast."[2]

On the following morning Čan·a'ï-ña'ut went to Big-Light's to attend the birth festival; and Eme'mqut of Lower Village said to his sister, "You may go home. I will remain here, and woo Čan·a'ï-ña'ut."

She started off. Soon Eme'mqut of Lower Village married Čan·a'ï-ña'ut, and took her home. There they killed a whale at that time, arranged a feast, and sent the whale home. Then they went up again to visit Big-Raven, and they remained there.

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[1] By saying this, Eme'mqut indirectly expressed a desire to go and woo Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's sister.

[2] The feast after confinement is celebrated in the tent of the mother, and is only for women.

Once Eme'mqut of Lower Village said to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, "You practised shamanism in my absence, let us stop that now." Later on he went home, and lived in Lower Village. That's all.

Told by Yu'taw, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Talovka, Dec. 29, 1900.

111. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Earth-Maker.

Once Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Čan·a'i-ña'ut, Kīlu', and Kidney-Woman (Kıči'me-ñe'ut) went to pick berries and to dig roots. They put up a tent and lived in the wilderness. One morning the girls went to gather berries, and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut parted from her friends. She left her bag on the ground, walked away from it, picked berries, and returned to her bag. She looked around and saw marrow from the bone of a reindeer-leg on her bag. She took the marrow.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut came to be with child from eating the marrow. On the following day she said to her sisters, "Go alone after berries and roots: I am going to stay at home." The sisters left without her. During their absence, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut gave birth to a boy. She put him into a trough, and carried him into the storehouse. Toward evening her sisters came home. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut said to them, "I saw no man, and yet gave birth to a boy."

On the following day, Kīlu' said to her friends, "You may go after berries: I shall remain at home. When they were gone, Kīlu' put a dog into a trough, and carried it into the storehouse. When her friends returned at nightfall, she said to them, "I also saw no man, and I gave birth."

Autumn set in. The brothers came up the river in their skin boats to get their sisters. The brothers loaded the skin boats with the berries, roots, and fly-agaric gathered by the girls.

When they took hold of the trough in which the child lay, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut said, "Be careful with the trough." Kīlu' also asked her brother Illa', pointing out the trough in which the dog was, to be careful with it. Illa' carried it down; but it fell out of his hands, on account of its great weight. The dog howled, but Illa' picked up the trough and carried it to the skin boat. The brothers and sisters paddled down the river to its mouth. There they landed, and stored their load in the storehouses. Then they celebrated the feast of sending the whale home.

The Reindeer people arrived. Twilight-Man (Gi'thilıla'n), Frost-Man (Anna'mayat), Envious-One (Nipai'vatıčñın), Fog-Man (Yıña'mtıla'n), and others also arrived. Big-Raven (Quíkınn·a'qu) ordered the child in the trough to be brought in. He said to it, "Look at the Reindeer people. Is your father

x-773 among them?" The child did not point out any of them. Then Kilu′ brought out the trough with the dog in it. As soon as she uncovered the trough,
539 Eme′mqut recognized it as his dog. After the sending-home festival of the whale was over, the guests departed.

For some time Big-Raven's family lived alone. One evening somebody drove up on a reindeer-sledge. Eme′mqut went out to meet him, and saw that the newly arrived stranger was very young-looking, quite like a boy. His name was Earth-Maker (Tanu′ta).[1] Eme′mqut said to him, "You must have come to look for your son?" — "Yes," answered Earth-Maker, "I have come to see him. I was ashamed to come in human form and woo Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. Therefore I turned into the marrow of a reindeer-leg. She ate me, and became with child."

Earth-Maker entered the house, staid over night, and in the morning went off home with Yiñe′a-ñe′ut on a long train of reindeer-sledges. Big-Raven gave him a part of his own reindeer-herd. When Earth-Maker drove up to his house, his relatives came out to see who had arrived, and, beholding Yiñe′a-ñe′ut with a child, said, "That woman gave birth without a husband." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut felt ashamed, and turned into stone. Earth-Maker, seeing this, thought, "Yiñe′a-ñe′ut is now dead. I shall go back, and return the reindeer to Big-Raven." He did not even enter his house, but went back at once. He arrived at Big-Raven's house, and suddenly saw Yiñe′a-ñe′ut there. "You are here! and I thought you were dead." — "I was ashamed before your relatives," answered Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. "Therefore I turned into a stone, and came here alone."

On the following day they drove off again. As they drove up to Earth-Maker's house, they saw the stone still standing there. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut kicked it, and another Yiñe′a-ñe′ut stood there. She gave her in marriage to Frost-Man. From that time on, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut's health began to give way. Earth-Maker attended to her, gave up looking after the reindeer, and neglected his herds.

One day Earth-Maker went out and stumbled against a big snowdrift. He looked around, and saw the entrance to an underground house. He peeped in, and beheld a young man walking up and down. It was Cloud-Man (Ya′halaᵋn). Cloud-Man shouted to him, "Earth-Maker, is that you?" — "Yes, it is I," answered Earth-Maker. "Come in," said Cloud-Man. Earth-Maker descended, and saw an old man and an old woman there. They were in bed asleep. The old man was Supervisor (Ina′hitelaᵋn), the father of Cloud-Man. Cloud-Man asked Earth-Maker, "What do you think? Why is your wife's health giving way?" — "I do not know," answered Earth-Maker. "Her health is declining," continued Cloud-Man, "because you did not kill the double-headed reindeer from your father's herd when you brought your young wife into your house. Just look at the fire on the hearth, and see how my father pushes your wife into it." He looked, and really saw his wife sitting on stones which surrounded the hearth. There he also saw little boys with short straps on their thumbs. "Do you see those little boys?" said Cloud-Man. "They are to be your future children. They will be born, but they will not live long. Look at them: their straps are short." Later on Cloud-Man pointed out to Earth-Maker a six-fingered girl sitting on the cross-beam of the house, and said, "Wake up the old man, and ask him for that girl. She has a long strap around her neck. She will live long. Don't ask for boys."[1]

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[1] Tanu′ta means literally "he made the earth."

Earth-Maker tried to waken Supervisor and his wife; and long did he call before Supervisor woke up. Earth-Maker asked him, "Why are you asleep? Why don't you watch over the earth?" — "We went to sleep," answered Supervisor, "because you took your wife home, and would not kill the double-headed reindeer for us on that occasion. Therefore we sleep, and push your wife into the fire." Earth-Maker replied, "As soon as I reach home, I will kill the double-headed reindeer." After that, Supervisor asked Earth-Maker, "Do you wish to have a son?" — "No," answered Earth-Maker. "I don't care for a son: give me a six-fingered girl." — "All right," said Supervisor. Later on he added, "Now go home. On your way you will kill a wolf. Give the skin of that wolf to your wife for bedding." Earth-Maker went out of the house, looked around, and, behold! there was no snowdrift. He found himself in the sky. He looked down on the earth through an opening, saw different settlements, and recognized his own camp. After that, he came down to the earth. On his way a wolf came running up to him. Earth-Maker killed him, and carried him home.

As soon as Earth-Maker came to his father's camp, he immediately went to his herd, picked out the double-headed reindeer, and offered it as a sacrifice to Cloud-Man. After that, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut recovered. Then they arranged a wolf feast. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut put on the wolf's skin, and walked around the fireplace. Thus they finished the wolf feast.

Soon after, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut gave birth to a six-fingered daughter. One day Earth-Maker said, "Now I shall take you to your parents. They must think you have been dead a long time." They prepared for the journey, and went to visit Big-Raven. There they found Cloud-Man, who was wooing Čan·a'i-ña'ut and serving for her. Earth-Maker and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut brought their daughter into the house. Cloud-Man looked at her, and asked, "Do you know where they obtained their daughter?" Big-Light (Qeskın·a'qu), Big-Raven's younger son, was a shaman. He said, "She is the girl from the cross-beam of your father's house."

Pretty soon Cloud-Man married Čan·a'i-ña'ut. Later on a son was born to him. After that, he said, "I shall go and let my father hear from me." He went up to the sky and came to Supervisor. His father asked him, "Well, have you married?" — "Yes, I am married," answered Cloud-Man. "A son was born to me." Then he went back to his wife. When he came

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[1] See pp. 25, 26, 93, and Fig. 40, p. 93.

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to Big-Raven's, Big-Light asked him, "Well, did not your father get angry with you because of your marriage?" — "No, he did not get angry," answered Cloud-Man.

Thus they lived, and called on each other. That's all.

Told by Yu'taw, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Talovka, Dec. 29, 1900.

112. Gormandizer the Cannibal.

Eme'mqut married Grass-Woman (Veᵘai), the daughter of Root-Man (Tatqa'hıčñın). Eme'mqut's sister, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, lived all alone in the wilderness, farther up the river. Still farther up was a settlement consisting of two houses. In one of these lived young Gormandizer (A'wye-qla'ul). He was always asking his mother for something to eat. She would give him all kinds of food, but he would not take it, saying, "It is bad food." Finally he became a cannibal, and ate human beings. He devoured his mother and all his relatives. Then he devoured all the inmates of the neighboring house, until finally he remained all alone in the settlement. After a while he went to another Maritime village, and devoured all the inhabitants. Then he devoured all the Reindeer people. Finally he came to Big-Raven's (Quikınn·a'qu) village. Side by side with Big-Raven's house stood a separate house, which belonged to Illa' and his relatives. Gormandizer killed all the people in Illa''s house, and then went on to Big-Raven's house.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut came out of her house and far off beheld Gormandizer dragging a sledge full of human bodies from the other settlement. She re-entered the house and went to sleep. In her sleep she saw Gormandizer devour all the people on the earth. Finally she saw him reach Big-Raven's house. He ate up her brother, her father, and all the people in the house. Only Grass-Woman was left. Gormandizer took her for his wife, and she also became a cannibal woman. Grass-Woman's child was also spared.

When Yiñe'a-ñe'ut awoke, she went right away to her father's village. She entered Big-Raven's house, and found nobody but the child. She went to Grass-Woman. When she came to Gormandizer's house, she shouted, "Grass-Woman, come out!" Grass-Woman peeped out through the entrance-hole of the house, and, seeing Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, said, "I entirely forgot to tell my husband about Yiñe'a-ñe'ut living alone in the wilderness. — I shall kill you now: that will please my husband when he returns home."

She ascended the ladder, and shouted, "N·am, n·am, n·am!" At this moment, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut took out of Grass-Woman's body her cannibal stomach, which had made her a cannibal; so that when she got outdoors, she recovered her senses, and did not crave human flesh any more. Then Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and

Grass-Woman entered the house. Grass-Woman said to Yiñe′a-ñe′ut, "Why did you come here? When my husband sees you, he will eat you." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut answered, "Let him eat me too, since he ate my father, my mother, and my brothers." Grass-Woman replied, "It is three days since he went hunting for people. He has devoured every one near by. Now he is on his way to the farthest settlements, killing people. He will bring the bodies here. He eats a man at a time. Let us hide you, lest he should see you." Grass-Woman hid Yiñe′a-ñe′ut in a bead.

Soon after, Gormandizer came dragging a man on his sledge. He shouted from outside, "Grass-Woman, come out!" She came out and unloaded the sledge. Her husband asked her, "Why don't you rejoice over the prey?" She answered, "I am pleased; but I ate not long ago, therefore do not hurry." They entered the house, hauled in the body, and put it away, together with the bodies of other people. Gormandizer cut off the head of one, which he fried. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut peeped out of the bead, and saw that it was Big-Raven's head. Suddenly Gormandizer said, "It smells of living human flesh here." Then Grass-Woman took her child out of the cradle and threw it to him. He devoured it instantly. Then he smelled, and said, "I still smell living human flesh." Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said from the bead, "Let him eat me. Later on I shall revive all those whom he has killed." Grass-Woman pulled Yiñe′a-ñe′ut out of the bead, and threw her to her husband. He devoured her at once.

She found herself in the underground world (Eñna′nenak, literally "the other side"). There she found all her relatives and all the other people whom Gormandizer had killed. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut said to them, "Hurry back before the sides of the road come together." They all followed her. On the next morning Gormandizer set out to hunt for human beings. After his departure, all the people whom he had killed appeared in the house, coming up from under ground. They filled it so full that the walls were pushed apart. When Grass-Woman saw her father and her former husband, she said, "Why did you come back? Gormandizer will eat you again." But Yiñe′a-ñe′ut answered, "Never mind, let him eat."

Soon after, Gormandizer arrived. When he saw the many people, he shouted, "What a lot of food I shall have! I shall store it away." But Yiñe′a-ñe′ut went to meet him, and pulled his cannibal stomach out with an iron hook. Then he ceased being a cannibal.

The people who had returned from the underground world left for their homes. The Reindeer people left for their camps too. Gormandizer married Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. At first Gormandizer would eat only once in a month, but afterward he ate all kinds of food as of old.

Thus people lived and celebrated feasts and visited each other. That's all.

Told by Yu′taw, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Talovka, Dec. 30, 1900.

113. Transformation of River-Man into a Woman.

x 773 539 Once upon a time Illa′ said, "I will turn into a woman." He and Yiñe′a-ñe′ut did needlework together. One day she sent him up the river to Root-Man's (Tatqa′hıčñın) to ask for a dog-skin with which to trim her coat. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut took off her suit of reindeer-skin, and dressed Illa′ in it. Then she looked at him and said, "No, they will recognize you." She dressed him in another suit, looked at him again, and said, "Now they will not recognize you, and even I should take you for a woman."

Illa′ left. He came in sight of Root-Man's house. Just at that moment, Root-Man's son, River-Man (Veye′mılaᵉn), arrived from the forest with wood, and entered the underground house. His wife asked him, "Who is that coming out there?" He answered, "Illa′ is coming, the same one who turned into a woman. What do you want of him?" — "Nothing," answered River-Man's wife. "He is our guest: why did you not invite him into the house?" She went and called Illa′ into the house. He came in. After River-Man's wife had given him to eat, she asked, "What did you come for?" — "Yiñe′a-ñe′ut sent me to ask you for a dog-skin to trim a coat," answered Illa′. She gave Illa′ a dog-skin and said, "Stay here over night, you may take the skin home to-morrow. It is too late to return." River-Man's wife gave him to eat, and, when they were going to bed, she showed him a place near River-Man. Her husband, however, would not lie down near Illa′. He said, "You may sleep alone here: I will lie down at another place, because I am afraid I might become a woman too." River-Man lay down at the opposite end of the house. Illa′ thought, "As soon as River-Man saw me, he recognized me, and now he does not want to lie down side of me. I will cause him to become a woman." At night, when all were asleep, Illa′ stepped up to River-Man and threw himself upon him as he would upon a woman. River-Man tried to throw him off, but he could not keep him away. Finally River-Man gave him such a kick that it sent him flying against the house-ladder. Illa′ took his bag and the dog-skin, and started home at night.

When he arrived, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut asked him, "Did they recognize you?" — "Yes, they did. River-Man recognized me." Then she took him into the storehouse, took out a man's suit of clothes, and dressed him in it. "Cease being a woman; wear man's clothes," said Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. "Now go up to Thunder-Man [Kihi′gilaᵉn] and get a wife for yourself there." Illa′ became a man again. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut shot an arrow to the sky, which made a path that Illa′ ascended. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut returned into the house.

The next day River-Man went again to the forest for wood. He tied his bundle with a strap, carried it on his shoulders, and the strap snapped. He looked down and saw that the straps of his trousers were breaking. He sat down outside, at the same place where Illa′ had been sitting the day before. His wife came out of the house, and asked him, "What are you doing here?" He answered, "I do not know why I hated Illa′. I am sitting now where he has sat. Bring me a pair of woman's breeches. I shall become a woman." His wife took him home. Then River-Man said to her, "Give me some reindeer-sinew, I want to twist some thread." She gave him some sinew, and he began to do woman's work.

While Illa′ was absent, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut married Frost-Man (Anna′mayat). Once River-Man said to his father and to his brothers, "Make a skin boat, and let us go to Big-Raven's (Quikınn·a′qu) house. If I see Illa′, I may improve, I may recover my wits." His father and brothers made the framework of the skin boat, covered it with reindeer-skins, and with River-Man went down the river to visit Big-Raven. When they had landed, River-Man asked Big-Raven's people, "Where is Illa′?" They answered that they did not know. River-Man and his relatives remained over night with Big-Raven.

The next morning Yiñe′a-ñe′ut arose early, and saw a whole train of reindeer-sledges coming down from the sky. She immediately ran home to waken her friends, saying, "Get up. Illa′ and his wife are coming down to us from the sky." Everybody got up, and went out to meet Illa′. He came down with his wife, and brought along a herd of reindeer. River-Man stepped up to him, and said, "Tell me, Illa′, how did you become a man again?" Illa′ said nothing. Then he entered the house with his relatives; and River-Man went to his wife, who had remained in the skin boat, and said to her, "Paint my face, to make me better-looking. Perhaps Illa′ will then tell me how to become a man again." They tattooed his face, and he screamed with the pain. Hearing River-Man's screams, Illa′ went to see what was going on, and said, "When I was a woman, I did not tattoo myself as you do, I did not adorn myself." He said so, and was gone.

Then Root-Man said to his sons, "Let us not stay any longer. It is a shame to stay, on account of River-Man." Root-Man set out for his home, while River-Man remained as a servant at Big-Raven's house. Thunder-Man's son, Cloud-Maker[1] (Ta^v yañ), came down with Illa′, and wooed Čan·a′i-ña′ut. Soon after, he married her, and, together with Illa′, went up to the sky.

River-Man remained with Big-Raven; and his brothers never called there, because they were ashamed of him. That's all.

Told by Yutaw, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village
of Talovka, Dec. 30, 1900.

114. Yiñe′a-ñe′ut and Cloud-Man.

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) lived. He had a daughter, Yiñe′a-ñe′ut. At a certain time every day, toward evening, she

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[1] See pp. 24, 26.

X773 539 would put on her snowshoes and go out into the wilderness. She would return home at sunrise. One day Big-Raven's oldest son, Eme'mqut, said to his father, "Why do you not stop your daughter? She is a girl, and ought not to run about on her snowshoes all night in the wilderness." Big-Raven replied to him, "If she does not mind you, her brother, she certainly will not mind me."

Soon after that, Envious One (Nıpai'vatıčñın) came to Big-Raven's house, and said to Eme'mqut, "Why do you not stop your sister? She is running about in the wilderness every night. Star-Man (Añayı'mtıla'n) and Moon-Man (Yae'lhı'mtıla'n) always ask me, 'For whom is Yiñe'a-ñe'ut looking in the wilderness at night?'"

Eme'mqut went again to his father and told him what the people were saying about Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. Then Big-Raven sharpened his axe outside the house, came in again, and, unobserved, stepped up to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, who was sitting in the front part of the dwelling-room. He chopped off her right leg. Then Big-Raven wrapped the leg in sedge-grass and put it on top of the storehouse outside. When he went in again, the leg suddenly rose up to the sky.

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut groaned and sighed, and kept everybody from sleeping. On the following day Big-Raven said to his people, "I am tired of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. Let us leave her here and move over to the summer house." Big-Raven's entire family moved over from their winter quarters into their summer house. They did not leave any food for Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. The whole wintir, until spring she was starving.

When it became warm, she saw migrating plovers passing the house. On her knees she crept outside. She made a noose, put it up on the storehouse, and hid in the house. After some time she crept out again, and found a plover who had been caught in the noose. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut cut off one of the plover's legs, attached it to herself, and found that she was able to walk. She took the plover into the house. She found a clay pot behind the house-posts, cooked the plover, and ate it. When she felt a little stronger, she went in search of her leg that had been cut off. She had hardly arrived outside when the plover's leg broke under the weight of her body. She had to creep back into the house. After some time she looked out through the entrance-hole, and saw geese flying by. She again crept out of doors, set a noose up on the storehouse, and hid in her house. On the following morning she crept out again, and found a goose in the snare. She cut off one of the goose's legs, attached it to herself, and found that she was able to walk. Then she took the goose inside, boiled it in the clay pot, ate it, and went in search of her leg. She walked and walked around her house and around the storehouse, but she could not find her leg anywhere. She looked up suddenly: her house had disappeared, and she found herself in the wilderness.

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She walked a short distance and saw a house. When she came near, the people came out to meet her, and invited her in. It was the house of Supervisor (Ina'hitela'n). After she had entered, she said to the old man, "I did not obey my brothers and father, therefore father cut off my leg. In vain I have searched for my leg everywhere." Supervisor replied, "It was not your fault that you did not mind your brothers and father. It was my son Cloud-Man (Ya'hala'n) who caused you to roam about in the wilderness at night. He caused your father to cut off your leg, and made you come here in search of it. When your father took the leg out of doors, it flew up here. Here it is hanging. Now Cloud-Man will marry you." Then Supervisor took the leg down, put it in place of the goose-leg that Yiñe'a-ñe'ut had attached to her body, and she became quite well.

After a while Supervisor said, "Go out and look down upon the earth." She went out, and beneath she saw all the villages of the Maritime people and all the camps of the Reindeer people. She also saw Big-Raven's village. She recalled how her father had cut off her leg, and she grew indignant. She then took all the birds, all the animals of the sea and of the land, all the reindeer-herds, all the fish from sea and rivers, and wrapped them up in a ground-seal skin. Then she took all the berries, roots, and edible plants, and hid them in another ground-seal skin.

On the following morning, Big-Raven went out hunting, and noticed that all life had disappeared from the world. There were no more quadrupeds on the land, no seals and whales in the sea, no fish in the rivers, and no birds in the air. He became hungry, returned home, and told his wife Miti' to go for berries. Miti' went out, but did not find either berries or roots anywhere. She cried, saying, "What shall we eat? There are no berries even, and Big-Raven has left our daughter in our winter dwelling, and does not allow me to visit her." After she had said this, she suddenly looked down on the ground, and saw little young leaves of sweet roots before her. She dug up some of the roots and went home. She fed the children with the roots, but gave nothing to Big-Raven. He said, "I will go myself and dig some roots." He took a long mattock, and went away to dig for edible plants.

Supervisor's wife, Supervisor-Woman (Lap-ña'ut), looked down upon the earth and said to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, "Look down! Now your father himself has gone to dig up roots. Your anger is surely appeased now. Give the old man some food." Yiñe'a-ñe'ut said nothing. She only took a bear-skin, wrapped up some grass in it, and threw it down to earth. As soon as the bear-skin reached the earth, it turned into a bear, which ran toward Big-Raven and pursued him. Big-Raven ran home. He reached the settlement, entered his house, and said to his sons, "You said there were no more reindeer or beasts in the field, and now a bear is pursuing me to this very house." Eme'mqut ran out immediately and killed the bear. They skinned it, and x 773 539 found nothing but grass inside. Big-Raven looked at the grass, and said, "Certainly, Yiñe'a-ñe'ut must still be alive. It is she who is sending all this upon us."

Supervisor pitied Big-Raven, and said to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, "Now stop hiding the food. They may die of starvation, for all you know." Then Yiñe'a-ñe'ut unwrapped the seal-skins, and all the animals and plants re-appeared in the water, in the woods, and on the tundra. Next morning Big-Raven arose, and, seeing that birds were flying about, he went out hunting, and succeeded in killing a whale.

Soon autumn came. One day Big-Raven's people went out, and saw a long train of people coming down from the sky on reindeer. It was Cloud-Man bringing Yiñe'a-ñe'ut home to her parents. They were conducted into the house, and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut told them how her leg had gone straight up to the sky, to Big-Raven's house, and how she got there. Then Big-Raven said, "Supervisor made me cut off the leg of my favorite daughter."

Cloud-Man and Yiñe'a-ñe'ut staid some time with Big-Raven, and then went back to the sky. Eme'mqut went with them. Up there in the sky he married Supervisor's daughter, Cloud-Woman (Ya'hal-ña'ut). He took her to Big-Raven's village, and they lived there.

Told by Yu'taw, a Maritime Koryak woman, in the village of Talovka, Dec. 30, 1900.

XII. — TALES OF THE MARITIME KORYAK OF THE EAST COAST OF PENSHINA BAY.

Villages of Pallan and Vayampolka.

115. Big-Raven and Wolf.*

Big-Raven (Quikinn·a′qu) said, "Let me go and take a walk along the seashore." He went along a sandy spit, and said, "I will try to walk without legs." One of his legs dropped to the ground. "Nay, I will walk without any legs." Then the other leg also dropped off. "Now I want to walk without arms." One of his arms dropped off. "I will walk with no arms at all." Then the other arm also dropped off. "Now," he said, "I will walk without my kidneys." His kidneys fell down. "Now I will be without lungs;" and it happened accordingly. "Now my liver shall drop down;" and his liver dropped, then his heart, and his spleen. Now he was without any of his vital organs.

Wolf, who walked behind him, swallowed everything; and Big-Raven was now inside of Wolf's belly. He said to him, "Carry me to my house." — "Where is your house?" — "Close to yours." Wolf started to run; but Big-Raven pulled at his heart, and, on reaching the houses, Wolf fell down dead. Big-Raven called Miti′. "Come out! I have killed a wolf." She came out with a butcher's knife, ripped open the wolf's belly, and Big-Raven came out. Then they dried its skin. Wolf's people heard the noise, and came to see what was going on. "It seems that you have killed our man," they said. Big-Raven did not reply, but just said, "Come in!" They entered.

"Make a good fire," he cried to his women. They made a fire with damp wood. The house filled with smoke. He cried to his daughters, "Why don't you open the smoke-hole?" They went out, and cried from the outside, "We cannot open the smoke-hole properly." Then he said to his other housemates, "Why do you not go and look after the smoke-hole?" They all went out, and shouted that they did not know how to open it. Then he said, "I will go out myself." He went outside, stopped the smoke-hole completely, and killed all of his guests; but one Wolf escaped. After the Wolf people were dead, many foxes came to Big-Raven, gnawed holes through the inside of his house, and poked their tails through them. He caught the tails and tied them together. Thus he killed the foxes. Thus he vanquished them.

Told in the village of Pallan.

116. Eme'mqut and White-Whale-Woman.*

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It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikɪnn·a'qu) lived. A small spider (ku'thukut) was his sister, and her name was Amɪ'l̦l̦u. Pičvu'čin [1] wished to marry her. At that time Big-Raven became very ill, and was unable to leave his bed. "Pičvu'čin," he said, "you are my brother-in-law-to-be. Do something for me, go in search of my illness." Pičvu'čin beat his drum, found the illness, and said to Big-Raven, "Take your team to-morrow and go to the seashore." In the morning Big-Raven started with his team of dogs. After a while he was able to sit erect upon the sledge; then he tried to stand up; and soon he was able to run along, and direct his dogs. At the mouth of the river he saw a water-hole, and in that hole he found a White-Whale woman, Miti' by name, whom he took for his wife. He carried her home. In due time she gave birth to Eme'mqut, who soon grew to be a man, and also took a White-Whale woman for his wife. Then Eme'mqut went for a walk, and found there Withered-Grass-Woman (I'rir-veᵋ'ay-ñe'wut [2]), whom he also took for his wife. After that he brought home Fire-Woman (Yɪnta'ro-ña'wut [2]), and then Kɪnčesa'tɪ-ña'wut.

These four women lived together without quarrelling, until finally Eme'mqut found Dawn-Woman (Tñe-ñe'wut). She began to quarrel with all the others. The White-Whale woman said, "I am his first wife. I am the oldest woman. I will go away." Big-Raven's people sat up for several nights watching, to prevent her leaving the house. At last Big-Raven's lids dropped, and he said, "I want to sleep."

Then she ran away. She reached a lake, and there her heart was swallowed by a seal. She transformed herself into a man, and married a woman of the Fly-Agaric people. Eme'mqut went in search of her. While on his way, he found a brook from which he wanted to take a drink of water. He smelled smoke coming up from beneath. He looked down, and saw a house on the bottom. His aunt Amɪ'l̦l̦u, and her servant Kɪhɪ'l̦l̦u, were sitting side by side in the house. While he was drinking from the brook, his tears fell into the water, and dropped right through into his aunt's house, moistening the people below.

"Oh!" they said, "it is raining." They looked upward, and saw the man drinking. "Oh!" they said, "there is a guest." Then Kɪhɪ'l̦l̦u said, "Shut your eyes, and come down." He closed his eyes, and immediately found a ladder by which he could descend. "Give him food," said Amɪ'l̦l̦u. The servant picked up a tiny minnow from the floor, in the corner, all split and

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[1] The hunting-deity (see p. 118).

[2] The ending -ñe'wut or -ña'wut means "woman." It is the dialectic form, corresponding to -ñe'ut or -ña'ut of other localities (see p. 21, Footnote 3).

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dried. She brought also the shell of a nut of the stone pine and a minnow's bladder not larger than a finger-nail. Out of the latter she poured some oil into the nutshell, and put it before Eme′mqut with the dried fish. "Shut your eyes, and fall to." He thought, "This is not enough for a meal;" but he obeyed, and with the first movement dipped his hand into the fish-oil, arm and all, up to the elbow. He opened his eyes, and a big dried king-salmon lay before him, by the side of the oil-bowl. He ate of the fish, seasoning it with oil. Then his aunt said, "Thy wife is on the lake, and her heart has been swallowed by a seal. She has turned into a man and wants to marry a woman of the Fly-Agaric people." He went to the lake and killed the seal. Then he took out his wife's heart, and entered the house of the Fly-Agaric people. An old woman lived in the house. He put the heart on the table, and hid himself in the house. His wife, who had assumed the form of a man, lived in that house; and in a short time she came in from the woods, and said, "I am hungry." — "There is a seal's heart on the table," said the old woman. "Have it for your meal." She ate the heart, and immediately she remembered her husband. He came out of his hiding-place. They went home, and lived there. That's all.

Told in the village of Palla′n.

117. How Big-Raven created Rivers.*

Big-Raven (Kutqınn·a′qu[1]) walked along the seashore, and found a Crab (A′vvı) who was sleeping on the shore. "Crab, get up!" — "No, I shall sleep until the water comes and takes me back to my house!" — "Get up! I am hungry." Meanwhile the water rose. "Now, mount on my back," said Crab. "I will take you to my place, and give you some dried meat of the white-whale, seasoned with blubber." He took Big-Raven to his village, and said to his fellows, "Bring some white-whale-meat! Let us feed our guest!" At the same time he added under his breath, "But give him nothing to drink. Conceal the river, and empty all the vessels and water-buckets."

They had supper and went to sleep. About midnight Big-Raven awoke. "Oh!" said he, "I am very thirsty;" but nobody answered. "Halloo! I am thirsty!" but still all kept their peace. Big-Raven jumped up, and hurried to the water-buckets; but there was no water in them. He ran to the river, and found only dry stones. "Oh!" said he, "how very thirsty I am!" Then he came back, lay down on his bed, and sang, "My elder daughter, Yiñe′añe′ut, is drinking her fill, and I am without a drop of water. I am afraid I am going to die. If some one would give me a drink, I would give him my

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[1] The local pronunciation of the name of Big-Raven (see p. 17, Footnote 1).

X 773 daughter." But Crab whispered, "Keep your peace; do not answer until he offers his other daughter."

539 After a while Big-Raven sang again, "Oh! I am indeed very thirsty! If anybody gives me to drink, I will give him my daughter An·a′rukča-ña′ut." — "Now," said Crab, "give him to drink." They gave him water, and with one draught he emptied the bucket. "This is not enough," said he. "I shall go to the river." He went to the river, and drank it dry. "Now," said he, "carry me back to my village."

They took him to his house; and he said to his daughters, "Do not be angry with me, O my daughters! I have promised to give away both of you." Eme′mqut married one; and White-Whale-Man (Sisi′san[1]), the other. Big-Raven vomited the water, and created rivers out of it. That's all.

Told in the village of Voyampolka.

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[1] Eme′mqut and White-Whale-Man are Crab's children. They have the same names as the son and brother-in-law of Big-Raven (see p. 21, Footnote 6).

XIII. — TALES OF THE KORYAK OF THE COAST VILLAGES ON BERING SEA.

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Villages of Ki′chigi (Ki′čhın), Tillechiki (Ti′ḷḷıran), Khayilin (Qa′yılın), Pakha′cha (Poqa′č), and Opuka.

118. Big-Raven and Wry-Mouth-Woman.*

Big-Raven (Quykı′nn·axu [1]) and Miti′ quarrelled. Miti′ said, "I shall leave you!" Nevertheless she did not go, but staid with her husband. Eme′mqut, however, left his parents, and, roaming in the wilderness, found a small Fox woman. He said, "I will take you for my wife," and carried her home. One time he was combing her hair with an ivory comb, when she said to him, "Please step back. You smell like a Raven!"

About this time she was pregnant. One day Envious-One (Nıpai′vayun), who lived with them, said aloud, "What a strong smell this Fox woman has!" He had courted her, but without success; and now the Fox woman took offence at his words, and ran away from the house. Eme′mqut went in search of her; but they had no news of him for a very long time. Then Big-Raven and Miti′ went to look for him. On their way they found a small house, which belonged to Wry-Mouth-Woman (A′rı-ña′ut), the mistress of the sea. They looked down the entrance. "Have you not seen our son Eme′mqut?" — "We have not. But come down and rest awhile from your journey." Meanwhile Wry-Mouth-Woman created an invisible sea around the bottom of the ladder. "Come down!" she said. Big-Raven stepped off the ladder, and was drowned. Then Wry-Mouth-Woman said to her son, "Raven's wife is very pretty. Take her for your bride." In the evening the old Mıga′, the husband of Wry-Mouth-Woman, came home. His wife said to him, "I have found a good bride for our son." Mıga′ said, "She is the wife of another man. We do not want her. There is no good in a deed like that! Why have you killed Creator (Tenanto′mwᴀn)? The Sun may be extinguished." The woman, however, paid no heed to his words.

Big-Raven had seven sons. The strongest of all was Kıhıhıčın·a′xu; the most skilful in shamanistic art, Eme′mqut; and the most brilliant one, Dawn-coming-out (Tña′nto). They went in search of their father, and came to the house of Wry-Mouth-Woman. Looking down the entrance, they asked her, "Have you not seen Big-Raven?" — "No, he has not passed here. Come down!" Again she created a sea around the ladder; but Eme′mqut saw through all her tricks. He jumped off the ladder, and landed by the rear wall; while Kıhıhıčın·a′xu caught in his fingers the head of Mıga′'s little son, and pressed it so tightly that both of the boy's eyes sprang out of their sockets. Then they took Miti′ and went away. Miti′'s new husband came home in the evening; and his mother said to him, "Those people have been here, and carried away your wife. Go after them." — "Leave them alone!" said Mıga′. "She is not our woman." The son, however, went in pursuit, and in the night came up to their camp. He did not know what to do: but Eme′mqut knew very well that he was there. Therefore Eme′mqut crawled quickly over to Kıhıhıčın·a′xu's bed, and, lightly tugging at his sleeve, whispered, "Wake up! Our pursuer has come to our place!" Kıhıhıčın·a′xu sprang to his feet, and, seizing a kettle-hook, dealt the new-comer a blow on the forehead that killed him on the spot. Then they laid the body aside, and covered it with a piece of leather tarpaulin. The next evening, when Mıga′ came home, his wife said to him, "I do not know where our son and his wife are. I want you to go in search of them." — "I told you to leave that woman alone," said Mıga′. However, he went in search of them, and overtook the strangers in the same camp. Dawn-coming-out was not yet asleep, and the whole country was still bright with light. "Where is my son?" asked Mıga′. They pointed at the form covered with the leather tarpaulin. "What is he doing, sleeping?" — "No, more than that." — "Then he is intoxicated with eating agaric?" — "No, more than that." — "Is he ill?" — "More than that." Then the old man grew angry, and said, "You shall remember me. Some time I will get even with you."

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[1] The local pronunciation of Big-Raven's name.

In the mean time Eme′mqut went into the wilderness, and reached a village. It had many houses, but they were all empty. He did not find a soul in the village. It was the village of the kalau. In the centre was a large house where all the kalau were gathered for a council. They said, "Let us visit Eme′mqut, and eat all his people." When Eme′mqut heard this, he fled. One of the kalau saw his footprints, and, since he could not get the man himself, he ate them. Eme′mqut reached his home, and said, "The kalau are coming to our place to eat us." Kıhıhıčın·a′xu was so frightened that he ran away from the house quite naked, snatching up only his cap and mittens. He went to a village of Wolves and Wolverenes, and married a woman from each. He took his wives home, but he had no food for them. At the same time he heard that his new brothers-in-law were coming in a body to visit him. "Now," he said, "the kalau may come!" Indeed, the kalau came at the same time as his new relatives. The Wolves and the Wolverenes ate the kalau, and very soon they destroyed all of them. Then they went to Eme′mqut and thanked him for the food. In this way the kalau were destroyed.

Told in the village of Ki′čhın.

119. Big-Raven and Fox.*

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It was at the time when Big-Raven (Qutkınn·a'qu) lived. The people ran short of provisions, and he went to the sea to fish. He threw out his hook, and caught a small ringed-seal. "I do not want you, you are too small," he said. He threw it back into the water, and resumed his angling. Immediately he caught a ground-seal, and exclaimed, "I do not want you, you are too lean." He threw his line back into the water, and caught a walrus. "I do not like you, you are too slender;" and he threw it back into the sea. Then he caught a king-salmon, and said, "I do not like fish." After that he caught a whale. "Whale's meat is not good for eating." He threw the whale back, and caught Sea-Master's child. He thrust a straw through his belly, and took out of his navel a great mass of marrow. He made the marrow into a bundle, and carried it home. Fox, who lived in the next house, said, "Ah! I have children that are just as hungry as yours. Shall we not divide between us? Where did you get it?" — "In the water-hole." Fox went to the water-hole, began to fish, and caught a small seal. "This is excellent food! Shall I cook it?" She threw it back into the water. Then she caught a ground-seal. "This is a good fat seal! Could I not feed my children with it?" but she threw it away in the same manner as before. Then she caught a walrus. "Oh!" she said, "how big it is! Plenty of food in it for my children!" Then, likewise, she threw it away. After that she caught a whale. "Whale's meat is very good eating;" and she threw it into the water. At last she caught the little boy, and thrust her finger through his belly; but only a small piece of marrow was in it, and even that was very poor and lean. She took the marrow home.

Big-Raven loaded his sledge full of thin pieces of ice, and dragged it home. While going home, he did not look back; and when he reached his house, his sledge was full of the choicest whale-meat. Miti' went out to meet him, and was very glad. Fox said, "Oh! could we not divide? My children also are very hungry. Where did you get it?" — "On the ice-fields." She went to the seashore, and said, "I do not want the thin ice: the thick blocks are better." She loaded her sledge full of blocks of ice, and started home. On the way she kept looking back: the ice did not turn to meat, but remained as before. After that Fox told her son to go to Big-Raven to beg for meat for a single meal. Fox's son went to Big-Raven. The latter was sitting in a ditch, steaming his own flesh. The children were crying from hunger. He stepped out of the ditch, and there lay the meat of four bears all done, and ready for eating.

Fox's son went home, and said, "Big-Raven steams his own flesh, and it becomes bear's fat." Fox said, "Quick! dig a ditch for me!" She sat down in the ditch, heaped coals around her body, and burned herself to death.

Told in the village of Tı'l̥l̥ıran.

120. Big-Raven and the Stone-Pine Cone.*

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Big-Raven (Qutkınn·a′qu) went to the woods, and, finding a stone-pine cone, pounded it with a stone. "Hık añaña′! hık añaña′!"[1] Out of the cone came a girl with a head like a copper teapot. Big-Raven said, "Oh! what a pretty little girl!" — "Do you say that I am pretty? Mamma says, 'Come into the house.'" The house was a twisted stone-pine, and the sleeping-room was in the hollow of the bough. He entered the house. "I am very hungry." — "Open the old woman's abdomen." He opened it and looked in. Behold! it was full of the meat of a mountain-sheep, all nice and fat. He fell to eating, choked himself, and died. That's all.

Told in the village of Tı′llıman.

121. Big-Raven and Excrement-Woman.*

Big-Raven (Qutkınn·a′qu) went to peel alder-bark. While working, he wanted to ease himself: so he sat down, and excreted three pieces, — one large and two small ones. "Oh!" he said, "a bear-mother with two cubs is pursuing me." He cried to the people of his house, "There! a she-bear is pursuing me. Bring weapons for defence!" One brought a spear; another, a rifle. "Where is the she-bear?" But there was only a piece of excrement.

Next morning Big-Raven went again to get alder-bark, and again he wanted to defecate. This time he excreted only one large, thick piece. "There!" he said, "I gave birth to a nice, pretty woman. I will take her for my wife." — "Miti′!" cried he. "What is the matter?" — "I have a nice young woman, and I am going to take her for my wife." — "Better let Eme′mqut take her." — "No, no! I will take her myself, because she is very pretty." — "All right! take her."

He put the excrement-woman on his sledge. On the way he kept turning to her, and every now and then kissing her on her mouth. When he reached home, he shouted to his wife, "Make the house clean. I have brought my young bride!" Then he grew angry, and cried, "Why has the house such a bad smell? How can my wife live here? Ugh! what a stench! I had best take her to the reindeer-breeders."

He brought from the storehouse the best of meat, and gave it to the excrement-woman. Then he took her into the house. She began to melt; and the smell in the house grew still more offensive. "This is your children's doings! They are dirtying the house all over. Put them out of here!"

Miti′ looked more closely, and saw that the woman was made of excrement.

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[1] Interjection.

The face was melting, and dirty mucus ran down her chin. Miti' grew angry, and spread some dog's excrement around Big-Raven and the woman, pretending that it was a gray bear-skin. By the next morning the woman was completely melted away. Big-Raven got up, and saw only a heap of dirt. "How bad it smells! — White-Whale-Man (Sisi'san), clean it away with a shovel!" White-Whale-Man cleaned away the dirt, and nothing was left. He put the dirt on his sledge, and carried it away to the seashore. Thus the excrement-woman met her end.

Told in the village of Tı'ļļıran.

122. Big-Raven, Fox, and Wolf.*

Fox-Woman (Yayo'ča-ña'ut), Fox-Man (Tato'lala'n), and Fox-Boy lived in a certain place. Fox-Woman went angling, and caught a flounder. "There, there! I have some food. We shall have this to eat." Big-Raven (Qutkınn·a'qu) asked her, "What have you caught?" — "A flounder." — "Let me look at it." — "It is yonder in the bag." He took the flounder out of the bag, thrust it into his bosom, and in its place in the bag put a large elongated stone. Fox-Man came home, and said, "Cook some seaweed.[1] I have caught a flounder." They put the seaweed into the kettle, and looked for the flounder, but found only the stone in the bag. They said, "There is only a stone!" — "Then Big-Raven must have stolen the flounder. Why does he steal from Fox-Man? He has plenty for his own children."

Next morning Fox-Man went to the sea, and caught a red salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*). "There, there, there! I have some food. We shall eat this time." Big-Raven said, "What have you got?" — "A red salmon." — "Where is it?" — "In the bag." He stole it again, and substituted a stone. Fox-Man went home, and shouted, "Cook some seaweed. I have caught a red salmon." But only a stone was found in the bag.

The next morning Fox-Man went again to the sea. He found a flounder on the shore, half hidden in the damp sand. He took it home quietly, and Big-Raven suspected nothing. Then they had a fish-meal. The next morning he went again to the seashore, and found a red salmon. He took it quietly home, and they ate it up. After that he found a king-salmon. On the fourth day he found a ringed-seal. On the fifth day he found a ground-seal.

"Now," said Fox-Man, "let us be off! We have plenty of food. Let us settle by ourselves." They settled in a new place, and took with them their old tree-ladder and their stone lamp.

Big-Raven was flying around. When he saw these things, he felt so hungry that he ate the grease part of the ladder, and swallowed the lamp.

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[1] *Alaria esculenta.*

In the mean time the Fox people built a new house, and began to cook a meal. Big-Raven saw it through the entrance-hole, and, taking a wooden hook, tried to lift the kettle through the hole. Fox-Girl saw the theft, and struck the hook with a stick. The kettle was overturned, and the broth scalded the heads of Fox's children. Then Fox-Man baited a hook with a piece of meat, and threw the hook upwards. Big-Raven immediately swallowed it, and Fox-Man dragged him down. Big-Raven struggled with all his might; and finally his mouth was torn open, the line snapped, and the hook remained in his jaw.

He flew away to the wilderness, and, finding a Wolf, said to him, "Let us have a vomiting-match." He began to vomit, and soon vomited out the lamp, the ladder, and the hook. Then he said, "Now let us have some sleep." As soon as Wolf was asleep, Big-Raven tied to his tail all the things mentioned, and cried, "The Ta′n·ñıt[1] are coming!" Wolf jumped up, and dragged away the ladder, the lamp, and the hook. The faster he ran, the louder was the jingling of the lamp, which struck against the ladder.

Big-Raven took Wolf's stores of meat, and carried them home. He said to his wife, "That is the produce of my hunt." — "But why is it so stale and mildewy? I suppose you stole it from somebody." — "Nay, I am nimble. I will go and kill a mountain-sheep."

The next day he came back, and said to his people, "I have killed a sheep. Go and bring the meat to the house." They went for the meat. "Look there!" he said. "That reddish spot on the rock yonder, that is the skin;" but when they got nearer, it proved to be a streak of ochre. "Well, then," he said, "it is a little farther off. See, it shows red against that rock yonder!" But again the red proved to be ochre. They could not find anything, and finally said, "Let us go back. There is nothing to be found. We have been fooled by Big-Raven, as usual." They returned home. That's all.

Told in the village of Tı′ʟʟıran.

123. White-Whale-Man and Fox-Man.*

There was White-Whale-Man (Sisi′san). His sister, White-Whale (Re′ra), said, "Let us go and look for wild reindeer." They went hunting. A big reindeer-buck passed by. "Oh!" said White-Whale, "let us kill it. Then we shall have an excellent meal." — "No!" said her brother. "My arrows are not long enough. Perhaps it will not die all at once. In struggling with death, it will surely lose fat. Let me go for longer arrows." As soon as he went home, the reindeer ran away. He came back, and brought arrows as long as tent-poles. He asked, "Where is the reindeer?" Of course no reindeer was to be seen.

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[1] The Chukchee and the Koryak call each other by this name. Here it probably means the former. See Bogoras, The Chukchee (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 11).

They went on, and found a river which was full of salvelines. They had nothing to fish with: so he stripped his sister of her small-clothes, and used them as a seine-net. He caught one fish, and they had it for their meal. Next day they caught plenty of fish, and had an abundant meal before going to sleep. In the morning they went home, carrying heavy bundles of fish. When nothing was left, White-Whale-Woman said to Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, "Let us go and look for some edible roots." They went far away, and came to a house full of men. Not a single woman was there. They quarrelled as to who should enter first. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut said, "I will enter first;" but White-Whale-Woman jumped in quickly. Fox-Man (Tato'lala^{e}n), who was clad in a red overcoat, took her for his wife. She felt very glad, and, coming out of the house, cried in a loud voice, "I have found a husband!"

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, in her haste to follow, missed the ladder, and tumbled down through the entrance. A mountain-sheep-buck jumped toward her, and butted her face. Then she cried, "Go away! You are not a fit husband for me!" A reindeer-buck kicked her on the lips with his hoofs. "Go away!" she said. "You are worse than the other!" Then a bear hugged her with such strength that he nearly squeezed her to death. She wanted to cry, but only broke wind.

White-Whale-Woman sat down, and after a few moments gave birth to twin foxes. Then her husband steamed the bear, the mountain-sheep, and the reindeer in the ditch, and fed his family. White-Whale-Woman ate the fattest of the food, and after a while bore four more young foxes. A little later she bore thirty; on the next day, fifty; and on the day following, her children were past counting. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut was very angry, and said, "I am going home." After a while White-Whale-Woman felt lonesome, and said to her husband, "Let us visit my people." He replied, "I do not wish to go." — "But I am sure my people have killed many reindeer-bucks." — "Is that so? Then let us go."

On hearing that his sister was coming home, White-Whale-Man said, "Oh! I am very glad. She found a husband in the wilderness. He must be a Koryak, probably a rich reindeer-breeder. I am sure they will bring a large herd, as countless as the grains of dust on the trail." He sent one of his sons to the roof of the house to watch for the expected guests. "Oho!" cried the boy. "There, on the horizon, it looks as if a great fire had just been kindled." White-Whale-Man looked, and saw that a herd of foxes were coming. They entered the house, and it was full of them. They wished to sit down, but there was not room enough. White-Whale-Man emptied his storehouse of all the dried fish; but the foxes snatched only one fish apiece, and nothing was left. White-Whale-Man gathered all the kettles of the village, and cooked supper. In the mean time the Foxes' children gnawed the sleeping-tents, the leather lines, and even the skins that were in the house.

In due time they went to sleep; but after a little while the children began to cry, "Ka, ka, ka!" The foxes had bitten off the nose and ears of several persons, and White-Whale-Man's penis. Then White-Whale-Man killed all his fox-guests, and filled two large storehouses with their skins. He smeared with fresh oil the injured members, and thus restored all the sufferers to health. That's all.

Told in the village of Qa'yılın.

124. Big-Raven and the Hunchback Woman.*

Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu), while wandering in the wilderness, found an old hunchback woman. He said, "Come with me." They passed by a high storehouse which stood on poles, and he put her on top of it. She was unable to jump down, and had much trouble in descending. Upon coming home, she made a big pudding of berries, and gave Big-Raven some of it. Immediately he became constipated. "Oh!" he cried, "I want to ease myself. You old one, get a knife, and try to dig the excrement out of me!" The old woman took a spear and dug into him through the anus. Immediately he leaped as high as the heavens. Upon reaching the heavens, he became a mosquito, and visited the Sun. The Sun said, "Live with me." After a while the Sun became angry, and hurled him down into the sea. Then he was transformed into a duck.

Told in the village of Poqa'č.

125. How Big-Raven created a River.*

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) lived. Being short of provisions, he created a river, and caused it to flow through his house. Then he began to fish with a long hook, but in the first attempt he struck nothing but his own shadow. The second time he struck his right shoulder in the fleshy part, and could not go on with his fishing. Fox-Woman (Yayo′ča-ña′ut) came and offered her assistance. She succeeded, however, in doing no more than frightening the fish away, because all the time she tried to kill two or three at a time.

After a while Big-Raven was better. "Go away!" he said. "You bring me bad luck. I prefer to go along the beach to look for seals." He found some spotted seals (*Larga ochotensis*), and caught the one that was smallest. He took it to his house, and they had food. After a while it was all eaten, and Fox-Woman said again, "Now I will go and try my hand." — "Don't! You have no luck, and you will spoil the fishing." — "Nay, I am able to do it."

Fox-Woman walked along the beach, and, finding the seals, picked out the one that was the largest; but she could not lift it on to her shoulders. Seal said, "Let me help you," and began to get upon her back. He was so heavy that Fox-Woman fell down, and slipped into the river. She tried to swim, and said to her paws, "Now work as paddles!" Her tail she told to steer like a rudder; but she forgot to tell the tail to steer toward the shore: so it took the course toward the open sea. Fox-Woman was so tired that she could hardly paddle on; but at last she told the tail to steer toward the shore, and managed to land. After she had reached the shore, she took off her coat, and spread it on the stones to dry. Then she wanted to sleep, and, taking out her eyes, she said to them, "Keep watch over me. If anybody comes near, waken me by tickling me under my arms or on my belly." After a little time the waters began to rise; and the eyes at once tickled Fox-Woman, but they were unable to make her get up. The water took Fox-Woman up, and carried her back into the open sea. She had with her neither her coat nor her eyes, and nearly perished from cold and exhaustion. Finally her tail steered her back toward the shore. She landed, and, finding her eyes, pounded them with a stone. "There!" she said. "Why did you not keep watch over me?" She went to look for other eyes, and, picking two huckleberries, tried them. They were quite dark. Then she took two small pieces of hardened snow, and tears began to trickle down her cheeks. "They weep too much," said she; "but the tears will at least make them brighter." She went home. Meanwhile Creator (Tenanto′mwan) transformed himself into a reindeer-buck, and enticed a Wolf to kill him in that shape. Wolf ate the reindeer, and left only the bones. Fox-Woman found the bones, gnawed them all over, and assumed the shape of a man. She went on, and, finding the frozen carcass of a mountain-sheep, took it home. Then they cooked a meal. Miti′, Big-Raven's wife, went out for a moment, and Fox-Woman immediately kicked the kettle, and turned it over. She damaged the kettle, broke Miti′'s butchering-knife, and dropped it into the fire. The meat came back to life, and walked out of the house. Miti′ saw it, and said, "There goes a kettleful of meat good for cooking. Ah!" said she, "this is the meat from my own kettle."

She drove Fox-Woman away. Fox-Woman went along the shore, and saw some Gulls perched on a log that was floating on the water. She asked, "What are you doing?" — "We are catching fish." — "Take me into your boat." — "Jump in!" She jumped on to the log. The log drifted into the open sea. All at once the Gulls flew away, the log turned over, and Fox-Woman fell into the water. She was carried into the open sea, and was drowned.

Told in the village of Opu′ka.

126. Raven and Wolf.*

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Raven (Qu'ikɪy) said to his wife, "I want to go coasting. Give me a sled!" She gave him a salveline. He refused to take it, and said, "It is too soft: it will break into pieces." Then she gave him a seal. He rejected it also, saying, "It is too round: it will roll away." Then she gave him an old dog-skin. On this he coasted down hill. A Wolf passed by, and said, "Let me, too, coast down hill." — "How can you? You have no sled: you will fall into the water." — "Oh, no! My legs are long: I will brace them against the stones." Wolf coasted down the hill, fell into the water, and cried, "Help me out of this! I will give you a herd of water-bugs!" — "I do not want it!" — "Help me out, and I will give you a herd of mice!" — "I do not want it!" — "Help me out, and I will give you my sister, the one with resplendent (metal) ear-rings!" Then Raven helped him out. Wolf said, "Fare thee well! I am an inlander. I will go inland, far into the country. Where are you going?" — "I belong to the coast. I will stay here, close to the seashore." Wolf went his way. Raven transformed himself into a reindeer-carcass, and lay down across Wolf's path. Wolf ate of it. Then Raven revived within his belly, and cried, "Qu!" Wolf started to run. Raven tore out his heart, and dashed it against the ground. Wolf died. Raven dragged the body to his house, and said to Miti', "I have killed a wolf! Dance before the carcass!" Miti' began to dance, and to sing, "Ha'ke, ha'ke, ka ha'ke! Huk, huk! My husband killed one with a long tail!" Wolf's brothers followed the trail; but Raven dropped on the trail a couple of whalebone mushrooms.[1] They swallowed them, and were killed. Raven's people dragged them into the sleeping-room of Raven's daughters, Yiñ'la-ñe'whut and Čann·a'y-ña'wut, pretending that these were the girls' bridegrooms. The oldest of Wolf's brothers, whose name was Longe-Distance-between-Ears (Mei'ñɪ-vi'ču-wu'thɪr, literally "large-[between-the]-ears-interval"), followed Raven's trail. Again Raven dropped a couple of whalebone mushrooms. Wolf, however, did not swallow them, but took them to Raven's house. "What are these?" he asked Raven. "These are my children's toys." — "And where are my brothers? Their trail seems to lead here." — "No, they did not come here." Wolf and his hosts went to sleep. In the night-time Wolf stole into the girls' sleeping-room, wakened his dead brothers, and they led the girls away.

Next morning Eme'mqut said, "Now I will at least steal the Wolves' sister." He asked The-Master-on-High (Ģɪčho'l-Etɪ'nvɪlaᵋn) to let down for him the ancestral old woman. Then he killed the old woman, skinned her, put

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[1] A well-known contrivance, made of a slender spit of whalebone bent around, tied with sinew, and then covered with hard, frozen tallow. When swallowed by a wolf, the tallow melts, the sinew string gets loosened, and the sharp ends of the spit break through the walls of the stomach.

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on the skin, and sat down on the snow, weeping, and his teeth chattering with the cold. The Wolf people passed by. "What are you weeping for?" — "My children lost me in the snow-storm, and now I am freezing to death." They took her along and put her into the sleeping-room of Wolf's sister. "Ho! make her warm!" But in the morning the girl was with child. That's all.

Told in the village of Opu'ka.

127. How Big-Raven transformed himself into a Woman.*

Big-Raven (Quikınn·a'qu) said, "Let me transform myself into a woman." He cut off his penis and made a needle-case of it; from his testicles he fashioned a thimble; and from the scrotum, a work-bag. He went to a Chukchee camp, and lived there for some time, refusing, however, all the young people who offered to take him for a wife. Then Miti' ran short of food. She dressed herself like a man, and tied a knife to her hip. From her stone maul she made a penis. She came to the Chukchee camp, driving a reindeer-team, and remained there to serve for Big-Raven's marriage-price. She proved to be so nimble and active that very soon she was given the bride. They lay down together. "Now how shall we act?" asked Miti' of Big-Raven. He answered, "I do not know." After a while his penis and testicles returned to their proper places, and he was transformed into his former state. Then he could play the husband, and said to Miti', "Let us do it as we did before." In the morning they exchanged clothes and went home.

Told in the village of Opu'ka.

128. Eme'mqut and the Five-headed Kamak.*

Eme'mqut said, "I want to visit the Sun." He flew upward, and reached the Sun. The Sun said, "What do you want here?" — "I shot an arrow in this direction, and have come to recover it." They engaged in a test of strength. The Sun could not run faster than Eme'mqut. He also proved to be weaker in carrying stones. He grew angry, and said, "Even if you have outdone me, you cannot get for your wife the daughter of the Five-headed Kamak!" Eme'mqut went home and lay down in his father's sleeping-room. He kept silent, and ate no food. "Why are you so downcast?" his father asked him. "I will take the drum, and try to help you." He beat the drum, made a small boat, put it on his palm, and it grew quite large. "There," he said, "you may go now!"

Eme'mqut sailed away in the boat. He came to a strange shore, landed, and found plenty of mountain-sheep. He caught several in the skirt of his coat, and then, arriving at the house of the Five-headed Kamak, emptied his catch before the house. While the five-headed one was eating, Eme′mqut stole his daughter. The kamak, however, saw the theft, and swallowed Eme′mqut; but he did not kill him, because Eme′mqut immediately passed through his stomach and out. After this trick had been repeated five times, Eme′mqut killed the kamak, and took the girl home. The young woman defecated beads and copper rings. They gathered these, and grew rich. They gave part of this wealth to the reindeer-breeders in exchange for reindeer and for skins. The neighbors assembled to have a look at the bride. She proved to be so pretty, that they fell to the ground trembling, and all were dead. That's all.

Told in the village of Opu′ka.

129. How Yı′tčum bore Children.*

Big-Raven's (Quikınn·a′qu) people went to the sea. They killed a whale, and carried its meat to the village. While doing so, they flung small pieces of whale-meat at each other, and tried to catch them in their open mouths. Yı′tčum caught two pieces, and, after swallowing both, felt that he was with child. He could not be delivered of the child; so his sister Kĭlu′ cut out his stomach, fitting in its place the stomach taken from a red mouse. She laid Yı′tčum's stomach on the ground. Eme′mqut passed by, and kicked it with his toe, saying, "Here is a stomach that is bearing twins." The stomach was delivered of the twin children. Then Kĭlu′ cut out the mouse-stomach, and put Yı′tčum's own stomach in its former place. The father wished to nurse his children. He said, "I have no breasts! Let two bunches of blackberries serve as my breasts." The children grew up. They hunted mountain-sheep, and kept their father well supplied. That's all.

Told in the village of Opu′ka.

130. Big-Raven and the Mouse-Girls.*

One time some Mouse girls found on the seashore a small ringed-seal. Big-Raven (Quikınn·a′qu) saw them, and they tried to hide it in the sand. He asked, "What is it?" — "A stick." — "But it has eyes." — "It is a stick with eyes." — "It has also whiskers." — "It is a stick with whiskers." — "And it has also flippers." — "It is a stick with flippers." He pushed them aside, and carried away the seal. His wife skinned the seal and cooked it. She prepared a meal, and they ate. Some was left in the cooking-pot.

In the night, when Big-Raven and his wife were asleep, the Mouse girls stole the remnant of the meat, and in its place they defecated. In the morning

Big-Raven awoke, and said to his wife, who was still half asleep, "I am hungry: give me some cold meat." She put her hand into the cooking-pot, and found it full of excrement. "Oh, oh! see the excrement! The Mouse girls have played this trick on us!" Big-Raven grew angry, and said to his wife, "Bring me my raven bow, and bring me my raven arrow;" but she gave him only the wooden fire-drill and its small bow of antler. He went to find the Mouse girls, who fled away along the seashore. When he came near to them, they cried, "O grandfather! let us louse you; let us kill your lice." — "Ay," said Big-Raven. "It seems that I have made some trouble for my little granddaughters; it seems that I have frightened them." They loused him, and he fell asleep. Then they tied a bladder to his buttocks, and awakened him. "Grandfather, wake up! Your stomach is full. Here is a good dry place for you to defecate." He tried to do so. The excrement fell down into the bladder with a loud sound, "Pi, pi!" but when he looked back, there was nothing on the ground.

He went home, and said to his wife, "A strange thing happened to me. I wanted to defecate on a place yonder, and could not find my excrement, though it fell down with a loud noise." — "Let me see your back," said his wife. "Why, you have a bladder tied under your anus." Then he cried again, "Give me my raven bow! I will shoot them dead. Give me my raven arrow!" He found the Mouse girls on the seashore. "O grandfather! there is some nice soft excrement for you to eat!" — "I do not want it." — "Then let us louse you." — "Oh! I have made some trouble for my little grandchildren." He dropped his bow, and again fell asleep. Then they fastened red fur tassels over his eyes. After that they awakened him, as before. "Go over there and look at your house!" He looked at the house, and shouted, "O Miti´! our house is afire!" His wife came out, and walked around the house, looking for the fire; but of course she could find nothing. "Why, let me look at you! They have fastened something to your eyebrows!" Again he grew angry, and shouted, "Here, my raven bow! here, my raven arrow!" The Mouse girls again met him with nice words. "O grandfather! let us louse you." This time, when he fell asleep, they tattooed his nose and his cheeks. Then they awakened him, as before. "Grandfather, wake up! You must be very thirsty. There is a nice clear stream from which you may drink." He saw his tattooed face down in the water. "Oh, I will marry you!" he said. It was, however, only a reflection of his own face and body. "Shall I bring my tent to you, eh?... Oh, oh! she consents. She beckons to me." But it was just his reflection.

He went home and broke down his tent. His wife said to him, "What are you doing?" — "Do not ask me." — "But who scratched your nose and your cheeks?" — "Oh, I see, you are jealous!" — "Indeed, they have tattooed your face all over." — "Leave me alone! What do you want of me?"

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He lifted his stone hammer and anvil to his shoulders, and carried them to the stream. Then he looked down, as before. "You are still here?" he said to his own reflection. He threw the stone anvil into the water, and it sank down. After that he threw his hammer into the water, and it sank also. "Ah! I am going to marry a girl of the Reindeer people! She has accepted my presents. Now let us try the tent-poles;" but they floated on the water. "She does not want these. Then let me try the tent-cover." It spread itself upon the water, and was carried away by the stream. "Now I will try myself." He jumped into the water, and he also was carried away by the stream. "Oh, oh! the sky is reeling!" but it was only his own motion on the water. "The sky is giddy, the sky is swaying!" At last he sank down, and was dead.

Told by a Reindeer Koryak on the River Opu'ka.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak
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XIV. — TALES OF THE KAMCHADAL.

Villages of Tighi'l, U'tkholoka, Ka'vran, and Seda'nka.

131. Kutq and his Wife.*

It was in the time when Raven (Kutq) and his wife were living. Once upon a time he asked her to go with him to gather eggs. Raven's wife attached a bullock to her sledge, and started on the journey. The old man went afoot. The old woman drove her bullock for some time, when a Hare ran across the trail, and said to her, "O granny! let me have a place on your little sledge." — "Where shall I put you? You will break my little sledge." — "If you will not give me a place, I shall eat you some day." Then she let him get on, and said, "Sit down here at the back."

They went on, and met a Fox. "O granny! where are you going?" — "I am going to look for eggs." — "Let me sit down on your sledge, granny." — "Where shall I put you? You will break my little sledge." — "If you do not let me sit down, I shall eat you." — "Well, then, take your place here on the runner."

After that they met a Wolf. "Where are you going, granny?" — "We are going to look for eggs." — "Take me with you, granny." — "How can I take you? You will break my little sledge." — "If you do not take me, I shall eat you." — "Well, then, take your seat here in the front."

After that they met a Bear. "Take me with you, granny." — "How can I take you? You will break my sledge." — "If you do not take me, I shall eat you." — "Well, then, sit down in front, on the curved shaft."

They proceeded, and after a while the sledge broke down. The old woman began to cry. Then she sent the Hare for a good straight stick to replace the broken runner; but the Hare brought only a few willow-twigs. "Oh, you crazy thing! — Fox, you bring a new runner!" The Fox brought her only a few thin, half-broken boughs. The old woman grew angry, and sent the Wolf; but he brought an old piece of half-rotten aspen. Then she scolded the Wolf, and sent the Bear; but he brought a tree-trunk all hollow within.

Much as the old woman was averse to leaving her bullock, she had to go herself. While she was away, the Wolf and the Bear killed the bullock, and taking off the skin whole, without a cut in the abdomen, filled it with

773 moss and leaves. They ate the meat themselves, and put the bullock in its place, as if it were alive.

539 The old woman came back with the runner, and found all the animals gone, which pleased her greatly. She mended her sledge, sat down, and urged the bullock; but after she had struck it a few times, it fell down. The old woman jumped down and hurried to the bullock. Behold! there was only the skin filled with moss and grass: all the flesh was gone. The old woman began to cry, "Oh, the bad Bear! He killed my poor bullock."

She walked on in search of the old man. At last she found him on the shore of the lake. He had gathered plenty of eggs, and had eaten them all. "Oh!" said the old woman, "the Bear and the Wolf have eaten my bullock. I feel very unhappy. Give me at least an egg or two." — "Leave me alone!" said the old man. "I have not yet eaten my fill."

The old woman grew angry, and went to look for eggs herself. After a few moments she exclaimed, "Oho! I have found an egg." — "Whose egg is it?" asked the old man. "It is a swan's egg." — "Then it is a very big one," said the old man.

The next moment he exclaimed, "I have found an egg!" — "Whose egg is it?" — "An egg of a snow-bunting." — "Then it is a very small one."

After a while the old woman cried again, "I have found an egg!" — "Whose egg is it?" — "An egg of a black goose." — "Then it is a very big one."

Then the old man exclaimed, "I have found an egg!" — "Whose egg is it?" — "An egg of a woodpecker." — "Then it is a very small one."

"Well," said the old woman, "let us boil our eggs I am hungry." They dug some small round holes in the ground, put their eggs into them, and started a small fire all around the holes. They did this because they had no cooking-vessels. Then the old woman said to her husband, "Give me some of yours. Your eggs are small, I am sure they are done already." The old man refused. "Leave me alone!" he said. "You have eggs of your own, which are large enough."

Out of spite the old woman trampled on his eggs, and smashed them all. Raven cried; but the old woman took her eggs out of the hole, and ate them. Raven cried still louder, and asked her for some; but she gave him nothing, and ate all the eggs herself. Then she said, "Now, let us go home. Probably our children are crying for us."

She ran ahead, and found a small hut standing near their trail. She threw herself down on the floor, turned into a small child, and cried like a real baby. The old man came to the hut, and, hearing the cries of the child, pitied it, and took it in his arms. He soothed and rocked the baby, but it only cried the louder. "Give me water," it said: "I am thirsty." The old man gave it some water. "I do not want water! Give me some cold tea."

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak Kamchadal RYJ

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The old man gave it some cold tea; but the child cried, "I do not want tea! Give me the lamp." In this manner the old woman fooled and worried her husband until he put the baby down. "Oh, you fretful thing!" he exclaimed. "I don't blame those who left you here alone by yourself." Then he was overcome by pity, and took it up again. He carried the child out of the hut. "Put me on the sod-bank!" cried the child. He put it on the sod-bank. "No, take me up again!" He took it up again. "Take me into the hut!" The old man entered the hut, and continued to coddle the child, for it was crying all the time. He was very angry with it, but had no heart to leave it alone. All of a sudden the old woman laughed aloud in his very arms. "Oh, you vermin! You have worried me to death!" The old woman jumped down from his arms, and fled. The old man was so tired that he lay down immediately, and fell asleep.

The hut, however, belonged to the Mouse people. As soon as the old man was fast asleep, a number of the Mouse people went into the hut. "Oh!" they said, "here is Raven sleeping in our hut. Let us play a trick on him. Who has a piece of red cloth?" — "I have!" said one small Mouse. "Then let us sew it firmly over Raven's eyes." When this was done, another Mouse said, "Now, let us tie a bag under his anus, so that his excrement will fall into that bag." They fastened the bag to him, and then awakened the old man, who looked around, and saw everything flaming red. "Fire!" thought he. "The house is burning!" He ran away frightened. On the way, however, he wanted to ease himself. He crouched and defecated; but when he arose and looked back, he could not see any excrement. "What a strange place!" thought he, and made another effort; but still he did not see anything on the ground. He was frightened still more, and ran home. When he came to his house, he saw that it was also flaming red. "Fire!" cried he to his wife. "Take your best son, and break his head against the wall. Put out the fire with this sacrifice." The old woman took one of their sons, and, striking him against the wall, smashed his head into fragments. The old man continued to cry, "Put out the fire! Our house is burning!" Then the old woman looked at her husband. "How now?" said she. "You have a red cloth over your eyes!" — "Oh!" said the old man, "this is a trick of the Mouse girls. They were sewing in the hut, and probably they have sewed this cloth over my eyes." The old woman scolded her husband. "Instead of bringing up my children, you only destroy them one by one."

The old man turned to go out; but the old woman said to him again, "You smell very bad. What is the matter with you?" — "Oh, my wife!" said he, "I do not know what has happened to me. I found a very strange place. After I squatted down and tried to defecate, I found nothing on the ground beneath. I will try again: perhaps it will be otherwise here."

He went out and tried to defecate; but when he looked down on the

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ground, there was no excrement at all. "It is some sorcery," thought Raven. "Let me go and call the old woman. — Come here!" he said to the old woman. "There is some sorcery about this matter. Let me try once more, and you watch me to see what is wrong." He took off his trousers and squatted down. The old woman saw the bag, and said to him, "Who fastened the bag to your buttocks?" — "Oh!" said he, "surely the Mouse girls played this trick on me." — "Well," said the old woman, "you have destroyed one of my children; now help me, at least, to bring up the others." — "I will," said the old man. "Now make haste and twist some snares. I will go and spread them to catch ptarmigan."

He went for ptarmigan, and, spreading his snares, soon caught a great many birds. Then he built a hunting-lodge, and lived in that place, without regard to his children. After a long time, however, he visited the old woman. She asked, "What luck have you had? Have you caught any birds?" — "None at all," he answered. "I am almost starved to death." The old woman gave him food, and then he said, "I will go and look after my snares. Perhaps a bird or so is caught in one of them." He went away. The old woman followed him. He was so busy with his snares that he did not notice the old woman. Finally she found the hunting-lodge, and, entering it, saw all the ptarmigan that Raven had caught. "Oho!" she said; "see how faithless the old man is!" She took a ptarmigan, plucked it thoroughly, and then instructed it how to frighten Raven. "Hide yourself," she said; "but when the old man takes off his clothes to go to bed, run out of your hiding-place, and imitate his actions. Repeat all he says, and follow him about everywhere." In this manner the old woman spoke to the ptarmigan. Then the old woman went away.

Raven came to the cabin. It was already dark. He brought a big bundle of ptarmigan, and placed his pot near the fire to cook his supper. The cabin grew very warm: so he took off all his garments, and sat naked near the hearth. All at once a ptarmigan jumped out of the darkest corner, and cried, "Karebebebe!" It began to run around, crying, "Karebebebe!" The old man was frightened. He said, "This is again some sorcery!" The ptarmigan repeated, "This is again some sorcery!" — "Oh!" he said, "it is a charmed ptarmigan!" and the ptarmigan repeated, "Oh! it is a charmed ptarmigan!" The old man ran away quite naked; but the ptarmigan followed close behind. He hurried to his wife, and rattled at the door. "Oh!" he cried, "open the door!" and the ptarmigan repeated, "Oh! open the door!" The old woman opened the door. "Oh, my wife! take a club!" — "Take a club!" repeated the ptarmigan. "Kill this charmed thing!" — "Kill this charmed thing!" repeated the ptarmigan. Then the old woman asked him, "Tell me, will you again eat all you catch by yourself?" — "Nevermore!" cried Raven. "My lodge is full of birds. But please kill this awful charmed thing." The old woman seized a club and killed the ptarmigan. "I am afraid to go to the lodge,"

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said the old man. "Please go and get the ptarmigan." The old woman brought the ptarmigan, and they ate their fill.

Then the old man went to sleep. The old woman sat down at the window to mend her coat. In the mean time the Mouse girls came to the window from the outside, and went acoasting on their sleds past the window-sill. The window was darkened, and the old woman had not enough light. Then she cut off her nose, saying, "It is the nose that shuts out the light." But it continued to be dark. She had very thick lips: so she cut them off, saying, "My lips shut off the light." Still it was dark, as before. After that she cut off her cheeks; but the light was no better. At last she looked out of the window, and saw the Mouse girls coasting. "Oh, those Mouse people!" she said. "It is because of their tricks that I have cut off my whole face. I have lost my lips and my nose."

She sewed up a large bag, and came out of the house. The Mouse girls continued coasting. "Ah, ah!" said the old woman, "really you are very clever at this game. Now slide down all of you at the same time. I want to see who will be the first to come down." Meanwhile she opened her bag and spread it near the window-sill with its mouth upward. The Mouse girls slid right into the bag. "Now I am going to keep you in this bag till your meat is old enough to suit my taste," said the old woman. The Mouse girls cried, and begged her to set them free. They said, "We will bring you every kind of food that exists in the world for our ransom;" but the old woman was so angry that she paid no attention to their promises. She took the bag into the thick of the forest, and when she found a large tree, she said to it, "O tree! bend down your top." The tree bent down, and she tied the bag to its top. Then she said again, "O tree! raise your top;" and the tree stood straight again. Then she said to the Mouse girls, "Now stay there until your meat is stale. When it is ready, I will come and eat you." She left them and went home.

The Mouse girls were crying on the top of the tree. At last a fox heard their cries, and came to the tree. "Who is crying there?" — "We are crying, Auntie Fox," said the Mouse girls. "How did you get there?" asked Fox. "Raven's wife put us here." — "And how did she do it?" — "She said, 'O tree! bend down your top;' and the tree really bent down. Then she tied us to the top." Fox cried, "O tree! bend down your top!" The tree bent down, and Fox untied the bag and set the Mouse girls free.

The Mouse girls were very happy. Fox said to them, "Go and fetch plenty of moss." In a moment the Mouse girls brought the moss, and Fox filled the bag with it. She tied the bag to the top of the tree, and said, "O tree! stand straight again!" and the tree returned to its former position. The Mouse girls went with Fox, and lived in her house. Fox told them to go and bring her all kinds of things. "Now you have to serve me for a

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while. If it had not been for me, the old woman would have eaten you." The Mouse girls went pilfering everywhere for the benefit of Fox, and brought her all sorts of objects, especially a variety of food. Fox became quite well-to-do, and lived in affluence.

In two weeks the old woman said, "Let me go and look at the Mouse girls. Probably their meat is now just good for eating." Raven heard her words, and said, "Please take me along." She said, "Come along! I have there a big bag full of mouse-meat. I will give you some of it." They came to the tree, and she said, "O tree! bend down your top!" The tree bent down. But there was no meat in the bag: it was filled with damp moss. "Oh!" said the old woman, "I am sure Fox did this. I will go and kill her for that."

When Fox saw the old woman approaching, she hurriedly called the Mouse girls, and bade them bring plenty of alder-bark. Then she made them chew the bark, and spit the juice into a vessel. She bandaged her head with towels. She laid herself down on a bed. She placed close to her pillow a bowl of red alder-juice. Then she ordered the Mouse girls to conceal themselves, and began to groan like one very ill. The old woman entered. "Good-morning, little Fox!" — "Good-morning, grandmother!" — "Little Fox, why have you let all the Mouse people out of my bag?" — "Leave me in peace," said Fox. "I have nothing to do with this. This is the third week since I was taken dangerously ill." — "Oh, poor Fox!" said the old woman. "You certainly do look ill." — "It is true," said Fox. "See the blood I have lost within the last few days!" — "It is awful!" said the old woman. "Perhaps you will empty this bowl for me," suggested Fox. "It is really overflowing."

The old woman took the bowl and started to go. "Empty it into the river," said Fox, "from a place where the bank is the steepest. But mind you, while carrying the bowl, try to keep your eyes from looking behind you: otherwise you will become ten times more ill than I." — "No," said the old woman, "I shall not look behind."

She took the bowl and carried it away; but Fox stole along behind her. The old woman heard somebody following her, but was afraid to look back, lest she become ill. At last she came to the river, and, choosing a steep place, was about to empty the vessel. At that moment Fox pushed her from behind down the bank into the river. The old woman tried to swim, and cried, "Oh, little Fox! save me! I am drowning!" — "I will not save you. Why did you wish to kill the Mouse girls?" The old woman was drowned, and the Mouse girls were full of joy. They served Fox still better than before. They brought her edible roots of *Claytonia acutifolia*, and they all lived happily ever after. That's all.

Told in the village of Tighi'l by a Russianized Kamchadal.

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132. The Thunder People and Raspberry.*

Sŭ'na-ñe'ut had a daughter whose name was Raspberry[1] (Ằyanu'mlixčax). When she was full grown, the Thunder people came down and wanted to marry her. She, however, rejected their suit. Then they came down from the sky through the roof-entrance, and trampled on her. She became more considerate, and treated them with all kinds of roots and berries, everything that grows on the ground. That's all.

Told in the village of U'tkholoka.

133. Kutq and his Sons-in-Law, the Winds.*

Raven (Kutq) lived with his wife Miti'. One of their daughters was Sŭ'na-ñe'ut; the other one, Aña'rukla-ña'ut. One of their sons was Eme'mqut; and the other, Čiji'l-kutq. North-Wind (Yemr'hın) courted the elder daughter, and married her. Then clear frosty weather set in. It was so cold, that, when people walked about, blood would drip from the tips of their nails. Therefore Raven felt annoyed.

At the same time came South-Wind (Riri'un), who married Raven's other daughter. Then the weather grew milder. It began to rain, and it was damp and warm. Raven was pleased with the change. He argued, that, though his garments became damp, it was easy to dry them again; whereas the cold hurt the body.

Sŭ'na-ñe'ut was pregnant, and gave birth to a son. Her husband said to her, "While I am with you, there will be some clear weather in this country: when I am gone, you will live in constant dampness." Then he left his wife and went away. Immediately it began to rain in torrents. Dampness continued without cessation. All living things were starving, — men, beasts, and herds. Raven lost his eyebrows, which fell off because of the damp; and Eme'mqut, likewise, lost half the hair from his head. They had no food, and were starving. Sŭ'na-ñe'ut tried to sustain her mother with scraps of food that she gathered around their house.

One day she took an old skin of a ground-seal from their storehouse to cut a garment for her little son. When it was ready, she dressed her boy in it, and said to him, "Go to the country where your father lives, and try to find him. I shall stay with the other people, and we will wait for you: but perhaps we shall starve to death before you get back." The boy went in search of his father. In the mountain-passes near his father's house, he fell down from exhaustion. North-Wind's sister went out of the house, and

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[1] *Rubus arcticus.*

I: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak
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773 saw some dark object in the mountain-pass near by. She said to her brother,
539 "You roam about the world, and tell us nothing of what you have seen. Perhaps you have left a son somewhere, and it is he who has fallen from hunger and exhaustion. Go, therefore, and bring him here." North-Wind brought his son into the house. They took off his seal-skin garments, and dressed him in a nice suit of soft mountain-sheep-skin. Then North-Wind's sister said to him again, "You roam all over the world, but you tell us nothing of what you have seen. Perhaps you have somewhere a wife who is starving without your help. Go, find her, and relieve her from want."

About this time Sű′na-ñe′ut went out of her house, and saw far ahead a faint streak of light breaking through the clouds. Then her husband and her son came to her mind, and she said, "There was a time when I had a husband. We lived, and had plenty to eat, and now we are dying from want." Miti′ also began to complain, and said, "There was a time when we had a dry son-in-law who gave us dry weather. While he was with us, we lived in abundance, and had our choice of the best food. But this son-in-law of ours is good for nothing: he is rotten, and we rot with him." Meanwhile the sky began to clear, and a bright dawn arose above the horizon. The air grew drier, and at last North-Wind came. They had again plenty of food. Raven grew angry with his other son-in-law, and kicked him out of the house. After that they lived well again. That's all.

Told in the village of Ka′vran.

134. Big-Raven and Big-Crab.*

It was at the time when Big-Raven (Quskı′lnaku) lived. His wife was Miti′; his eldest son, Eme′mqut; his second son, Kotxama′ntilqaⁿn; his eldest daughter, Sű′na-ñe′ut; his second daughter, Añ′arukla-ña′ut. His third daughter, N·a′a, was his favorite. Miti′'s brother was named Cici′lxan; her sister, La′ki. They all lived together.

Big-Raven went along the coast, and saw Crab (A′vva) lying on the sand. At first he thought it was a flock of geese; but soon he was sure it was Crab. Then he began to sing, "O Crab! You have slept long enough. Now it is time for you to wake up. I am very hungry. When the tide comes, take me on your back; take me to your land; give me plenty to eat." — "All right!" said Crab.

He took him on his back, and carried him down into the depths of the sea. There Big-Raven was fed with dried seal-meat that was harder than dry wood. Crab's sons said, "Do not give him any water to drink. Let him tell us what brides may be had at his house." They dried up the river, so that he could get no water to drink. Big-Raven awoke, and wished to drink,

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but there was no water. Then he sang, "Just as we are living now, the same kind of life shall people lead in future times. The people will give their daughters to be married. My elder daughter, Sü'na-ñe'ut, is now sitting complacently looking at her reflection in the water-hole, and I am dying from thirst."

Then they let fall a single drop of water on the tip of his tongue. After a while he sang again, "Just as we are living now, the same kind of life shall people lead in future times. Daughters shall be given in marriage. My second daughter, Aña'rukla-ña'ut, is sitting now over a water-hole, and I am dying from thirst."

Then they let fall another drop of water on the tip of his tongue. After a while he sang again, "Just as we are living now, the same kind of life shall people lead in future times. Daughters shall be given in marriage. My youngest daughter, N·a'a, is looking at her reflection in the water-hole, and my throat is parched from fiery thirst."

Then they let the river flow. Big-Raven drank his fill, and took along a bucket of water. Then Crab carried him back to his house.

On the next day three seamen came to get the brides. Two of the girls staid in the house; but the mother hid the youngest one deep in the cellar, and put her inside of a sleeping-room with a threefold cover. The eldest guest hugged Sü'na-ñe'ut, and in a moment a baby began to cry inside of one of the legs of her breeches. Then Sü'na-ñe'ut said, "Rip open my breeches, and take out the baby. It will be stifled in there." The second guest did the same with Aña'rukla-ña'ut. The third one had no bride. He could not sleep because he felt so lonesome. About midnight he observed the old woman stealing out, carrying food in a basket. He followed quietly, and, after the woman had come back, he arose, and felt about with his hands until he found the door. He entered the cellar, and found the girl, who immediately was delivered of a daughter.

After a while Big-Raven said, "You have staid here long enough. It is time for you to take your wives to your own country." The seamen went, and Raven's sons followed. After a while Raven's sons married among the Sea people, and brought their wives to their own country. Now they began to live happily, and left off quarrelling among themselves. That's all.

Told in the village of Seda'nka.

135. Sü'na-ñe'ut and her Goose-Husband.*

A party of geese came to a lake. They had fine broods of young goslings. When the autumn came, the geese wished to fly away. All the goslings took wing, except one that was unable to fly. The other geese waited a while for it. At last the ice began to cover the sea, and the geese flew away.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak
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They kept their eyes straight ahead of them, as they did not wish to look back and see the poor gosling that was left behind. Goose-Boy remained alone on the lake, and sang, "Ah! I have no wings, and I am left behind because I am unable to fly." A Fox walked along the shore, and, hearing the song, went nearer. "Why are you crying so piteously?" — "I am crying because I am left alone." — "Come nearer; swim to the shore. I will take care of you." — "I am afraid you will eat me." — "Don't worry about that. When the lake freezes, I shall eat you, just the same."

Big-Raven was flying about. "What is it crying there so bitterly?" said he. "Let me have a look at it." After he had seen the gosling, he went back to his house, and said to Miti´, "Call your eldest daughter, Sŭ´na-ñe´ut." Miti´ thought, "Certainly he wants to blight her life again." Nevertheless, she called her. "There on the lake," he said, "a Goose-Boy has been left alone. Will you bring him home and take care of him?" — "Oh!" she said, "you are at it again. You want to utterly blight my life!" — "Nay," says he. "If you are a brave girl, you will get along very well."

Sŭ´na-ñe´ut took the gosling. In due time spring came, and Goose-Boy grew large, and began to fly about in search of food. Sŭ´na-ñe´ut, however, ate by herself, feeding on meat. Her Goose husband was absent for a long time, and Sŭ´na-ñe´ut began to worry. She went out of the house and looked in all directions. At last she laid two eggs, which she ate immediately. After that the geese arrived, and the Goose-Man flew to meet them. The first-comers were no relatives of his, but the next were his parents. They were very angry with their daughter-in-law because she had eaten the eggs, and therefore they flew away, leaving her behind. She tried to follow; but her short wings proved too weak. Then the Goose people flew upwards, and Sŭ´na-ñe´ut was left down here.

Told in the village of Seda´nka.

136. Raven's Quest of a Bride for Eme´mqut.*

It was at the time when Raven (Qutq) and his wife were living. They went to gather stone-pine nuts. He said, "Let us call to each other, 'Iho!'" They called to each other from a distance. Raven called, "Miti´!" and she answered, "Iho!" He was pleased with his idea, and said, "Now let us call to each other with a repeated call." Again he called, "Miti´!" and she answered, "Ihoho!" He was pleased with that still more, and said, "Let us call to each other with a thrice-repeated call." She was tired, and when he called again, "Miti´!" she answered "Ihohoho!" but in a very angry voice. Raven felt annoyed, and, transforming himself into a raven, flew away.

He came to a village, and alighted on a big tree. A girl passed by,

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and said, "There is that miserable bird! Why does it come here?" Raven said nothing. Another girl passed by. "Oh!" she said, "this poor bird has come here again!" and she fed it with scraps of meat and with crumbs of pudding. After that Raven went home, and, meeting Eme'mqut, he said to him, "I have found a good bride for you. Go and choose for yourself. Take the pleasant one, but leave the one that is cross-tempered."

Eme'mqut transformed himself into a raven, and flew to the village. He also alighted on a tree. One girl passed by, and said, "There is that miserable bird again!" He let her go by. The other girl said, "There is that poor bird again!" and fed it with meat and pudding. Eme'mqut dropped down from the tree, and caught the girl. In the next moment a small child was heard crying in her arms.

They went home. Raven whistled, and several reindeer came to him one by one. Some were spotted; others were black; still others, pure white. He gave the spotted ones to his son, and the white ones to his daughter-in-law. The black ones he drove himself. They arrived at their house. Eme'mqut said to his mother, "Mother, I have brought a young bride. Kick the walls of the house [to make it larger]!" Miti' kicked and pushed the walls, and the house became larger. After that they lived well, and so they still live, even at the present time. That's all.

Told in the village of Seda'nka.

137. Kutq's Daughters.*

Two daughters of Raven (Kutq) found a whale, and entered its body. Then they began to float on the sea with the whale. After a long time they drifted ashore. The younger one was sleeping. The elder one came out, and, walking along the shore, began to gather willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*). She brought back what she had gathered, and put it under the pillow of her sister. Then the latter dreamed. "Oh!" she said, "I dreamed I was eating willow-herb." — "Well," said the other, "look under your pillow." The younger one looked under her pillow, and found the willow-herb and various kinds of leaves and grasses.

They went out and walked along the shore. Close by was a village of the people of that country. The elder sister said, "I shall be married there. I shall transform you into a she-bear, and leave you here. When a suitor comes to take you, you must refuse him. The last to come will be the worst of all. He will carry a spear of shell. That one you must allow to take you." She transformed her into a she-bear, and tied her to a tree. Then she went to the village. Immediately she was married there. Then she said, "Down on the coast is still another girl." All the young men of

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The last one to come, the worst of all, who carried a spear of shell, this one she permitted to approach, and, lifting her left paw, caused him to spear her. When he skinned the body, she turned into her former self, and he took her to the village. That's all.

Told in the village of Seda'nka.

138. The Girls and the Bears.*

A brother and a sister lived together. The brother made arrows. They were most beautifully made. He would not allow his sister to look while he was at work. He would say to her, "Do not look at my arrows! Your looking at them will cause them to break." His sister could not help looking at the arrows: so he pushed her, and she fell off from their pile-house. She lost her way in the thick underbrush, and at last came to a bear-den. A Bear-Girl came out, and jumped for joy, because she regarded the stranger as a new companion. She caught with her teeth the edge of the new-comer's coat, and even bit her several times as a sign of welcome.

The old She-Bear also came out. "Leave her alone!" she said. "You have torn her coat to pieces. Let her come into the house." The girl entered, and sat down to mend her coat. The old She-Bear looked on, and thought, "She sews very well. She is a good worker." Then she said, "My sons will come soon. Hide yourself. They are fierce, and they might do you harm." Then the girl hid herself. In a short time five young Bears came into the house.

"Oh, oh!" they said, "there is a woman smell here!" — "Nay!" said the mother. "You roam everywhere, smelling all kinds of odors: then you come home and ask about the smells. Take your supper and go to sleep." They tossed some fat salmon-heads to their sister. "Pick out the gristle!" Bear-Girl began to pick out the salmon-gristle; and the stranger stealthily helped her with her work. After supper the Bear-Men went to sleep. Then the old She-Bear said to her guest, "Now begone: otherwise they may find you in the morning." The girl stepped off quietly. About midnight the old She-Bear awakened her youngest son, and said to him, "You really ought not to sleep so soundly. While you were sleeping, a nice girl came to the house, and now she has gone again. She would have made a good bride for you. Go and try to bring her back."

The young Bear ran in pursuit; but the girl was already approaching her village. The people came out to meet her, and, seeing a bear following her, shot him with an arrow. The girl skinned the carcass; and as soon as the

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skin was off, a nice young man came out and wooed the girl. It was Eme'mqut. He married the girl.

Now, the girl had a female cousin who was good for nothing. This cousin envied the good fortune of the exile. She also had a brother who made arrows, and forbade her to look at them. She looked on, notwithstanding; but the arrows did not break. Then she took them, and broke them with her hands. Still her brother did not push her, and she had to jump down from their pile-house of her own free will.

After long wandering through the forest, she also found the bear-den. Bear-Girl came out, and tugged at her coat. "Oho!" she said, "see how she has torn my coat! See what damage she has done!" The old She-Bear requested her to enter. She sat down to mend her coat. The old She-Bear saw that she was very unskilful with her needle. The Bear-Men came, and the She-Bear told the guest to hide herself. At first she refused to obey; but Bear-Woman finally persuaded her to accept her advice. At last the Bear-Men went to sleep. The old She-Bear said, "Now begone!" The girl went out, but slammed the door, crying aloud, "I am going away!" Then the She-Bear began to think, "This one is really too bad!" She did not awaken any of her children. A big shaggy dog lay on the flat roof of the house, and the She-Bear told him to follow the girl. The dog followed. The girl came to the village, shouting, "A bridegroom is following me!" They came out and killed the dog. On skinning his body, nothing happened, and the dog's carcass remained a simple carcass. That's all.

Told in the village of Seda'nka.

139. How Kutq jumped into a Whale.*

Raven (Kutq) walked along the sand-spit, and found a small seal. He said, "If you were a good find, you would not be so far from the water;" and he pushed it back into the sea with his toe. Then he walked on, and found a spotted-seal. "If you were a good catch, you would not lie so far from the water." After that he found a big ground-seal, and treated it in the same manner. Then he did the same with a white-whale, and with an old bowhead-whale. At last he found a finback-whale, and then he said, "This is a good thing." He shouted to the people of the village, "I have found a whale!" Then the Koryak reindeer-breeders were seen hurrying to the whale from various directions. They had large knives. Raven was so frightened that he jumped into the mouth of the whale-carcass. He found there plenty of oil, and, filling his mouth with it, he jumped out and flew away. A Fox woman saw him, and asked, "From where are you?" — "Yum, yum,"[1] replied

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[1] Yu'ñyañ — the whale. Raven tried to say, "From the whale," without opening his mouth.

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773 539 Raven. "What did you say?" — "From the whale!" As soon as he said so, the oil dropped down from his mouth, and fell on the Fox's back. "That is good," said the Fox. "I also have received some oil." She wrung her coat dry, and filled a large wooden trough with oil. Raven also stored the remaining oil. Then the Fox made a cake of all kinds of berries, and sent it to Raven to show her gratitude, and by way of payment. With it, however, she killed him.[1] That's all.

Told in the village of Seda'nka.

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[1] Evidently by poison mixed with berries.

XV. — CHARACTERISTICS OF KORYAK MYTHS

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The general features of Koryak mythology have been discussed in Chapter VII (pp. 115 et seq.). In general character the mythology of the Koryak, Kamchadal, and Chukchee shows many similarities.

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Comparison with Kamchadal Mythology. — All that we know of the Kamchadal mythology from Steller,[1] and from the Kamchadal myths given in Chapter XIV, leads to the conclusion that the Koryak and the Kamchadal had one and the same folk-lore. Steller relates only two complex myths, — one containing the story of Kutq's adventures with the mice, and the other telling of his love-affair with Excrement-Woman. The former myth will also be found among the Kamchadal tales in this book,[2] and both tales occur among the Koryak myths.[3] Besides, when summing up the general characteristics of Kamchadal mythology, Steller says that the entire folk-lore of the Kamchadal consisted of indecent tales about their god Kutq (Raven), as Steller calls the founder of the Kamchadal world. In this respect Kamchadal mythology corresponds closely to that of the Koryak, and forms a clearly defined cycle, consisting exclusively of raven myths. It may therefore be stated without hesitation that whatever is true of Koryak folk-lore is just as true of that of the Kamchadal.

Steller also mentions three separate episodes from tales about Kutq which he had heard told. In the first of these episodes, Kutq's gluttony is described. He reaches a river, and sees the ground on the opposite bank covered with berries. Being unable to cross the river, he cuts off his own head, and throws it across, so that it may eat the berries.[4] The second episode, which is illustrative of the concupiscence of Kutq (who tried to have sexual intercourse with all objects that he met), relates that he once found a valved shell on the seashore, with which he had intercourse. The valves closed, and cut off his penis.[5] This calls to mind the tales about the vagina armed with teeth. The third episode, which reflects the coarse tendency of the Koryak imagination in general, tells how Kutq once took Chăchy̆ (thus Steller calls Raven's wife) for an underground house, her vulva for the entrance-opening, and her anus for the underground passage of the ancient Kamchadal house, which was used for a draught.[6] He entered the house through the vulva, found the liver, and was about to take it, when it began to move. Then he became frightened, and ran out of the underground house.[7] In the Koryak tale, Big-Raven entered Miti''s anus as though it were the entrance to an underground house.[8]

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[1] Steller, pp. 253-284.

[2] Tale 131 (p. 329).

[3] Tales 88, 121, 130 (pp. 260, 316, 324).

[4] Steller, p. 262.

[5] Ibid., p. 263.

[6] See pp. 14, 53; Steller, p. 212.

[7] Steller, p. 263.

[8] Tale 25 (p. 169).

773 171 177 It is important to point out here some peculiarities of the present Kamchadal myths as compared with those related by Steller, and with the Koryak myths. In the myths collected by Mr. Bogoras, adventures are ascribed to Kutq and to members of his family, which, among the Koryak, are told about kalau.[1] For instance, in one tale[2] Miti' cuts off her nose and lips, and catches the mice which are in her light; but the Fox sets the mice free, and finally kills Miti' by throwing her down a rock. In Koryak tales[3] all this is told with reference to a kala-woman. I am inclined to attribute this divergence to the effect of Russian influence. The Kamchadal adopted Christianity long ago, and in a certain sense they are devout Christians, while the Russian priests constantly try to persuade the natives of Siberia who have been converted to Christianity that their former gods are devils and evil spirits. Thus, the Yukaghir of the upper Kolyma, in my presence, called their ancient guardian-idol, which was hanging in the woods, "Satan;" and the scaffold graves of their ancestors, and those above ground, which they used to worship, the Russianized Yukaghir of the Lower Kolyma now call "the graves of the perished (могилы пропащихъ)," an expression which is otherwise applied to animals only; and they remained quite indifferent when I proceeded to open those graves.[4]

KK C 773 776 171 COMPARISON WITH CHUKCHEE MYTHOLOGY. — The relation of the Koryak folk-lore to that of the Chukchee is somewhat different from its relation to the Kamchadal folk-lore. As may be seen from the publications of Mr. Bogoras,[5] the influence of the Eskimo myths upon Chukchee folk-lore was greater than that upon Koryak folk-lore; and the cycle of raven myths is therefore less preponderant than that of the Koryak. Big-Raven and Raven-Man of the Koryak are merged into one person named Ku'rkıl (Raven); and the Creator of the Koryak myths, identified among the Koryak with Big-Raven, appears among the Chukchee (with the exception of the passages enumerated before)[6] as a being independent of Ku'rkıl, but the same as the Supreme Being. From this we may draw the conclusion that the raven of the Chukchee, owing, perhaps, to the effect of their contact with the Eskimo, has lost its place as the ancestor of the tribe, and remains merely a hero of the animal epos. On the other hand, the Chukchee have retained more cosmogonic tales about the raven than the Koryak, which, however, might be explained by the fact that Koryak folk-lore is on the decline. Incidents of maritime life, which are very prominent in the Koryak myths, are even more prevalent in those of the Chukchee, where they assume a coloring of Eskimo life.

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[1] Tales 32, 56, 79, 112 (pp. 181, 212, 246, 402).

[2] Tale 131 (p. 331).

[3] Tales 32, 56 (pp. 181, 212).

[4] It must be noted here that in one Koryak tale of Kamenskoye (Tale 108, p. 295), Big-Raven's son, Eme'mqut, appears as a cannibal in the same manner as the monster gormandizer of Tale 112, p. 302. This may also be ascribed to Russian influence.

[5] Chukchee Materials, Introductory; Anthropologist, pp. 682, 683.

[6] See p. 17.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4
Chukchee RY2

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The ancestors of the Maritime Chukchee[1] are said to have been created 773
out of seal-bones. Sea-monsters in the form of a white bear, a whale shaman,
and cannibals from beyond the sea, figure very often as heroes of their tales. 776
A skin boat moving as swiftly as the flight of birds, and a canoe which crosses the sea of its own accord, constitute favorite topics of those tales. Some of the Chukchee tales not only contain well-known Eskimo episodes, but are identical in all details with Eskimo traditions. There are also some passages which are similar to the Sedna myths. Fish stories are almost absent. In the Chukchee tales the Reindeer people are more frequently contrasted with the Maritime people, and it might be concluded from this that the beginning of reindeer-breeding among the Chukchee belongs to a later period than among the Koryak. In the Chukchee traditions telling of their struggles with neighboring tribes, the Koryak are represented as a Reindeer tribe.

Among the Chukchee we find one class of traditions which contain very little of the fantastic element. These tell of their struggles with various hostile tribes. Other groups of tales relate to the creation of the world, to the kelet, and to animals. Among the Koryak, tales of all these classes — such as those of struggles with hostile tribes and of the creation of the world — are either little developed, or appear only as incidents in the myths concerning Big-Raven. Thus, among the number of tales recorded here, there are only
two the subject of which is a fight between Big-Raven and the Chukchee.[2] K

The fragmentary and disjointed character of the Koryak tales here presented 773
cannot be explained alone by the fact that the tales about Big-Raven have
absorbed all other kinds of tales, but also by the fact, already mentioned, that 538
the Koryak myths are in a period of decline. At present there are no more 462
story-tellers who are ready to present the current episodes in interesting combinations, and who weld the mythological stories into long tales. The best proof of this is the fact that the art of story-telling has now passed over entirely to the women, while, until quite recently, the men were the best story-tellers. With a few exceptions, almost all the tales collected in this book were told by women. The woman who told me the unfinished tale, No. 9 (p. 142) said that she heard it from an old man who died fifteen years ago. She went one morning into a neighbor's tent, and found there the old story-teller, who began to tell a tale. She listened for a while, and then returned home, where she had work to do. Toward evening she went back to her neighbor's, and found the old man still telling the same tale that he commenced in the morning. The fragment that she related to me constitutes only the beginning of the tale. It is likely that the Koryak woman story about the story-teller is somewhat exaggerated; but nevertheless it gives an idea of how

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[1] When the earth was created, there were two separate Chukchee countries, — that of the Maritime, and that of the Reindeer people (Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. ix).

[2] Tales 6, 26 (pp. 136, 170).

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773 rapid the decline of Koryak folk-lore has been.[1] When among the Rein-
deer Koryak on the Palpal, I once urged an old man, who generally was
538 very communicative and answered all my questions, to tell me some tales;
462 but he replied that he did not know any. "Is it possible that you have not
heard any tales?" I asked him. "Yes, I have heard them," he replied. "The
women will tell them; but I forget them at once. We have no time to fool
with stories. We are in the cold all the time, taking care of the herd. We
suffer much, and come home tired, just to sleep. The Maritime people don't
work in the winter. They have plenty of time. They live in warm houses.
They know many tales." However, even the men of the Maritime people
K did not tell me many tales, either. The few tales that men from the Maritime
177 villages told me are the least interesting ones. It may be said that the primitive
773 form of the folk-lore, in which all forms of tales relate to deities and spirits,
is disappearing as a consequence of contact with a higher civilization. It disappears without being transformed into folk-lore pure and simple, independent of religion, such as epic hero-tales, interesting fables, and allegories. Such transition seems to occur among the Chukchee. Koryak folk-lore is passing away, just as it has done among a part of the Koryak inhabiting northern
Y Kamchatka, who have entirely forgotten their ancient myths, and have not
K created any new ones.

COMPARISON WITH YUKAGHIR MYTHOLOGY. — If we compare the Koryak
773 myths with those of the Yukaghir,[2] we recognize that the latter are in a still
177 worse state of decline, especially with reference to the original topics; but the
Yukaghir have borrowed some topics of their tales from the Mongol-Turks. Generally speaking, the Yukaghir myths proper represent at present fragments of the Chukchee and Koryak cycles of traditions; but we find among these fragments elements of myths about the Chukchee kelet or the Koryak kalau, and with episodes of the raven cycle. The new material on the Yukaghir collected by me for the Jesup Expedition, as well as the myths collected by Mr. Bogoras among the Russianized Yukaghir along the lower part of the Kolyma, point still more to a close connection between the Yukaghir traditions and the cycle of myths current on the northern coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

Judging from the material published, and from information gathered from that not yet published, the difference between the Koryak myths and those of the Aino-Gilyak consists primarily in the fact that the Aino-Gilyak myths, owing, perhaps, to Japanese influence, treat mainly of animals, but they include a great many North Pacific elements.

000 COMPARISON WITH MONGOL-TURK MYTHOLOGY. — Before proceeding to

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[1] I will mention here that I met one male story-teller among the Yakut who was able to relate tales, with some interruptions, for entire days, combining and welding together various episodes and stories. I heard that there are quite a number of such narrators among the Yakut.

[2] See Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials.

COMPARISON WITH MONGOL-TURK MYTHOLOGY.—Before proceeding to compare the Koryak myths with the Eskimo-Indian traditions, I shall attempt 773
to point out in what respect the Koryak myths differ from those of the Mongol-Turk. I select the Mongol-Turk from among the Ural-Altaic tribes, because 171
they are the nearest neighbors of the Koryak. Besides, the material which I had at my disposal when working up the Koryak collection belonged mainly to the Mongol-Turk folk-lore, or, rather, to the folk-lore of Siberian Mongol-Turks. Though this folk-lore has so far been little studied, sufficient material has been collected. The publications which I used while working up my material are enumerated in the list of authorities, pp. 3-11.

Potanin, the well-known Russian traveller, — who supports the theory that some topics of Russian legends and tales, and of all Western legends in general, were borrowed from Mongol-Turk sources, — finds much in common in the shamanistic beliefs, ceremonies, and legends current over the vast expanse of land extending from the Altai Mountains to the Verkhoyansk Ridge on one side, and to the southern parts of European Russia on the other. He thinks that common cults prevailed, and legends of the same kind were in vogue, over this whole area;[1] and, indeed, the Yakut who inhabit the extreme northeastern portion of that district, and who at present constitute an isolated branch of the Turkish tribes, have legends which bear traces of an origin from the folk-lore created by the civilization of central Asia, which had reached a comparatively high state of development in early antiquity.

I will give here a brief characterization of the folk-lore of the tribes living nearest to the Koryak, confining myself principally to the Turkish Yakut and the Mongol Buryat. We shall see that their folk-lore differs from that of the Pacific coast both in form and ideas. The former is due to the higher stage of development of the tribes which created the Mongol-Turk folk-lore. The latter points to the fact that the elements of the folk-lore originated in a different region.

Of the various products of the creative genius of the Mongol-Turk, I shall select those which seem most important for purposes of comparison, — their hero-tales. The motives which prompt the heroes of the legends to undertake their wanderings, or to perform certain actions, are common human motives, — the going in quest of a bride or in search of a sister, a contest between heroes, or simply valiant deeds prompted by the desire of the hero to display strength. Though the conditions of life of the Yakut in the extreme north must have had a deteriorating effect upon their culture, which presumably originated in a country situated farther south, their hero-tales (olonxo'), in their elevated style and poetic flight, rise sometimes to the height of epic poems of the West. We find in them descriptions of nature serving as a background to the actions of the heroes, poetical similes and metaphors, and a wealth of epithets applied to the description of objects and persons. The tales belonging to the North Pacific cycle of myths are characterized by elementary simplicity. Verbosity and eloquence are altogether absent, and the language is marked by meagreness of epithets. The tales consist of episodes following one after another, and contain simple accounts of successive actions or states of the heroes. Only a few of the Chukchee legends, such as the tale about Elendi,[1] approach in style the epic models of a more highly developed folk-lore.

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[1] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, p. ix (Introductory).

In order to give an idea of the difference in style between the Koryak tales and those of the Mongol-Turks, I shall give here extracts from the legends of the latter.

> "Khan Guzhir drove to the blue sea, turned into a golden birch, which grows there, throwing a cool shade upon the sea by its curly leaves" (from the Buryat tale about Khan-Guzhir).[2]

Here are two specimens from Yakut tales, collected by Khudyakoff, who recorded the Yakut text and made a literal translation. In the poem called "The White Youth" (Uru´ñ Uoḷa´n), the appearance of a beautiful fairy, who asks the White Youth, a knight of divine (ayi´) origin, for protection against the encroachments of a powerful hero of devilish (abasy´) origin, is thus described:[3] —

> "Just when he was falling asleep, between sleep and waking, he heard above him a voice, gentle and kind, — the voice of a woman whispering, like the sound of the light breeze which rustles in the leaves of the poplar-trees up the river."

Such exalted language and such poetical similes could not have originated in the polar region, where the Yakut live at present. Another part of the same poem is worth quoting.[4] It is erotic in character; but, in spite of its utter frankness, it is clothed in a poetical form, and is not at all like the coarse and lewd passages of the corresponding erotic episodes of the Pacific coast. A monster of devilish origin appeals to the White Youth, requesting him to assist him in getting possession of the beautiful woman: —

> "'We shall ride very fast, very hastily, very speedily,' says the monster. 'Go and make the bed softer for the mistress, for the lady. To-night I have a mind to go to my mistress, to take her, the clean one, to wet her, the transparent one. Lad, untie her night-dress, with four rings and a seam in the middle; strip off her soft reindeer-skin dress, with eight hooks and a seam at the groins. And then, from under the hem, the shameful part of the body will sparkle, the distinguished part of the body will shine. Look out! don't lust after it, don't envy! That is mine, thy master's. Art thou quick in letting down women's drawers? Art thou prompt in tearing off their leggings?... Oh! I, so wasted and emaciated, shall I have a chance to enjoy it? Thou, I suppose, wilt support and help me, and wilt even push me! Dost thou hear? Well, then, go on!'
>
> "Upon this the man grew terribly angry, awfully wrathful; the blood rushed to his cheeks, and smoking hot became the blood of his nose. His daring thought came leaping from his side; his boastful thought came flying from the nape of his neck; his proud thought arrived, smoking like a blue cloud. Then he commenced to speak in his wrath, like the sound of a rifle-shot:
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> "'What insulting words! what a venom of mouth! what a caustic beak! foulness of the lips of such a piece of nothingness! the lowest of eaters,[5] profligate among the devils! a devil from the

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[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, pp. 339-353.

[2] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 70.

[3] Khudyakoff, p. 161.

[4] Ibid., p. 158.

[5] The evil spirits abasyla´r are called in the Yakut myths simply "eaters," on account of their being cannibals and soul-eaters.

very worst place! Thou'dst better tell thy will instead of that! Say, instead of that, thy last word of farewell to the earth and place! I shall break the crown of thy head into four pieces; the upper part of thy body, into three; thy body, into five parts!'" 171

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All this is a preliminary dialogue before a combat between the devilish (abasy') and divine (ayi') heroes.

It must be remarked, that, since the art of writing is unknown to the Yakut, the heroic tales are committed to memory by young narrators, who learn them from the old men; for, in spite of the wealth of allegory in the Yakut ordinary conversation and the Yakut fondness of verbosity, the solemn character, impressive style, poetic flight, and the archaic expression of the poems, are peculiar to the heroic tales. It is not easy to be a good narrator.

The Yakut, as well as the Buryat, do not hesitate to call things by their proper names in the presence of girls and children. They are greatly disposed to ribaldry; their languages contain many ambiguous expressions; they have many obscene stories: but the last named occupy rather the place of pornographic stories of more civilized peoples.

I shall quote here one more passage from a Yakut tale, bearing traces of a more primitive view of nature, which regards all domestic objects as though they were animate; but it is rendered in an exalted style.

In a lengthy description of the riches of Ber-Khara', the hero, it is said, "had a bowl which would rise gravely and walk up to him. He had kumiss-goblets which walked up at the quiet pace of a stout man. There were cups which came up awkwardly. There were meat-boards which came up step by step. He had a hatchet which came running up to him. In the middle of his smooth, rapidly moving silver courtyard there were three lordly horse-ties, like three tribal chiefs."[1]

But such animistic views are seldom met with in the Mongol-Turk legends. Transformations of heroes into animals or inanimate objects appear in them to be the result of supernatural powers; while in the North Pacific myths all transformations appear as acts which are close to natural phenomena.

The Mongol-Turk folk-lore not only reflects a mode of life different from that portrayed in the North Pacific myths, but it manifests another form of imagination. Among the Yakut, the heroes are chiefs of clans (toyo'ns): among other Turkish tribes and among the Buryat Mongols, they are khans and princes, who, either by their origin, or kinship, or ties of friendship, are connected with the creative and benevolent, or with the evil, supernatural beings. They are often actuated by noble motives, while the heroes of the Koryak myths, like those of North American mythology, are egotistical. There are many-headed monsters swallowing entire kingdoms, iron athletes destroying everything in their way, resplendent heroes mounted upon winged iron steeds. The hero's steed is swift as an arrow, light as a cloud, and, covered with

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[1] Khudyakoff, p. 94.

171 773 bloody sweat, it breaks the iron walls of enchanted castles. The horse figures as the assistant and counsellor of the hero, — it warns him of impending danger, shows the way, and participates in his battles. The reindeer of the Koryak myths does not play such a part, being regarded mainly as an indication of wealth.[1]

Though the heroes of this legendary epos are frequently transformed into animals, or have the shape of animals, the underlying idea is not that of the identity of the hero and of the animal, but rather that of a supernatural and exceptional transformation for special purposes.

The Mongol-Turk tales of animals, in general, constitute a separate class of folk-lore, and in most cases have the form of comical fantastic tales told for pastime, or they are fables. Only a few of them reflect the view of nature held by the tribe at a remote period, and are connected with cosmogonic and mythological tales.

773 177 Although the Koryak folk-lore, as will be shown further on, is closely connected with American mythology, it contains, nevertheless, a certain number of Asiatic or Mongol-Turk elements. Since the majority of episodes of the Koryak myths are found also in the tales of American tribes, we are justified in ascribing the presence of Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak mythology, not to the common origin of the latter with the Mongol-Turk, but simply to the fact that the Koryak must have borrowed these elements. It would be interesting to find out how these elements have been introduced. As far as we are familiar with the history of these peoples, neither the Buryat nor the Yakut ever had any direct intercourse with the Koryak or Chukchee. The Buryat live too far southwest, while the Yakut are comparatively recent arrivals in the far north. Even at present the Koryak do not come in contact with the Yakut as a tribe. Only on rare occasions do a few Yakut from the Kolyma cross the Stanovoi Mountains to visit Gishiga for trading-purposes. At the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russian Government sent Yakut criminals into exile from Yakutsk to the Okhotsk Sea, near the southern border of the Koryak territory; but these isolated meetings cannot have had any influence upon Koryak mythology.

773 174 If the assumption that the Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak myths were borrowed, is at all correct, then the tribes by which these elements were introduced must have been the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the south. I shall discuss at length the influence of the Yukaghir in my description of the Yukaghir, which will be published later on. At present I shall confine myself to a few remarks on the influence of the Tungus.

The Tungus are related to the Manchus. They are supposed to have

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[1] It is interesting to note, that, in a Gilyak tale recorded on Saghalin Island by Sternberg (Gilyak Materials, p. 407), the hero has a winged iron reindeer, which speaks, gives advice, and carries him to heaven. It seems to me that this is borrowed from the Tungus tribes.

migrated northward from the Amur River. At the time of the advent of the 773
Russians in the Far East, the Tungus already occupied the coast of the Okhotsk
Sea, thus separating the Gilyak of the Lower Amur River from the Koryak. 174
The mythology of the Tungus has hardly been studied at all. From the small number of Tungus tales recorded by me on the coast of the Okhotsk Sea, it may be seen, that, though reflecting the mode of life of a reindeer-breeding people, they contain episodes from Mongol-Turk tales, and have almost no relation whatever to the raven cycle, or other characteristic North Pacific coast tales. Owing to the difference in social conditions, we find, in place of the rich Yakut lord or clan chief (toyo'n), or the Buryat Mongolian khans and princes, the powerful men (ni'vany), iron heroes, and amazons. We find also iron tents and reindeer breathing flames, like the iron houses and the winged iron steeds of the Mongol-Turk. I found all the episodes of one Tungus tale recorded by me, in the Buryat tales of Khangaloff. Of course, in order to form a final opinion regarding Tungus folk-lore, it is necessary to wait until the material of their tales has been collected from the various regions inhabited by the branches of this small but widely scattered tribe.[1] A certain number of Tungus tales from the northern regions have been recorded by Mr. Bogoras, but have not been published. However, the material at present available proves that a certain part of the Mongol-Turk elements found in the Koryak folk-lore was borrowed from the Tungus.

Through the use of domesticated reindeer, which is an acquisition of Asiatic culture, elements must have been introduced into the folk-lore of the Koryak which are foreign to the American tribes. In relation to this subject, a comparative study should be made of the myths current on the Asiatic coasts of the Pacific Ocean, of those of the reindeer-breeding Samoyed-Finn tribes inhabiting all of northern Siberia and Europe, including the Lapps of Norway, and of those of the reindeer-breeders to the south of the Koryak.

Among the Mongol-Turk elements of the Koryak myths, I include bloody 773
sacrifices; and the presence in the tales of iron and silver objects owned by beings
or men of supernatural power, such as iron or silver horns and hoofs of rein- 171
deer, rods of the tent or posts of the underground house, iron snowshoes, wonderful iron sleighs, iron boats or fishes which take the hero across a burning sea, iron mice lifting the hero upon a burning mountain, or a child with iron teeth from which sparks are flying, or an iron cliff in which a girl is hidden.[2]

It must be pointed out, however, that copper is mentioned in a similar manner in Indian myths. Copper was used by the American Indians long before the advent of the whites, and may have been replaced by other metals when the episodes in which it was referred to were carried to Asia. In most

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[1] The branches of the Tungus tribe are scattered at present between the Okhotsk Sea to the east, the River Yenisei to the west, the Arctic Ocean to the north, and China to the south.

[2] See Tales 11, 17, 21, 48, 52, 66, 82, 83, 95 (pp. 145, 155, 163, 201, 208, 226, 231, 254, 281, 282).

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of the American tales, copper is mainly a symbol of wealth; but we also find passages in which copper articles possess, like those of iron and silver in Asia, a magic power. For instance, in a tale of the Nimkish tribe,[1] we find a copper plate, which is the cause of daylight; and in one of the Kwakiutl tales[2] a copper canoe moves by itself, without paddles, over sea and land, talks, gives instructions to its master how to kill deer, eats seals, and causes a flood; in a tale of the Chilcotin[3] an "iron sweat-house" of the Sun is mentioned.

The frequent occurrence of tales about girls being placed by themselves in small huts, on trees, in underground houses, or hidden in stones, beads, rings, and other objects, may also be counted among the Asiatic elements.

In the tales of both sides of the Pacific Ocean we frequently hear of powerful heroes who pull up trees in order to develop their strength. Powerful men who carry forests and mountains on the palms of their hands, mentioned in the tale "Bear's Ear" (No. 76, p. 240), are found in myths almost the world over, and may also belong to the Asiatic episodes. I obtained all the episodes of this tale from Mongolian sources. Mr. Potanin,[4] in describing a certain sacred Mongolian picture representing the deity Dzu-shi, tells that, among the accessory figures on it, there is one athlete carrying a mountain on his head, and another one uprooting forests. In the Buryat tale, "Bor-khu,"[5] three athletes who had become friends settled down to live together. Every day two of them went out hunting, while the third remained at home to cook. Once, when the youngest one remained at home, three girls came from beyond the sea. Two of them took hold of the host and bent him down to the ground, and the third one carried off the cooked meat. When Bor-khu remained at home, he hid; and, when the maidens who had taken the meat wished to leave, he pressed his knee against the door, and they were unable to get out. Almost the same thing happened to Bear's-Ear and his two giant comrades. When the men were out hunting, one of them remained at home. Then a kamak would come, press him against the ground, and eat the cooked meat; but he did not succeed in overcoming Bear's-Ear.[6]

The whole story of Bear's-Ear has the characteristic of Asiatic-European folk-lore. In a Russian tale, "Ivan, the Little Bear" ("Ivan Medvedko"), we read of the expulsion from his parents' home of a strong man who is half man, half bear. Likewise, in the Koryak tale "Bear's-Ear," the hero is represented as a troublesome house-fellow, because he tears the children's clothes. The tale of a bear's ear is known also in the Caucasus.

The five-headed kamak[7] seems to me also to belong to the elements of Mongol-Turk tales, in which many-headed monsters occur quite frequently.

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[1] Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 140.
[2] Ibid., p. 167.
[3] Farrand, Chilcotin Indians, p. 23.
[4] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, I, p. 65.
[5] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 84.
[6] Among Mr. Bogoras's collection (Chukchee Materials, p. 99) there is also a tale called "The Bear's-Ear," but its contents are different.
[7] Tale 128 (p. 323).

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It may be of interest to compare here the Indian tale[1] of a man whose body is covered with mouths that laugh and cry at the same time, with the Buryat tale of Khan-Guzhir,[2] in which a monster with fifty-eight heads comes out of the sea. Some talk, others sing, still others smoke, and the rest propose riddles to one another. This passage, with the same details, is found in the Mongol variants of the poem about Gesser collected by Potanin. The monster Abargo-Sesen-Mañaqtoi has fifteen heads. Some laugh, others talk, still others sing, and the rest tell tales to one another.[3]

The episode[4] in which Eme'mqut is described as having lain on the same spot ever since he was born, so that his side stuck fast to his bed, recalls an episode of Asiatic-European legends about heroes. For instance, the giant Sartactai, according to the Altaic tradition, left his trace on the banks of Katooni River, on which he had been sitting.[5] The most important hero of the Russian epos, Ilya Murometz (Илья Муромецъ), — who had been sitting motionless for thirty-three years, before he commenced his exploits, — left, according to one version of the legend, an imprint on his clay stove, on which he had been sitting.

The tales in which a man turns into a monster[6] and devours all the inhabitants of the village — which corresponds to the tale about the child-monster of the Yukaghir, Chukchee,[7] and Eskimo[8] — may also be found among the Kirghis tales. The following is quite like it: —

> "There lived once an old man and an old woman. A child was born to them. Soon they noticed that their cattle was disappearing during the night, but they were unable to discover the cause. The child was a monster. It used to leave its cradle and eat up a horse every night. Having destroyed all the live-stock, the child-monster commenced to devour people. Only his father and mother were left. Finally he swallowed them also."[9]

We find in American tales some elements that occur in the myths of the Old World, but they are absent in the Koryak tales recorded here. For instance, "the water of life," which a hero procures to restore dead bodies to life, or to revive bones, figures frequently in Indian myths on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, and is also one of the favorite episodes of the myths of the Old World.[10] Another case in point is the cosmogonic tale about the raven, or some other bird or other animal which dives into the water to obtain some mud, out of which the earth is created. This tale is popular in many parts of North America, and is found as well among the Chukchee and Yuka-

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[1] Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 202.

[2] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 66.

[3] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, p. 94.

[4] Tale 48, p. 209.

[5] Potanin, II, p. 171.

[6] Tales 108, 112 (pp. 295, 302).

[7] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 27.

[8] Rink, p. 258.

[9] Potanin, II, Remarks, p. 32.

[10] It seems that in the Koryak tales the blood of the reindeer takes the place of "the water of life" (see Tales 3, 67, pp. 130, 228). It must be noted here that in one Chukchee tale we find "bladder with living water" (Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. xxiv); and in one Yakut tale (Khudyakoff, p. 127) "three bottles with living water" are mentioned. As to the Chukchee, Mr. Bogoras considers the passage as borrowed from the Russian.

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ghir, as also among the Buryat,[1] Turk, and Finnish tribes,[2] but it is absent in the Koryak myths.

The episode about a girl who is visited every night by an unknown lover, and who, in order to discover who her visitor is, smears him with paint or soot, and thus discovers that he is her brother, is common to the Indians and Eskimo, but is also found in Mongolia. In one Mongol tale about the origin of the Kirghis from a sow, it is told that Djengis-khan once arranged a festival. That same night his son shared the bed with his mother, who smeared the culprit's back with soot. In this manner he was recognized in the morning. His father sent him away to the Desert Gobi. There he found a sow. By her he had children, who were the ancestors of the Kirghis.[3]

The episode of Indian tales in which people defecate valuable articles, such as copper ornaments, in place of excrement, is found among the Yakut,[4] who have a tale about a girl who produced precious beads when blowing her nose, and also among the Mongols. The hero of one Mongol tale used to vomit gold, and defecated gold.[5] In one Yukaghir tale we find a hero's horse which defecates silver coins.[6] We find this episode in only one Koryak tale, in which a kala's daughter defecates brass rings (the Indian symbol of wealth) and beads (the Tungus symbol of wealth).[7] Steller tells about Kutka, that, in order to detain pursuers, he defecated on his way all kinds of berries.[8]

The frequent episode in Indian tales of the origin of mosquitoes, flies, frogs, or snakes, etc., from the body, bones, or ashes of spirits, cannibals, or shamans,[9] is found not only in Yukaghir tales,[10] but also in Mongol-Turk traditions.[11]

I will point out here one more passage, common to the Indian and Mongol-Turk tales. A monster woman or a deity is described in the myths of the Bella Coola Indians as a cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man and sucks out his brain.[12] She is afterwards transformed into mosquitoes. In a Buryat variant of Gesser we find a similar episode. A monster bee, monster wasp, and a monster snake are sent one after another to the infant Gesser to suck out his brain, but he strikes them with a magic stone, and they split into small pieces, which become bees, wasps, and snakes.[13]

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Types of Koryak Tales. — In order to facilitate the study of the Koryak myths, without regard to the similarity of their elements to one or another cycle of myths of other tribes, I have arranged them, according to their contents,

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[1] Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, pp. 66-68.
[2] Potanin, IV, pp. 797, 798.
[3] Potanin, II, p. 165.
[4] Khudyakoff, p. 88.
[5] Potanin, II, p. 164.
[6] Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 52. This is undoubtedly a borrowed Russian folk-tale.
[7] See p. 324.
[8] Steller, p. 263.
[9] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 89, 164, 165, 222, 224, 226, 253, 410.
[10] Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 49.
[11] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, pp. 325, 332; Khudyakoff, pp. 107, 124.
[12] Boas, Indianische Sagen, p. 252; Bella Coola Indians, p. 30.
[13] Potanin, Voyage of 1884-86, II, p. 66.

in a number of divisions. Some of the tales, owing to the diversity of the episodes contained in them, will be mentioned in two or more divisions.

1. The struggle between Big-Raven and his family, and the kalau. This is the largest division, containing twenty-eight tales.[1] To this division belong also the tales about cannibals who are not kalau,[2] and tales about Big-Raven's struggle with wolves.[3]

2. Comic tales and myths about the tricks played by Big-Raven and members of his family, or about the tricks played on them by others.[4]

3. Eme'mqut, Cloud-Man, or other heroes, kill a girl, or the wife of some person, or persuade the husband to kill his wife, for alleged infidelity, and then restore the killed woman to life, and marry her.[5] Here also belong the stories of a person taking a woman away from her husband.[6] In others of the same group a person revives a dead girl, and marries her;[7] or Cloud-Man causes Big-Raven to conceive an unnatural desire to give his daughter to his son in marriage, in order that the daughter may run away from Big-Raven, and flee to the camp of the young man whom he patronizes.[8]

4. A kamak, or some other hero, carries away the wife or sister of Eme'mqut, who recovers them after various adventures;[9] or Illa' kills Eme'mqut in order to get possession of his wives; but he comes back to life, and punishes Illa'.[10]

5. Eme'mqut starts off on a voyage, overcomes dangers, and obtains the daughter of the Sun for his wife,[11] or that of Floating-Island[12] or of a five-headed kamak.[13]

6. Big-Raven steals a girl for his son,[14] or, in the shape of a raven, looks out for a bride for him.[15]

7. A girl does not want to marry Eme'mqut; but a monster or some other undesirable suitor sent to her by Big-Raven causes her to run away to Eme'mqut, whom she had rejected before.[16]

8. A girl takes away by force the husband of another person.[17]

9. The first wife kills her rival,[18] or mutilates her.[19]

10. Eme'mqut or his sister Yiñe'a-ñe'ut succeeds in marrying advantageously; and their cousins, Illa' and Kïlu', wish to do the same, but do not

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[1] Tales 1-3, 8, 13-15, 22, 24, 29, 30, 32, 37, 39, 51, 54, 56, 57, 62, 73-75, 78, 102, 103, 105, 118, 128 (pp. 125, 127, 128, 140, 149, 150, 151, 164, 166, 175, 177, 181, 185, 187, 206, 210, 212, 216, 220, 235, 236, 237, 244, 290, 291, 293, 323).

[2] Tales 79, 108, 112 (pp. 246, 295, 302).

[3] Tales 38, 84, 115 (pp. 186, 255, 309).

[4] Tales 2, 7, 9, 22, 23, 25, 31, 34, 35, 42, 45, 49, 50, 61, 63, 65, 68-71, 88, 90, 92, 105, 106, 119-122, 124-127, 130, 131 (pp. 127, 139, 142, 164, 165, 168, 178, 183, 184, 190, 193, 203, 204, 219, 221, 224, 231, 232, 260, 266, 207, 268, 293, 294, 315, 316, 317, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 327).

[5] Tales 75, 80, 81, 83 (pp. 237, 247, 248, 253).

[6] Tales 8, 11, 45, 67 (pp. 140, 145, 193, 227).

[7] Tales 75, 94 (pp. 237, 273).

[8] Tale 66 (p. 225).

[9] Tales 8, 11, 62, 67 (pp. 140, 145, 220, 227).

[10] Tale 12 (p. 146).

[11] Tale 21 (p. 162).

[12] Tale 46 (p. 197).

[13] Tale 128 (p. 323).

[14] Tale 54 (p. 210).

[15] Tale 136 (p. 336).

[16] Tales 5, 60, 91 (pp. 135, 218, 267).

[17] Tales 93, 94 (pp. 268, 273).

[18] Tales 53, 107 (pp. 209, 294).

[19] Tale 93 (p. 268).

773 succeed.[1] In Tale 123 (p. 318), on the contrary, Re'ra, Kilu''s sister, finds a husband, while Yiñe'a-ñe'ut does not.

538 11. Women have a contest of beauty and in the arts of shamanism.[2]

12. The hero causes a woman to contract a disease of which he himself cures her. Then, as a reward, the woman becomes his wife. By the same strategy a man may become a desired husband.[3]

13. Big-Raven's daughter is married to one man, and later on another husband brings her back when she visits her parents.[4]

14. Two persons sue for the hand of Big-Raven's daughter, and the one who accomplishes a certain task gets her.[5]

15. The marriage of Big-Raven's children to animals, inanimate objects, phenomena of nature, and supernatural beings.[6]

16. Miti''s and Big-Raven's adulteries with animals and objects.[7]

17. Eme'mqut marries his sister; and the latter, out of shame, exchanges husbands with another woman.[8]

18. A son of Big-Raven who had been driven away from home, or his deserted daughter, become powerful, and take revenge on their father;[9] or his daughters run away from home, owing to bad treatment.[10]

19. One of Big-Raven's sons starts off in search of his brothers, who are killed by cannibals. He kills the latter, and restores his brothers to life.[11]

20. The transformation of a man into a woman, and *vice versa*, and stories of men bearing children.[12]

21. Big-Raven's and his children's intercourse with the inhabitants of the heavenly or underground villages.[13]

22. Big-Raven's struggle with the Chukchee and Reindeer Koryak.[14]

23. Tales in which Big-Raven or his family are not mentioned.[15]

24. Miscellaneous tales.

773 COMPARISON OF KORYAK AND AMERICAN MYTHOLOGIES. — Before proceeding
to compare the elements of Koryak folk-lore with the episodes of American
171 myths, it is important to point out some peculiarities of the Koryak tales.
174 We shall see, from the comparative list of episodes (pp. 363-382), that the
Koryak myths, while containing chiefly Indian elements, include also a certain
number of Eskimo episodes. In the religion of the Koryak we have already

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[1] Tales 18, 19, 48, 58, 101 (pp. 156, 157, 200, 216, 289).

[2] Tales 7, 59 (pp. 140, 217).

[3] Tales 64, 75, 80 (pp. 222, 237, 248).

[4] Tales 79, 81, 91 (pp. 246, 248, 267).

[5] Tale 82 (p. 250).

[6] Tales 19, 33, 48, 52, 55, 58, 60, 63, 64, 66, 68, 80, 81-83, 86, 87, 106, 116, 123, 126, 135 (pp. 157, 183, 200, 207, 211, 216, 218, 221, 222, 225, 231, 247, 248, 250, 253, 258, 259, 294, 310, 318, 322, 335).

[7] Tales 31, 100, 121 (pp. 180, 288, 316).

[8] Tales 17, 20 (pp. 154, 159).

[9] Tales 76, 114 (pp. 240, 305).

[10] Tale 69 (p. 232), see also p. 21.

[11] Tales 3, 24, 30 (pp. 128, 166, 177).

[12] Tales 45, 85, 113, 129 (pp. 193, 258, 304, 324).

[13] Tales 8, 9, 12, 81, 83, 95, 111, 113, 114 (pp. 140, 142, 146, 248, 253, 280, 299, 304, 305).

[14] Tales 6, 26 (pp. 136, 170).

[15] Tales 27, 36, 43, 44, 47, 57, 97, 99, 105 (pp. 171, 184, 191, 192, 198, 216, 284, 287, 293).

found customs that have been observed among the Eskimo. The whale festival 773
of the Maritime Koryak, and their taboo with reference to sea-mammals, — 171
the meat of which must not be partaken of by women after confinement, and
which must not come in contact with the dead, — are also found among the 174
Aleut and Eskimo. This similarity is the more interesting, since the main food of the Maritime Koryak, as well as that of the Indians of the Pacific coast, does not consist of sea-mammals, but of fish.

Nevertheless, we find greater similarity between the religion of the Koryak and the beliefs of the Indians of the Pacific coast. In nothing, however, is this similarity so complete as in the Koryak myths, and nothing points so plainly to a very ancient connection between the Koryak and Indian mythologies as the similarity of the elements of which they are composed; for, while some of the religious customs and ceremonies may have been borrowed in recent times, the myths reflect for a very long time, and very tenaciously, the state of mind of the people of the remotest periods.

On the other hand, the similarity between the elements of Koryak myths and those of the Indians cannot be ascribed to a single cycle of traditions of the Pacific coast of America. They are not even confined to the coast only. We find in the Koryak myths elements of the raven cycle of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian; those of the cycle of tales about the Mink of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes; of myths about wandering culture-heroes, totem-ancestors; and of tales about animals current among the tribes of British Columbia; and also episodes from the myths of the Athapascan of the interior, and the Algonquin and Iroquois east of the Rocky Mountains.

The circumstance that almost the entire Koryak-Kamchadal mythology is devoted exclusively to tales about Big-Raven brings it close to the American cycle of raven myths; but some characteristic features from other American cycles are also referred to Big-Raven. We find in the tales relating to Big-Raven and to members of his family a love for indecent and coarse tricks, which they perform for their own amusement, — a feature common to all the tales current on the whole Pacific coast.

To Big-Raven are ascribed not only greediness and gluttony, features 773
characteristic of the heroes of the raven cycle, but also the erotic inclinations 171
of the Mink, as well as the qualities of other heroes and transformers of the Pacific coast, and of the heroes Manabozho of the Algonquin, and Hiawatha of the Iroquois. Thus Big-Raven figures not only as the organizer of the universe and the ancestor of the Koryak, but also as a culture-hero.

In the monotony and lack of color of the tales, uniformity of the episodes, and simplicity of the motives of actions, the Koryak myths remind one rather of the tales of the Athapascans. Thus we find a similarity of form between some of the Athapascan legends recorded by E. Petitot[1] and those of the Koryak.

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[1] See list of authorities quoted, p. 3.

773 171 Some of the Athapascan traditions recorded by Chapman[1] and Boas[2] show the same characteristic traits. Some of the tales of Dr. Boas's collection particularly recall the Koryak myths; for example, the traditions of Cloud-Woman and of the cannibals (xūdēlɛ').[3]

Judging from the contents of their myths, the Koryak world is quite narrow: the wanderings of the heroes are limited in space and time, and their adventures are simple. It goes without saying that they cannot be compared with the heroes of the Mongol-Turk tales, who fly over a number of worlds on their iron steeds,[4] and whose wanderings and battles last for several generations. They are inferior even to the wanderers of the myths of the American coast of the Pacific, who usually visit various places, have many encounters and adventures, and travel for a considerable time. The wanderings of Big-Raven and his children take place within the limits of a narrow horizon. From the seashore he goes to the Reindeer people, into the open tundra, up the river, or to some island. The hero seldom goes to the other side of the sea. The journey to the heavenly village, or the descent into the lower world, takes place very quickly, as if the sky were not far from the earth. The sojourn there of the travellers is not permanent. Only in one tale[5] we find that Eme'mqut, who became separated from the reindeer-train which was lifting Big-Raven up to heaven, had time to grow up on earth from a boy to a young man, and to marry, before Big-Raven came down to earth again.

773 602 The social organization of the Koryak also exercises a certain influence on the contents of their myths; and we find in them many of the American episodes changed, and adapted to the Koryak understanding of family and social relations. True, Big-Raven, like the totem representatives of the Indians, appears as the common ancestor of the Koryak as a tribe, and in the whale festival we have the germ of a communal organization; but the ideas connected with the secret societies of tribes, such as the Kwakiutl, with chieftaincy, like that of most Indian tribes, and clans, are foreign to the Koryak. The highest social unit of the Koryak is a large family, whose members are connected by ties of consanguinity and by hereditary guardians and amulets. The guardians protecting one family are dangerous to families hostile to it. Thus the guardians prevent one family from entering into too close relations with other families. Marriages between the families, however, destroy this exclusiveness, make friends of their guardians, and, such a union once established, it is endeavored to strengthen it by new marriages. Such relations between families find their

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[1] Chapman, Athapascan Traditions from the Lower Yukon (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XIV, pp. 180-185), 1903.

[2] F. Boas, Traditions of the Tsetsā'ut (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. IX, pp. 257-268; Vol. X, pp. 35-48). 1896, 1897.

[3] Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 265; Vol. X, p. 44.

[4] In one Yakut tale the hero flies over thirty heavens; and that of an Altai tale, over three hundred heavens (Potanin, IV, p. 564).

[5] Tale 95, p. 280.

reflection in the tales. A young man who marries into a strange family usually 773
brings along his wife's brother, who marries his sister. Families thus con- 602
nected by marriage ties come to visit each other. Big-Raven also goes to visit the upper world, owing to matrimonial unions between his children and the heavenly dwellers.

The list on pp. 363-382 shows which of the elements of the Koryak myths 538
have analogous episodes in other cycles of myths. In comparing the elements
of various cycles, I have taken into consideration, not only complete tales, 773
but separate episodes from tales as well. In the myths of one and the same 174
tribe we often find either a welding of two or more independent stories into one tale, or a disintegration of a tale into its constituent parts. Frequently one and the same episode is ascribed, now to one, now to another hero. These changes are due either to the individual peculiarities of the narrator or to the historical development of folk-lore, producing new variants, and adding new material.

We may expect changes of this kind, but on a larger scale, in cases where one tribe borrows its myths from another unrelated tribe, or where one branch of a people breaks away, and so moves far away from the common habitat. In the first case, the tribe adapts the new myths to its own conceptions concerning phenomena and events; in the second case, the branch that splits off changes its myths in consequence of the influence of its contact with new conditions of life and new neighbors.

Leaving open for the time being the question as to the former relations between the Koryak and the aborigines of North America, we must say that we have in the Koryak myths quite a number of episodes constituting only fragments of the whole mass of episodes contained in Indian and Eskimo tales. For instance, of the highly elaborated tale of the Tlingit and Tsimshian, — in which it is related how the sun is set free by the Raven, who has turned himself into a leaf or the needle of a cedar, and, letting himself be swallowed by the daughter of the owner of the sun, is born anew by her in the shape of a child, and then steals the sun, which is kept concealed in a box, — we find modified episodes among the Koryak. They tell that Raven-Man steals the sun in revenge for his unsuccessful wooing of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and hides it in his mouth until Big-Raven's daughter tickles him, so that he opens his mouth, and thus sets the sun free.[1] The episode of another tale[2] about Big-Raven's daughter giving birth to a child in consequence of having eaten a piece of reindeer-marrow into which Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta) had transformed himself, is apparently adapted from the episode with the leaf or cedar-tree needle, altered to suit the conditions of life of reindeer-breeders.

The Eskimo-Indian tales about the children of the woman and a dog, who take off their dog-skins in their mother's absence, and assume a human

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[1] Tale 82, p. 250.

[2] Tale 111, p. 299.

538 appearance, are in the Koryak tales divided into two separate episodes, —
773 into tales about Big-Raven's daughter marrying a dog;[1] and those about dogs,
which, in the absence of their masters (Big-Raven's family), put on embroidered
174 coats, and beat the drum.[2]

In a common episode from the Indian cycle of tales about the Mink, it is told that a hero ascends to heaven by means of a chain of arrows. In the Koryak tales, this chain is reduced to one arrow sent up to heaven, which thus makes a road leading upward. The place of the American mink, which does not occur in northeastern Asia, is apparently filled in the Koryak tales by the ermine.

In place of the Eskimo and Indian tales about the lover who goes at night to a certain girl, who makes a mark on the visitor, and thus discovers in the morning that he is her brother, we have tales about Eme'mqut marrying his sister. It should be remarked that in the former as well as in the latter tales, the brother figures as the cause of the incest, and the sister considers it a disgrace. But in one Chukchee tale[3] it is the sister who induces her brother, in a fraudulent manner, to enter into a culpable union with her, just as in the Greek myth about Hippolytus and his step-mother Phædra.

The episode about the daughter hidden in a bead, who remains upon the body of her dead mother,[4] recalls the Indian tale about a dead woman giving birth to a live child.[5]

171 SUMMARY OF COMPARISONS. — A concordance of episodes of Koryak myths
174 is given on pp. 363-382. From this it appears, that, out of 122 episodes,
773 there occur in

(1) Old-World mythology	8
(2) Eskimo "	12
(3) Indian "	75
(4) Indian and Eskimo mythology	10
(5) Indian and Old-World mythology	9
(6) Indian, Eskimo, and Old-World mythology	8
(7) Eskimo and Old-World mythology	0
	122

In summing up the elements of the Indian, Eskimo, and Old-World myths, we have

102 Indian	episodes, or	84 per cent.
30 Eskimo	" "	24 "
25 Old-World	" "	20 "

It is very interesting to note that we have no episodes common to the Old-World and the Eskimo only, and we conclude that the elements of Old-World myths found in the Eskimo mythology reached the Eskimo through the medium of the Indian or Chukchee.

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[1] Tale 33, p. 183.

[2] Tale 2, p. 127.

[3] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 172.

[4] Tale 81, p. 248.

[5] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 65, 170, 272, 290.

If we assume that the mythology of the Koryak has borrowed certain elements from the Mongol-Turk, we must admit that the similarity between some American and Asiatic episodes is also due to borrowing. For this reason it is necessary that the comparative study of Asiatic and American myths be continued, in order to make clear the ways and means by which the borrowing took place. 171 174 773

I have not introduced into our comparative list of legendary elements any episodes from the myths of the Alaskan Eskimo, published by Nelson,[1] because the Indians have exerted a very strong influence on the folk-lore of the Alaskan Eskimo, and a large part of the episodes of the latter cannot be considered as genuine Eskimo elements. To have included these elements would have caused confusion.

Eskimo influence on Koryak culture is not easily explained. If we had to do merely with a certain number of common mythical episodes, it would be plausible to assume that the Eskimo reached Bering Sea rather recently, coming from the East, — that is, broke the chain of myths spread in a continuous line along the Asiatic and American coasts of the northern part of the Pacific, — and that thus the Eskimo myths reached the Koryak through Chukchee channels; but the Eskimo elements in the religious rites, and, as we shall see later on, in the material culture, of the Koryak, point, I believe, to direct intercourse of the Koryak with the Eskimo at some period. The attempt to explain the cultural similarity of the two peoples as the result of similar conditions of life would be utterly inadequate, in view of their geographical proximity; but when, and under what circumstances, the contact between the Koryak and the Eskimo took place, remains thus far an open question.

Whatever the solution of this question may be, there is no doubt that the Eskimo appeared on the American-Asiatic coasts of Bering Sea as an entering wedge, which split apart the trunk of the common mythological tree. Neither the present isolation of the Koryak from the Indians, nor the influence of Asiatic culture on their customs and social life, has been able to efface from their myths the characteristic spirit and style of the traditions of the American Pacific coast. This is amply proved by the list of episodes contained in our list. It should be stated that most of the episodes cited are repeated in the myths in different combinations; nevertheless, I am far from having exhausted all the episodes of the tales. In the time at my disposal for this investigation, I have been able to make use of a small part only of the comparative material from mythological literature. No doubt the list of similar episodes and of complex episodes could be considerably increased by the use of more extended material. This would result, of course, in adding to the list of Eskimo and Asiatic points of similarity; but the percentile proportion between the different groups of episodes would probably increase in favor of the Indian myths. It

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[1] See list of authorities quoted, p. 7.

171 may be stated with certainty that the myths of the Asiatic-American coasts
174 of the North Pacific Ocean (not going here into details as to the peculiarities of
the different cycles of myths of North America) possess a homogeneous cycle
773 of ideas. Besides, the Koryak myths, both by their general character and by their form, resemble most closely the northern Indian cycles, — the raven cycle of the Tlingit of the Pacific coast, and the myths of the Athapascan; that is, the groups of myths of those tribes whose territory lies next to that of the Alaskan Eskimo, who have evidently separated the Indian tribes from the so-called Palæasiatics, and in their turn adopted a considerable part of the ideas of the raven cycle.

As to the number of Indian episodes in the Koryak mythology, we see from the comparative list that

73	episodes	belong to	the	myths of the Tlingit (coast of Alaska) and of the northern coast of British Columbia.
65	"	"	"	coast of southern British Columbia.
35	"	"	"	Athapascan tribes.
27	"	"	"	coast of Washington.
10	"	"	"	Algonquin.
13	"	"	"	Micmac, Ponca, Navajo, and other Indian mythologies.

What, then, is the conclusion to be drawn from the similarity of ideas of Koryak and Indian folk-lore as to the relations between these tribes at a time remote from ours?

We can hardly ascribe this similarity, in accordance with the theory of Andrew Lang, to the uniform workings of the human mind. There is no ground, in this case, for holding to this theory; for how can it be explained that the imagination of the Koryak has created a mass of American, and not Asiatic or European topics, and topics which have retained in a great many cases entirely fortuitous details? Moreover, the geographical proximity of these tribes does away with the plausibility of such an hypothesis.

Two possible explanations may be advanced in the present case, — (1) the similarity of the folk-lore is the result of a common origin of the tribes themselves; or (2) the myths alone have a common origin, and one of the tribes has borrowed its ideas from the other. However, in both cases, the two tribes must have been at some time in close contact.

(142) The somatological material collected by the Expedition has not been worked up as yet, and it is therefore impossible to say at present what conclusions may be drawn from it with reference to the origin of the tribes of the two coasts of the Pacific Ocean. However, the folk-lore which has been investigated justifies us in saying that the Koryak of Asia and the North American Indians, though at present separated from each other by an enormous stretch of sea, had at a more or less remote period a continuous and close intercourse, and exchange of ideas.

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In conclusion, I wish to say a few words about the elements common to the New World and the Old. I have tried to point out in the list given on pp. 363-382 the common elements. Under the group of episodes from the Old World are included, not alone the Mongol-Turk elements from the sources which I had at hand in working up my material, but also the legendary episodes (as far as I am familiar with them) which are known the world over. This is shown by pp. 363, 367-371 of the list. At the same time we must distinguish the Asiatic episodes, whose presence in Koryak or American folk-lore may be ascribed to borrowing from Asia, from such episodes as appear to be, in all probability, the result of independent development of the elementary forms of the human imagination. Of Asiatic origin are those episodes of the Koryak myths which contain mention of iron objects (the use of metals having been introduced from the West or South), or the story of Bear's-Ear, in which we meet with episodes having all the incidents and details found in Mongol and other Old-World stories. On the other hand, episodes that tell of talking animals (dogs, deer, or horses) which assist the heroes; stories of cannibals; of sexual unions of heroes with animals, or of their transformation into animals; of [176] miraculous births; of the uncouth, dirty child which became a handsome youth, — may in their elementary ideas be the products of spontaneous development of the imagination in different places. These elementary ideas become characteristic of this or that cycle of myths only through the particular forms which they assume. For instance, Eme'mqut[1] is ugly because he is incased in a hideous skin cover; or the Sun's daughter is ugly,[2] being incased in a mouldy skin. When the outer cover splits open, Eme'mqut and the Sun's daughter come out beautiful and radiant. This detail is quite true to the spirit of the Koryak ideas of the outward form of objects concealing their human-like essence. On the other hand, if we compare the story of the birth of Geser, the divine hero of the Mongol-Turk poem, with the miraculous birth of the heroes of the raven cycle, we see that in this case it is not the elementary idea, but the details, which mark the episode as part of the one folk-lore or of the other. Geser descends from heaven to be born on earth, and enters the womb of a woman; while the Raven turns into objects that are edible or easily swallowed. From this point of view, a part of the episodes of the Pacific, considered before as similar to the episodes of the Old World, might also be classed with the original episodes characteristic of the Pacific cycle of myths exclusively.

To bring out this point more clearly, I will mention another interesting example. According to the underlying elementary idea, we may compare the beings, half men and half dog, described in the myths of the Eskimo, Indian, Koryak,[3] and Yukaghir, with the beings, half men and half deer, of the Tungus, Chukchee, and Yukaghir; with the centaurs, or beings, half men and half

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[1] See p. 281.

[2] See p. 148.

[3] See p. 191.

773 538 171 horses, of the Thessalian tribe; and with the being, half man and half ass, called "Kitovras" (Китоврасъ), in the Slav myths. In all of these creations of imagination there appears the same fundamental idea of combining the faculties of man and animal in one mythical being, whose powers are the combined powers of man and animal. This being may be, for instance, a good shot, and at the same time fleet of foot. It seems likely that, for this reason, these complex beings have the upper parts of their bodies human and the lower parts like those of animals.[1] In one Yukaghir tale recorded by me on the Jesup Expedition, the son of a man who cohabited with a bitch was half dog. His upper half was human. When he grew up, he became a remarkable hunter. No animal could escape him. His sight was keen, his arrows never missed their aim, and he was so fleet of foot that he could catch up with any animal. He was, however, troubled by a lack of co-ordination between his canine qualities and his human faculties. The dog's feet ran independently, and the human half frequently had to call to the feet to moderate their pace. Therein lay his peril. Once his dog-feet ran in the woods so fast that he was unable to stop them in time; and he ran into a sharp branch of a tree, which caused his death.

It may be fully granted that the fundamental idea of such combined beings could originate quite independently in different parts of the world; and episodes like the tales of men-dogs may thus be considered as original elements of the Pacific cycle of myths, and not as borrowed from the Old World.

128 In concluding my review of the Koryak folk-lore, I deem it necessary to state, that I regard the identity of the Koryak folk-lore with that of North America as established. I look upon the comparative part of my review, however, as merely a weak attempt in this field. An insufficient acquaintance on my part with many works on the folk-lore of other tribes, and lack of time to make use of the largest possible number of sources relating to myths of the New and Old Worlds, have made it impossible for me to furnish a more substantial basis for the comparative part of my work.

I hope to continue the comparative study of American and Asiatic mythologies in working up the Yukaghir mythological material.

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[1] It is interesting to note that in one of Boas's Athapascan tales (Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. X, 1897, p. 44) cannibals are pictured with "faces which look almost like those of a dog." In this case, the dog-face is ascribed to the cannibal, because he has a keen sense of smell, like a dog, — a faculty which he requires in order to scent human beings. In the stories of all nations we find the stereotyped expression of cannibals, "I smell a man or human flesh." (See pp. 134, 303.)

LIST OF EPISODES OF KORYAK TALES COMPARED WITH SIMILAR OR IDENTICAL ELEMENTS OF OTHER MYTHOLOGIES.

Old-World Elements.

1. Episodes of antlers, hoofs, reindeer, sledges, snowshoes, boats, houses, teeth, etc., of iron or silver (pp. 145, 155, 163, 176, 201, 208, 222, 226, 251, 254, 281, 282).
   Mongol-Turk. — Episodes of objects and beings of iron, silver, and gold, occur very often.
2. Episodes of bloody sacrifices (pp. 201, 202, 267, 279, 282, 283, 301).
   Mongol-Turk. — Bloody sacrifices occur often.
3. Girls are placed in seclusion by their parents, that they may not be seen by suitors (pp. 125, 131, 176, 193, 198, 291, 302).
   Mongol-Turk. — Similar episodes occur in KHUDYAKOFF'S *Yakut Tales*, p. 113.
   Tungus. — Episodes of like nature occur often in tales recorded by the author, to be published later.
   Ostyak. — The Ostyak of former times placed in seclusion grown-up girls (PATKANOV, *The Type of an Ostyak Hero according to the Ostyak Epic Tales and Heroic Stories*, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 50).
   Slav. — The Slav tribes had the same custom.
4. Big-Raven's son, Bear's-Ear, goes into the wilderness, and meets two strong men, — one carrying forests, the other carrying mountains, — whom he takes as companions. The three overcome a kala (p. 240).
   Mongol-Turk. — All episodes of this tale we find not only in the Mongol-Turk traditions, but also in other Old-World folk-lore (see p. 350).
5. Eme'mqut, since his birth, remains lying on his bed without motion (p. 200).
   Mongol-Turk and Russian. — The same incident is found (see p. 351).
6. The kala's daughter, Aten'a'ut, is so beautiful that her bare hand illuminates the darkness of the night (p. 245).
   Mongol-Turk. — The bride of Khan-Guzhir (the Buryat name of Geser) is so beautiful that the night is transformed into day when she goes out of the house (KHANGALOFF and SATOPLAEFF, p. 64).
   Ostyak. — One Ostyak epic hero is so beautiful that he illuminates the house like the dawn (PATKANOV, *The Type of an Ostyak Hero according to the Ostyak Epic Tales and Heroic Stories*, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 24).
7. Big-Raven falls into the house of the kamaks. They are about to eat him. He says, "Do not eat me! I am old and lean. I will send my son Eme'mqut to you: he is young and fat." The kamaks let Big-Raven off. He sends Eme'mqut, who kills the kamaks (p. 244).
   Mongol-Turk. — An old man is caught by a cannibal woman. He promises to send his young son to her, if she will let him off. She does so. The son of the old man comes and kills her (KHANGALOFF and SATOPLAEFF, p. 11).
8. Pursuer turns into a reindeer-hair and a bush (pp. 148, 182, 214).
   Old World. — We find the same episode in European fairy-tales.

Eskimo Elements.

1. Foxes crawl into White-Whale-Man's house, and are killed (p. 319).
   Cumberland Sound. — Foxes enter the house of an old woman, and the house becomes so full of them that they die of suffocation (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 216).

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — A great number of foxes come to an old woman. She invites them in; and when the whole house is full, she shuts the door and kills them all with a stick (*Ibid.*, p. 324).

2. Big-Raven, on his return from heaven, finds his infant son grown up and married (p. 280).

Greenland. — Giviak, on his return from his travels, finds his infant son grown up and a good hunter (Rink, p. 157).

Cumberland Sound. — Kiviak, on his return from travel, finds all his children grown up (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 185).

Central Eskimo. — The same episode (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 623).

Smith Sound. — The same episode (Kroeber, p. 177).

3. Eme'mqut, son of Big-Raven, marries Fox-Woman. One time, while he is combing her hair, she says to him, "Step back! You smell like a Raven." One day, Envious-One, who courted Fox-Woman, but without success, says aloud, "What a strong smell this Fox-Woman has!" She takes offence at his words, and runs away from the house (p. 313).

Cumberland Sound. — A man who is married to a Fox-Woman exchanges wives with the Raven; but the Fox-Woman does not allow the Raven to touch her. He grows angry, and says, "What a bad smell there is!" The man finds that the Raven-wife smells bad, and shouts, "Oh, how bad you smell!" (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 225.)

4. A kala-woman cuts off her nose, thinking that it obscures the light (*Koryak Tale*, p. 212). The same is told of Kutq's wife (*Kamchadal Tale*, p. 331).

Cumberland Sound. — Ai'sivang cuts off one of her eyebrows, thinking it darkens the hut (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 193).

Central Eskimo. — The same episode is in Kiviak (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 624).

5. Creator, with family and herd, flees from an attack of Reindeer people over the ice of the sea. When the pursuers near the shore, Creator puts a bit of snow in his mouth, spits it out behind him, and the sea-ice melts away at the shores (p. 170).

Cumberland Sound. — An old woman, with her daughter and grandson, flees from her pursuers over the sea-ice. When the dogs of the pursuers come near, the old woman raises her bare hand, and extends her little finger, which she moves as though she were drawing a line between the two sledges. As she moves it, the ice breaks and drifts away, and they are safe from their pursuers (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 192).

Central Eskimo. — An old woman draws a line over the ice, with her first finger, across the path of pursuers: the ice breaks and drifts away (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 619).

6. Eme'mqut, pursued by a kala, turns into a raven, and carries his wife and children across a river. The kala asks the speaking-dogs of Eme'mqut how he crossed. The dogs reply that Eme'mqut drank all the water of the river, walked across to the opposite bank, and spat it out again. The kala drinks the water, and drinks until he bursts (p. 141).

Cumberland Sound. — A man pursued by the cannibal Nareya makes a river by means of sorcery. Nareya reaches the river, and, seeing the man on the other side, asks him, "How did you cross?" The man replies, "I drank all the water until I was able to wade through the river." Then Nareya lies down and begins to drink, and he almost empties the river; but his stomach becomes so full, that he bursts and dies (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 177).

7. Some boys are caught by a kala-woman, and hung in her fur coat on a tree. A Fox-Woman, passing by, saves them by letting down the coat, and filling it instead with sod, moss, and alder-bark. The kamak-woman and the kamak, arriving later on, shoot their arrows to kill the boys; when they let down the coat, they find moss, bark, and sod, instead of flesh (p. 212).

In another tale the kala-woman catches mice and puts them in her breeches, and the Fox fills them instead with moss (p. 181).

In the tale of the Kamchadal, Miti', Kutq's wife, hangs some mice in a little bag on a tree, and the Fox saves them in the same manner (p. 331).

Cumberland Sound. — The wife of a cannibal is afraid that he may want to eat her, and prepares to escape. She makes a figure by filling her clothing with heather, and hides herself. The cannibal comes back from hunting, stabs the figure, and discovers that it is nothing but clothing filled with heather (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 194).

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West Coast of Hudson Bay. — The same episode. The cannibal's wife makes a figure, filling her clothing with moss (*Ibid.*, p. 312).

Greenland. — The same episode (Rink, p. 106).

8. Big-Grandfather, sliding down a slope, falls into a house of kamaks. They are about to eat him. He asks to be allowed to go outside to urinate. The kamaks, after tying him to a long strap, let him go out. Big-Grandfather places logs over the entrance-opening, unties the strap by which the kamaks hold him, and fastens it to the logs, telling them, "I am going home. Speak in my place. When I get home, tell them that I have finished urinating" (p. 206).

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — One of three girls carried away by a Whale becomes able to live in water or on land. One day her father and brother come in their boat to an island. The girl, seeing them coming, tells her husband that she wishes to go to the island. The Whale, afraid that he may lose her, does not let her go until he fastens a line around her, one end of which he holds. After she reaches the island, she takes off the line and ties it to one of her buckles, to which her father has given the power of speech, and it answers the shoutings of the Whale (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 317).

9. Eme'mqut rescues his sister, who was married in a Seal settlement and was ill treated (p. 153).

Greenland. — Brothers rescue their sister, who was married to a Whale, and kept by him at the bottom of the sea (Rink, p. 127).

10. Yi'tčum swallows two pieces of whale-meat, and feels that he is with child. He cannot be delivered of the child, so his sister Kilu' cuts out his stomach, removes a pair of twins, and puts his stomach back in place (p. 324).

Greenland. — A man swallows a fish and becomes pregnant. A skilful old woman discovers a charm which helps to deliver him of a fine little daughter (Rink, p. 444. Rink, however, is in doubt whether this episode is of genuine Eskimo origin).

11. A kamak-woman advises the kamak to kill Big-Raven by stabbing him in his ear (p. 236).
Ikle'mulaⁿn kills a dog by thrusting a pointed stick into its ear (p. 220).

Cumberland Sound. — An old woman, pretending to louse her daughter, kills her by driving a peg through her ear (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 185).

12. Big-Raven defecates, and wipes himself with a rag, which he turns into a man (p. 218).
Big-Raven makes of his privates men who sing, "We are grandfather's" (p. 178).
Miti' cuts off her privates, breast, and buttocks, and tells them to become human beings (p. 168).
Miti' and creator cut off their privates, and make dogs of them (p. 139).
Creator cuts off his penis and sends it to get a harpoon (p. 165).

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — An old woman transforms her privates into a sledge. Then she defecates, and wipes herself with snow. By throwing on the ground the pieces of snow with which she wipes herself, she transforms them into dogs. The old woman transforms herself into a man, and marries a girl. One day a man asks the girl who made the dog-sledge. She answers, "Grandmother made it" (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 324).

Eskimo and Indian Elements.

1. Miti cuts off her vulva, roasts it, and gives it to Big-Raven to eat (p. 180).
Big-Raven cuts off his penis, and boils it for Miti' (p. 180).

Cumberland Sound. — Fox's husband cuts off her lover's penis, boils it, and gives it to his wife (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 223).

Athapascan. — Two brothers cut off the *membrum virile* of their wives' lover, chop and boil it, and give it to their wives to eat (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 260).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Ts'ak· finds his grandmother asleep, cuts out her vulva, roasts it, and gives it to her to eat (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 121).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Qā'ix, the mink, cuts off a piece of his grandmother's vulva, and uses it as bait in catching fish (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 74).

2. A kala comes to punish the young people of a village, who play constantly, and do not give the old people any rest. Most of the inhabitants of the village are killed by the kala. Only one old woman and her boy are left (p. 191).

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Greenland. — The nine Kungusutorissat are enemies of petulant and disobedient children (RINK, p. 47).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Children play ball, and always make noise, which annoys Raven, who sends feathers down to take them all up. Nearly the whole town disappears. Only a young girl with her little grandmother are left in a small house back of the village (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 94).

3. Big-Raven transforms himself into a girl, and makes of his privates bells and a needle-case (pp. 194, 196, 323).

Miti' transforms herself into a young man (p. 195).

Miti' transforms herself into a man by making a penis out of a stone hammer (p. 323).

White-Whale-Woman transforms herself into a man, and marries a woman of the Fly-Agaric people (p. 310).

Cumberland Sound. — A man decides to transform himself into a woman. A woman loans her husband to him. On the following day he exposes his privates to the sun in order to dry them (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 250).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — An old woman transforms herself into a man by making privates out of a wedge and a stone hammer (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 28).

Coast of Alaska. — Raven (Yētl) turns into a woman, and marries the son of the chief of the Seals (*Ibid.*, p. 319).

4. A man (or woman) is married in a village of supernatural beings. He (or she) wishes to go with his wife (or with her husband) to visit his (or her) parents. The father-in-law or mother-in-law overhears the conversation of the young couple, and advises them to go; or they propose to their son-in-law or daughter-in-law to go on a visit to their relatives (pp. 154, 201, 202, 227).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The son-in-law says to his wife, "I want to go on a visit to my relatives." She asks her father's permission, and the latter consents (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 204).

Such episodes occur very frequently in Indian tales.

Greenland. — The same is mentioned in RINK, p. 209.

5. Big-Raven calls his reindeer. All sorts of beasts come running to him. He strikes each over the nose, and says, "I did not call you." Finally the mice come, and he accepts them as his reindeer (p. 224).

Cumberland Sound. — A mother and a daughter live together. One day the mother says, "I wish some living being would come!" After that, all sorts of beasts come; but the old woman does not want them, and tells them to go away. Only when the foxes come, she invites them in (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 215).

Coast of Washington. — Mink calls the Deer. All kinds of animals appear, and are sent away before the Deer himself appears (BOAS, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 109).

6. The episode about kala with a human face and a dog's body (p. 191).

Athapascan. — A stranger meets some people who are half men and half dogs (PETITOT, p. 170). The wife of Lendix·tcux destroys half of his dog-blanket, and he remains half man and half dog (FARRAND, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 9).

Greenland. — The erkilet have the shape of men in the upper part of their body, but the lower limbs of dogs (RINK, p. 47).

Central Eskimo. — The lower part of the body of the Adlet is that of a dog, while the upper part is that of a man (BOAS, *Central Eskimo*, p. 637).

7. In order to escape from being eaten by a kala, Eme'mqut's wife makes him believe that she is his daughter. She pretends to partake of human flesh, but in reality she conceals it in her sleeve (p. 128).

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — Out of fear of her husband, the cannibal's wife makes him believe that she is eating human flesh (BOAS, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 313).

Greenland. — The cannibal's wife conceals under the ashes the human flesh that is given to her by her husband (RINK, p. 108).

Coast of Washington. — A giant sets a dish of reptiles before two men. They pretend to eat, but drop the reptiles through hollow tubes (FARRAND, *Quinault Indians*, p. 119).

The same episode (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 56).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Three travellers pretend to eat reptiles, while they conceal them under their blankets (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 120). 538

8. Big-Raven or Eme'mqut pulls out a post to which the dogs used to be tied, and a herd of reindeer come out (pp. 143, 164, 187). 171

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — A spirit makes a hole in the ground with his spear, and caribou jump out (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 306).

Athapascan. — The Raven keeps caribou in his tent (Petitot, pp. 154, 380).

Algonquin. — A similar episode (Kroeber, *Cheyenne Tales*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XII, p. 47).

9. Big-Raven urinates, and the flood-tide sets in (p. 206).

Rain comes from the vulva of The-One-on-High's wife (p. 142).

Athapascan. — Enno-Guhin or some other person urinates, and makes a river (Petitot, pp. 34, 41, 138).

Cumberland Sound. — One girl stamps on the ice and makes thunder; another urinates and thus makes rain (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 175).

British Columbia. — The Old Man makes rain by urinating (Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 341).

Central Eskimo. — One of three sisters makes rain by urinating (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 600).

10. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut marries a stick or a tree (pp. 255, 256).

Fog-Man marries Driftwood-Woman, who then turns into driftwood (p. 275).

Coast of Alaska. — A trunk of driftwood is the husband of all the women of a village (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 321).

Cumberland Sound. — "A large piece of driftwood, which is a young woman's husband" (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 185).

Central Eskimo. — Kiviung finds a woman who lives all alone with her daughter. Her son-in-law is a log of driftwood which has four boughs (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 623).

Old-World and Indian Elements.

1. Eme'mqut says to his wives, "If my lance should shed tears, then I am no longer among the living" (p. 147).

European. — The life-token occurs very often in European tales.

Mongol-Turk. — Seven travellers are going to separate. Each one of them plants a tree, which will wither as soon as the owner dies (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, pp. 145, 147).

Athapascan. — A giant gives a staff to a young man, and tells him that the staff will break in twain as soon as he dies (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 44).

The good giant tells the hero that the clouds will be dyed with his blood, and the sky will become red, as soon as he is vanquished by the race of bad giants (Petitot, p. 138).

2. One-sided guardian (pp. 37, 39, 40).

Gilyak. — One-sided idol (Schrenck, II, p. 743; Plate LIV, Fig. 4).

Tungus. — Two one-sided strong men (tale recorded by the author in manuscript).

Russianized Yukaghir. — Tale of a one-sided man (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 681).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — One-sided man Kasā'no (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 256).

Athapascan. — The one-sided monster Edzil' (Petitot, p. 363).

3. The daughter of the kamak defecates beads and copper rings (p. 324).

Mongol-Turk. — A girl produces beads when blowing her nose (Khudyakoff, p. 88).

A hero vomits and defecates gold (Potanin, II, p. 164).

Yukaghir. — A hero's horse defecates silver coins (Jochelson, *Yukaghir Materials*, p. 52).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A woman pretends to defecate copper pins (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 226).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Qā'ix's son defecates copper (*Ibid.*, p. 73).

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4. Raven enters the carcass of a whale, and after its belly is ripped open, he comes out (p. 339).
Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, after being swallowed by a kamak, cuts open his belly and comes out (p. 292).
Big-Raven turns into a reindeer-carcass. A wolf swallows him. He tears out the wolf's heart and comes out (p. 322).
A similar episode (p. 309).
Gull-Woman and Cormorant-Woman, after being swallowed by kamaks, cut open their bellies and come out (p. 287).

Mongol-Turk. — Bird-Monster swallows Geser, the hero of a Mongol-Turk poem. Once inside the bird, he seizes his heart and kills him (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, II, p. 41).

Interior of Southern British Columbia. — The Elk swallows Tlĕ'esa with his raft, and the latter cuts out the Elk's heart (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 3).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The Whale swallows Kwô'teath with raft and brothers, and they cut out the Whale's heart (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 101).

The Raven and the Mink enter the Whale and kill it (*Ibid.*, p. 171).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Grisly-Bear snuffs in Tsak·. He kills the Bear by starting a fire in his stomach (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 118).

Coast of Washington. — A monster swallows a youth, who cuts out his heart (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 65).

Coast of Alaska. — The Raven induces the Whale to swallow him, pecks his heart, and kills him (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 316).

Algonquin. — King-fish swallows Manabozho with his canoe. He kills the fish by attacking its heart (Schoolcraft).

Athapascan. — Beaver swallows ʟendix·tcux, who kills it by cutting and roasting its heart (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 13).

5. The Foxes are cooking meat. Big-Raven is hungry. He flies about the Foxes' house, eats the greasy part of the ladder, and swallows the lamp. With a piece of meat the Fox baits a hook and throws it upward. Big-Raven swallows it. The line snaps, the hook remaining in his jaw. Big-Raven flies away to the wilderness, and, finding a Wolf, says to him, "Let us have a vomiting-match." He begins to vomit, and soon vomits up the lamp, the ladder, and the hook (p. 318).

Mongol-Turk. — Fox, after eating much ox-fat, meets a Wolf, and says, "Let us have a vomiting-match, and see who will vomit fat." They begin the match, but only the Fox vomits fat (Potanin, IV, p. 553).

Interior of Southern British Columbia. — A similar vomiting-match between Coyote and the Cannibal Owl (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 9; see also Boas, *Mythology of the Navaho*, p. 372).

6. Triton-Man's heart is hidden in his tent, in a box. Eme'mqut can kill him only after finding his heart and destroying it (p. 230).

The story of a giant who was invulnerable and immortal because he had put his heart or soul in a safe place, is world-wide (Jevons, p. 17).

Mongol-Turk. — A monster-woman cannot be killed until her "soul," which has the form of a snake hidden in an iron box, is burned (Khudyakoff, pp. 127, 128).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The hero hides his soul in order to avoid being killed (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 245).

Coast of Oregon. — A woman-monster cannot be killed until her heart, hidden in her hat, is torn out and thrown into the sea (Boas, *Traditions of Tillamook Indians*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XI, p. 38).

Athapascan. — The Bear-Woman holds her "life" hidden in a basket. She falls down dead after the basket is shot through (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 22).

Micmac. — A similar episode (Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 245).

7. The five-headed kamak (p. 323).
The double-headed reindeer of Earth-Maker (p. 300).

Mongol-Turk. — Among the many-headed monsters of the Old World may be mentioned the fifty-eight-headed monster (Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 66), the iron seven-headed strong man (Khudyakoff, p. 187), and the twenty-five-headed snake (Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 70).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Two-headed snake (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 41, 58, 81, 195, 271). 538

Coast of Washington. — A two-headed boy (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124). 171

A two-headed swan (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 107).

8. In order to restore a dead person to life, reindeer-blood is poured over his head (pp. 130, 228, 229, 230; see also p. 351).

European. — Water of life used as a means of bringing dead persons and bones back to life is found in many European tales.

Mongol-Turk. — Three bottles of water of life occur in a Yakut tale (Khudyakoff, p. 127).

In one Buryat tale a heroine finds water of life on a high mountain (Khangaloff and Satoplaeff, p. 37).

Water of life is mentioned in a Tangut variant of Geser (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, II, p. 22).

Ostyak. — The heroes of Ostyak tales find water of life in the underground world (Patkanov, *The Type of an Ostyak Hero according to the Ostyak Epic Tales and Heroic Stories*, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 51).

Chukchee. — Bladders with water of life (Bogoras, *Chukchee Materials*, p. xxiv).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — See Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 161, 192, 196, 206, 236, 255).

9. An old man hides Eme'mqut in his belt when the cannibal kalau come (p. 129).

Mongol-Turk. — The protector of a hero hides him in his pocket while fighting with a monster (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, II, pp. 115, 116).

Athapascan. — The good-natured giant puts a man in his slate knife-scabbard (Petitot, p. 136).

Eskimo, Indian, and Old-World Elements.

1. Raven-Man orders several pairs of boots for a journey to the sky (p. 250).

Coast of Washington. — A chief has many pairs of moccasins and leggings made, and walks eastward to visit the Sun (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 26).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A girl makes several blankets and boots for the journey to the Sun (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 15).

A man makes a hundred pairs of boots for a journey (*Ibid.*, p. 42).

Eskimo, Cumberland Sound. — Kiviuq asks his wife to make him several pairs of new mittens for his journey (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 185).

Eskimo, Greenland. — A woman packs up a bundle of boots as well as several pairs of new soles for a journey (Rink, p. 209).

Mongol-Turk. — In a Kirghis tale the traveller orders iron boots (Potanin, II, p. 42).

European. — The passage of a hero who orders three pairs of iron boots, three iron hats, and three iron staffs, when starting in search of his wife or bride, is wide-spread in Old-World tales (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 613).

2. Some ornaments are thrown backward in order to detain pursuers (p. 219).

Kutka defecates all kinds of berries in order to detain pursuers (Steller, p. 263).

Eme'mqut throws some berries into the boat of his pursuers in order to detain them (p. 286).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The pursuer is detained by throwing in his way some things belonging to his child (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 210).

Stars pursue fugitives, who throw away tobacco, paint, and sling-stones. The Stars stop and paint their faces (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 92).

Also widely known on the Great Plains.

West Coast of Hudson Bay. — The father of a girl who is being pursued by her husband tells her to throw backward various things in order to delay the pursuit (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 318).

Cumberland Sound. — A man pursued by a monster makes a great many berries by means of sorcery. The monster sees them, stops and eats a great many (*Ibid.*, p. 177).

Greenland. — A girl pursued by her husband, the Whale, throws backward parts of her clothing in order to detain the Whale (Rink, p. 128).

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European. — In the Greek legend of the Argonauts, Medea and Jason, pursued in their flight by Medea's father, kill her brother, and scatter the fragments of his body on the sea. Her father pausing for the burial of the remains, they gain time for their escape.

3. The magic flight, or the throwing-back by pursued people of different objects, such as a chip of wood, a stone, etc., which turn into a forest, a mountain-ridge, or a river (pp. 112, 187, 257).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A pursued deer throws back a piece of fat, which turns into a lake; he then throws some of his hair, which turns into woods (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 187). (See also pp. 99, 164, 224, 240, 268).

Cumberland Sound. — For a similar episode, see Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 177.

Central Eskimo. — A similar episode (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 619).

Athapascan. — Pursued men throw parts of a caribou stomach over their shoulders, which are transformed into mountains (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'Ẹut*, p. 260).

Coast of Washington. — Wild-cat, pursued by a woman-monster, turns his dog into a mountain, which the old woman has to climb (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 116).

Samoyed. — Two women, pursued by a cannibal, throw back a comb and a steel of a strike-a-light, which turn into a forest and a mountain (Castren, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 165).

Russian. — Episodes of the magic flight are found in the tales of Russians on the Kolyma and Anadyr Rivers, and of the Russianized Yukaghir (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 673).

4. Eme'mqut kills the ancient ancestral old woman, takes off her skin, and puts it on in order to look like her (p. 322).

Mongol-Turk. — Geser kills the monster Dyr and his horse. He puts on Dyr's skin in order to look like him, and on his own steed he puts the skin of the killed horse (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, II, p. 26).

A woman-monster kills a young beauty, takes off the skin of her face and puts it on, in order to look like the beautiful woman (Khudyakoff, p. 82).

Algonquin. — Manabozho kills a female spirit in the disguise of an old woman, takes off her skin, and puts it on in order to look like her (Schoolcraft, p. 41).

He kills the prince of serpents, takes off his skin, and puts it on (*Ibid.*, p. 42).

Central Eskimo. — Old woman kills young woman, and puts on her skin (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 624).

Athapascan. — Fisher and Marten kill two women and put on their skins, in order to look like them (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 41).

5. Animals throw off their skins and turn into human beings (pp. 131, 156, 338).

Mongol-Turk and European. — In the tales of the Old World, episodes occur in which female birds (mainly swans) take off their plumage, and bathe in the form of women; for example, story of seven storks (Khudyakoff, p. 76), tales of three Swan-Women (*Traditions of the Buryat*, pp. 114, 115, 125), tale of Swan-Women (Potanin, IV, p. 24).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Wolves take off their skins, and turn into men (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 86).

Thunder-birds take off their plumage, and turn into human beings (*Ibid.*, p. 97).

Geese take off their plumage, and turn into human beings (*Ibid.*, p. 147).

Eagles take off their plumage, and turn into human beings (*Ibid.*, p. 203).

Cumberland Sound. — A fox takes off her skin, and turns into a woman (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 224).

Athapascan. — A woman destroys the dog-blanket of her children, and they retain human form (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 9).

A marmot takes off her skin, and is transformed into a stout woman (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'Ẹut*, p. 263).

6. Big-Raven makes wooden reindeer, and they come to life (p. 22).
Yiñe'a-ñe'ut makes a wooden whale, and it comes to life (p. 232).
Eme'mqut makes a wooden whale (p. 286).

Mongol-Turk. — Geser makes a horse from bark, and it comes to life (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, p. 62).

Seven travellers make a wooden bird, and it comes to life (*Ibid.*, p. 148).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Raven makes wooden fish, and they come to life (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 174).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A carved squirrel comes to life (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 231).

Raven makes wooden fish, and they come to life (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 209, 242).

Central Eskimo. — A man is busy chopping chips from a piece of wood. The chips are transformed into salmon (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 617).

Athapascan. — A boy, with the aid of magic, turns a drawing of a horse into a real horse (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 42).

Coast of Washington. — Grouse makes a wooden seal and sends it to sea (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 102).

7. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut sees from heaven what is going on on earth (p. 307).

Earth-Maker looks down on the earth through an opening in the sky (p. 301).

Mongol-Turk. — Geser's wife sees through a window in the sky what is going on on the earth (Potanin, *Voyage of 1884-86*, p. 11).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Two sisters see the earth through a hole in heaven (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 62).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The hole in the floor of the house of the heaven chief (*Ibid.*, pp. 237, 279; Boas, *Bella Coola Indians*, p. 83).

Cumberland Sound. — The hole in the sky (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 339).

Greenland. — The same (Rink, p. 468).

Athapascan. — Two sisters, removed by stars into the sky, look through the holes and see what is going on on the earth (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 39).

8. A man becomes a cannibal, and devours all the inhabitants of the village, and his relatives (pp. 295, 302).

Mongol-Turk. — Child-monster in the Kirghis tale (see p. 351).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Cannibal kills all the people except his uncle, who kills him (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 164).

Cumberland Sound. — A man becomes a cannibal, and kills all the people of the village (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 258).

Greenland. — Child-monster (Rink, p. 258).

Indian Elements.

1. In a shaman contest, one shaman woman calls the reindeer to the roof of the house, the other brings the sea into the house (pp. 140, 218).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Water fills the house (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 95). The thunder-bird causes the water in the sea to rise, and fill the house (*Ibid.*, p. 134).

2. To punish the Seals, who mal-treated his daughter, Big-Raven conceals all the sea-water, and the bottom of the sea dries up. When the guilty Seals are dead, he lets the water out again, and the rest of the sea-animals revive (p. 154).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Lôgôbola' causes the water to be lost (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 18).

3. Dogs, in the absence of their master (Big-Raven's family), put on embroidered coats, sing, beat the drums, etc. (p. 127).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Tales about the children of the woman and a dog, who take off their dog-skins in their mother's absence, and assume a human appearance (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 25, 93, 114, 132, 263).

Coast of Alaska. — Tale of dog-children (Krause, p. 259).

Athapascan. — The same episode (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 9; Petitot, p. 314; Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 37).

Coast of Washington. — Story of dog-children (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 127; Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 155; Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 17).

4. Big-Raven is caught on a hook baited with meat. Straining with all his might, he snaps the line and carries off the hook, which sticks in his jaw (p. 318).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Txä'msèn steals bait of the fishermen from their hooks. His jaw is caught and torn off (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 51).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The Raven, Ō'meatl, is caught on a hook baited with meat. He holds on to the bottom of the boat until his nose is broken off (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 172).

Coast of Alaska. — Yētl, the Raven, steals bait from the fish-hooks, and is caught. He holds on to the bottom of the sea until his nose is broken off, which is hauled to the surface (*Ibid.*, p. 314).

5. Raven-Man and Little-Bird-Man are competitors in a marriage-suit. Raven-Man acts basely and foolishly, and is vanquished by Little-Bird-Man (pp. 143, 250).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Raven and Small-Bird are neighbors. Raven acts foolishly in his encounter with a supernatural being; while Small-Bird is very wise, and therefore successful (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 26, 106, 245).

6. Little-Bird-Man and Kala-Woman throw stones at each other. Bird-Man rises in the air, and Kala-Woman's stone passes under his feet. Little-Bird-Man throws a stone, strikes Kala-Woman, and breaks her leg (p. 172).

Coast of Alaska. — The wife of a one-eyed monster which had been killed by Yētl, the Raven, says to the latter, "Come on! let us throw knives at each other." The woman throws hers first, and Yētl turns into a raven, rises in the air, and the knife passes under his feet. Thereupon Yētl throws a knife, and cuts off the woman's feet (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 319).

7. The Seals tie Yiñe'a-ñe'ut's tongue to prevent her telling how she was maltreated in the Seal settlement (p. 153).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The Cormorant's tongue is torn out, that he may not tell of the things that he has seen (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 176, 244; *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 43).

Coast of Alaska. — The same episode (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 317; Krause, p. 266).

8. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, having reached heaven, wraps fish, sea-mammals, and other animals in a seal-skin; and a famine occurs on earth, which lasts until she opens her bundle (p. 307).

Eme'mqut catches mountain-sheep, puts them in his coat, and, coming to the house of a kamak, empties his catch before the house (p. 323).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Transformer's mother keeps salmon in a blanket. He stakes his blanket in a contest between himself and a young man whom he meets. The latter wins, dips the hem of the blanket into the water, and the fish appear (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 202, 262).

9. Big-Raven transforms a little kala into a line, which is stolen by neighbors and fastened to a harpoon. Eme'mqut enters a whale, induces the villagers to harpoon it, and then carries off the line (p. 286).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A man assumes the shape of a salmon, induces a fisherman to harpoon him, and steals the harpoon (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 13, 16, 23, 64, 66, 201, 248).

For the same episode see Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia*, Boston, 1898, p. 43.

Athapascan. — Lendix·tcux turns himself into a salmon, is speared by Sea-Gull, but cuts off the head of the spear, and swims away (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 11).

For a similar episode see Petitot, p. 33.

10. Big-Raven reproaches Miti' because she has no relatives (p. 168).

Eme'mqut reproaches his wife for having neither father nor mother (p. 208).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Copper-Maker's mother reproaches her daughter-in-law, the Brilliant-One, for having no relatives (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 188).

People reproach the Mink for having neither father nor mother (*Ibid.*, p. 157).

11. The Crab Avvi hides the fresh water. Big-Raven, by some device, drinks it all, then vomits it, and thus forms the rivers on earth (p. 311).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Raven's sisters keep guard over the fresh water. By a ruse, Raven gets access to the water, and drinks it all. He urinates, and thus rivers and lakes are formed on earth (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 174).

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Coast of Northern British Columbia. — An old man has a pail of fresh water while there is no water on earth as yet. It is hidden in the ground, beneath the roots of the trees. Raven drinks the water, and then lets it fall by drops, wherefrom lakes and rivers are formed (*Ibid.*, p. 209).

Raven steals water from a chief (*Ibid.*, p. 232).

Txä'msem, by strategy, takes all the water from a chief, and flies away. The water runs out of his blanket, and forms rivers (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 26).

Coast of Alaska. — Raven steals the fresh water from the eagle Kanŭk (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 313; Krause, p. 259).

12. Big-Raven makes a man out of his wiping-rag (p. 218).

Big-Raven's excrement turns into a woman (p. 316).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Mink makes a man out of his excrement (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 159).

A girls turns her excrement into a bird (*Ibid.*, p. 38).

Athapascan. — Raven turns excrement into canoes and men (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, pp. 16, 17).

13. A shaman is given the daughter of a sick man whom he cured, or a girl whom he cured or revived, for his wife (pp. 239, 248, 277).

A woman shaman is married to a man whom she cured (p. 223).

Coast of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A shaman, for curing a woman, is given her daughter in marriage (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 149, 190, 238, 255).

Ts'ak· cures a chief's daughter, and she gives herself to him in marriage (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 125).

14. In order to get Eme'mqut's wives, Illa' tries to kill him. He calls him into the forest to take the gum out of a larch-tree, causes the tree to fall upon him, and thus kills him. When he comes home, he finds Eme'mqut sitting with his wives (p. 147).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Gyī'i's father-in-law, who kills all of his daughter's suitors, tries to kill him also. He asks his assistance in splitting a cedar-log, drives his wedge into the tree, lets his hammer fall into the crack, and asks Gyī'i to get it. When he obeys, his father-in-law pulls out the wedge, and Gyī'i is apparently crushed, and his blood flows out; but when his father-in-law reaches the canoe, he finds Gyī'i in the prow (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 137).

For the same episode see *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 67, 70, 118, 198.

Coast of Alaska. — For the same episode see Krause, p. 256.

Coast of Washington. — For a similar episode see Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 34.

15. Eme'mqut wishes to marry the daughter of the Sun, who kills all her suitors. His father dissuades him at first, but finally advises him to stop, on his way, at the house of his sisters, who advise him what to do (p. 162).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Gyī'i wishes to marry the daughter of one of the ancestors of the Nimkish tribe, who kills all her suitors. His father dissuades him at first, but finally advises him to stop, on his way, at the camp of his aunts, who tell him how to act (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 135).

16. A magpie comes flying to the kamaks with news from their daughter, and sits on the chimney. They wish to throw something at it; but it says, "I have come with news from your daughter" (p. 173).

A ground-spider crawls over Eme'mqut's body. He throws it down, saying, "Can't you find another place?" But the spider, turning into an old woman, replies, "Thou art wrong in throwing me: I have brought news for thee" (p. 145).

A ground-spider crawls over Yiñe'a-ñe'ut. She throws it on the ground, and says, "Have you no other place to crawl about!" But the spider, turning into an old woman, says, "I have come with news for you" (p. 125).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A deserted woman sends Raven with some food to her grandmother. The grandmother takes a stone to throw at the raven; but the latter says, "Don't do that! thy grand-daughter sends me" (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 133).

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17. Eme'mqut kills the dog that married his sister (p. 255).
Creator kills the dog that came to his daughter at night (p. 183).
Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A father kills the dog that he found with his daughter (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 132).

18. A contest between Eme'mqut's wife and that of Envious-One as to who will urinate farther (p. 140).
Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The wanderer Qäls and the strong man Sx·äis have a contest as to who can urinate farther (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 21).

19. Kalau keep bears instead of dogs (pp. 127, 166), and mountain-sheep instead of reindeer (p. 241).
Bear-People keep bears instead of dogs (p. 156).
Big-Raven uses mice instead of reindeer (pp. 188, 224).
Coast of Southern British Columbia. — People on the other side of the sea keep seals instead of dogs (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 88, 120).
Coast of Oregon. — People on the other side of the sea keep sea-otters instead of dogs (Boas, *Traditions of the Tillamook Indians*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XI, p. 30).
Athapascan. — A giant keeps bears and other animals instead of dogs (Petitot, p. 139).

20. Big-Raven steals dried fish from the Reindeer people (p. 183).
Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A spirit or bear steals dried fish out of the houses of the Indians (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 78, 149, 189, 207, 254, 256).
Raven steals fish from the Cormorant (*Ibid.*, p. 244).
Grisly-Bear steals fish from Ts'ak· (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 117).

21. Eme'mqut, who is deserted by his wife, the White-Whale-Woman, searches for her, crying, and his tears fall down like rain (p. 310).
Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A Beaver cries from jealousy, and produces rain with his tears (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 36, 80).
Coast of Washington. — Beaver cries from jealousy, and produces a deluge (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 23).

22. Sculpin-Man kills and eats his travelling-companions (p. 192).
Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Txä'msem asks Deer to accompany him, and kills him (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 64).
Coast of Alaska. — Raven kills and eats his travelling-companion, the Deer (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 315).

23. Small pieces of bodies of whales and seals are thrown into the water with the idea that they will be transformed into living animals — Kamchadal and Koryak (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 660).
Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Bones of salmon or other animals are thrown into the water to be transformed into living fish or other animals (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 27, 104, 210, 266; *Bella Coola Indians*, p. 76).
The chief of the Squirrels asks a young man to burn the meat and bones of the squirrels whom he has killed, and thus to restore the Squirrel people to life (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 212).
Ponca. — Bones of beaver are thrown into the water to be transformed into living beaver (Dorsey, *The Cegiha Language*, p. 557).
Athapascan. — Bones of Salmon-Boy are thrown into the water, and he comes to life again (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 24).
Coast of Washington. — Two Salmon-Boys are killed for food, but their bones are saved and thrown into the water, and the boys come to life again (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 112).

24. A giantess carries away children in a basket, but they succeed in making good their escape (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 623).
Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A monster-woman does the same (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 57, 110, 224, 241, 249).

25. The chamber-vessel of kalau assails Creator (p. 176).
At the inspiration of Big-Raven, the chamber-vessels talk (p. 165).
Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — The chamber-vessel of a stump talks (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 268; see also pp. 101, 172, 177, 213, 233).

26. By means of a ruse, Big-Raven eats the berries stored by the women (p. 184).

Coasts of Southern and Northern British Columbia. — Raven eats the berries picked by his sisters, whom he scares away by means of a ruse (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 77).

Raven eats the berries of two women by frightening them, saying that enemies are coming (*Ibid.*, pp. 107, 178, 210, 244).

27. Big-Raven makes believe that he is dead, and is placed in a separate underground house (p. 224).

Athapascan. — Raven pretends to die, and is placed under his canoe on the shore (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 17).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Mink makes believe that he is dead (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 33, 78).

The same episode (Boas, *Kwakiutl Texts*, p. 286).

28. Big-Raven or other people who have been for some time in the anus or stomach of an animal grow bald (pp. 169, 293).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Two boys lose their hair from having been inside of a whale (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 51).

The Mink grows bald from having been in the stomach of a whale (*Ibid.*, p. 75).

29. Big-Raven marries Excrement-Woman, who melts in the warm house (p. 316).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Mink marries Gum-Woman, who melts in the warm daytime (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 44).

Kwo'tiath goes to sleep with the Gum-Girls. In the morning they melt, and stick to Kwo'tiath (*Ibid.*, p. 100).

30. Eme'mqut comes to the Stone-Hammer people, and marries one of their girls (p. 200).

Illa' strikes the stone heads of the Stone-Hammer-Men against one another for his own pleasure (p. 202).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A hammer comes to a girl at night in the shape of a man (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 25, 41).

A tribe of people with stone heads (*Ibid.*, p. 61).

Coast of Washington. — Misp finds people upside down, using their heads as hammers. He turns them right side up, and gives them stone hammers (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 85).

31. Children are born immediately after marriage, or merely from the contact of the hero with a woman (pp. 226, 319, 323, 335).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — To be found in many Indian tales; for instance, Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 40, 136.

Coast of Washington. — A piece of flint flies into the body of a little girl, who immediately gives birth to a boy (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 125).

32. The telling of a certain tale causes the rain to stop (p. 142).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A certain tale is told, when the rain lasts a long time, in order to bring clear weather (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 22).

33. Eme'mqut cuts off Kilu''s leg, and with it kills the kamaks (p. 187).

Interior of Southern British Columbia. — A rabbit pulls out its leg, and, handling it like a hammer, kills a bear and its cubs (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 11).

34. The Fox takes out her eyes and pounds them with a stone, then she makes for herself new eyes of blackberries (p. 321).

For a similar episode see pp. 182, 266.

Interior of British Columbia. — Coyote takes out his eyes and flings them upward: they are caught by a gull. He makes for himself other eyes of some berries (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 8).

Navaho. — Coyote plays with his eyes, tears them out of their sockets, and throws them up (Matthew, *Navaho Legends*, p. 90).

Algonquin. — The same episode (Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 153).

35. Big-Raven's people kill a whale, and, carrying its meat to camp, they fling small pieces of it at one another, which they try to catch in their open mouths (p. 324).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Children throw pieces of seal-blubber at one another (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 42).

36. Kamaks come to a house, find blubber and eat it. They sing to the people, "It tastes well, the blubber; but when there is no more blubber, we shall eat you" (p. 293).

Coast of Washington. — A monster eats all the meat, and says to the people, "What shall I eat now? there are only skins and you" (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 31).

37. Fox offers to cure the Bear, who has been wounded by a man. He inserts into the wound a red-hot stone, which burns the Bear to death (pp. 185, 188).

Coast of Alaska. — Raven causes the Loon to swallow a red-hot stone, and afterward to drink water, so that her intestines are scalded (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 317).

Coast of Washington. — Coyote, disguised as a warrior, wounds Raccoon so that fat comes out of the wound. When Raccoon comes home, Coyote, under pretence of curing him, pulls out the fat and kills him (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 153).

California. — Deer's children kill Bear by throwing hot rock into her mouth. (Dixon, *Maidu Myths*, p. 81).

38. Kamak-Woman says to a tall tree, "Bend down your head" (p. 213).

Fox says to the cross-beam in the house of the kamaks, "Get up higher!" and then, "Bend down to the ground" (p. 181).

Kutq's wife says to a large tree, "Raise your top" (p. 331).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Coyote makes the tree which his son has climbed rise to the sky (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 17).

Algonquin. — Manabozho says to the tree on which he is sitting during the flood, "Stretch yourself" (Schoolcraft, p. 39).

Athapascan. — Old man, by magic, makes tree which young man has climbed grow higher and higher, until young man cannot return (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 29).

An arrow rises to the sky, and drags up a man (Petitot, pp. 128, 355).

39. A shaman mends the broken leg of a kala-woman, but one piece of the bone he cannot find: therefore the leg is not perfect (p. 173).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A bone of a dead animal is missing, and when he is revived, he is not perfect (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 149, 255, 260).

Athapascan. — A bone of the dead Raven is missing. When revived, he is not perfect (Petitot, p. 37).

40. Čan·a'vile catches a great quantity of fish. He eats a raw head, and shuts his eyes. Meanwhile Wolves (at another time Bears) come, grab the fish, and fight over them. Čan·a'vile says, "Don't fight: just take as much as you like." When he opens his eyes, no Wolves, Bears, or Fish are there (p. 174).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — The booty of a hunter or fisher is eaten while he sleeps (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 7, 74, 232; Krause, p. 265).

Gulls eat the Giant's olachen (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 31).

41. Gull-Man calls all kinds of birds to marry his sister. One after another is refused, until the Paroquet-Auk-Man comes (p. 198).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A mother calls all kinds of animals to marry her daughter. Finally a chief from heaven is accepted (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 222 also Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 283).

42. Eme'mqut marries his sister. Their son grows up and hunts ducks. The ducks say, "Your father is your mother's own brother." The boy comes running home and tells what the ducks have said to him (p. 154).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A man marries his sister. They have a boy. The boy grows up and goes out to hunt. One evening he comes from hunting, and asks his mother, "Is not father your relative, you look so like him?" (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 37).

43. Big-Raven tells the kalau that when he is fattened, fat hangs from his body, and runs off his fingers (p. 185).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Seal holds his hands near the fire, and fat runs off his fingers into a bowl, and is offered to Raven (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 57).

Seal holds his hands over the fire, and the fat which runs off is offered to his guests. Raven wishes to imitate him, but only scorches his fingers (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

Bear holds his hands over a bowl, and he treats Raven to it. Raven is unable to do the same (*Ibid.*, p. 106).

Seal lets fat run off his fingers, and treats his guests to it (*Ibid.*, p. 177).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Seal holds his hands over the fire, lets the fat run off his fingers, and gives it to Raven and his sister (BOAS, *Ibid.*, p. 245).

Young-Seal invites the Raven to a feast. She holds her hands over a dish, and grease drops into the dish (BOAS: *Bella Coola Indians*, p. 93; *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 47).

44. Big-Raven enters Miti''s anus as though it were an underground house (p. 169).

Big-Raven, his wife, and his daughters put their heads into their anuses, imagining that they are travelling (p. 190).

A little mouse is sent by his sister, the Mouse-Woman, into the anus of Annamayat in order to make him ill (p. 223).

Kutq enters the vulva of his wife (p. 341; STELLER, p. 263).

Kamak takes his wife on his shoulders, and his head slips into her anus (p. 293).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The old man Pē'tx·el becomes a snake, and enters Xāls' anus (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 22).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Ts'ak· comes out at Grisly Bear's anus (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 117).

Athapascan. — The Mink and the Weasel are sent by the Mouse into Sensible's anus in order to destroy him (PETITOT, p. 142).

A man cuts off the penis of a giant and enters the giant's body through the opening (*Ibid.*, p. 137).

45. Miti' interchanges the position of her vulva and her anus, and puts her breasts on her back (p. 169).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Xāls meets a woman with her sexual organs on her breast, and puts them in their proper place. Xāls meets a man and a woman with their sexual organs on their foreheads, and puts them in their proper place (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 23).

46. A woman-kala's anus is armed with teeth (p. 166).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A woman's vagina is armed with teeth (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 24, 30, 66, 69).

Athapascan. — The hero has intercourse with woman, after first breaking out teeth in vagina with magic staff (FARRAND, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 13).

47. An arrow, being shot, makes a path to the sky (pp. 293, 304).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — A chain of arrows makes a path to the sky (BOAS: *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 17, 31, 64, 65, 68, 117, 157, 173, 215, 234, 246, 278; *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 88).

Coast of Washington. — People climb arrow-chain and arrive in sky-country (FARRAND, *Quinault Indians*, p. 108; BOAS, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 11).

Athapascan. — Salmon-Boy makes pile of feathers, lies down, and his sister blows on the feathers, and the young man is carried up to the sky (FARRAND, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 24).

Two brothers are carried up to the sky by an arrow (PETITOT, p. 128).

48. Arrows of kalau are invisible to men (p. 121).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Arrows of men are invisible to spirits (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 94, 99, 149, 190, 238, 254, 289).

Micmac. — The same episode (RAND, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 87).

49. Eme'mqut, in search of his brother who has been killed by the kalau, overcomes them, and finds in their possession the skin of his brother, which is spread over a bed, like a reindeer-skin (p. 130).

Creator finds the skin of his son Big-Light in the house of the kalau (p. 176).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — The hero discovers the skin of his murdered friend in the house of his enemy (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 75).

50. Two girls are married to two invisible kalau, who visit them at night and lie down with them, assuming the shape of young men. Later on they become visible, and live with them openly (p. 151).

Athapascan. — A man lives with Cloud-Woman, who first appears only in the form of a fog, but later becomes a woman (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 265).

A man marries an invisible woman (Petitot, p. 121).

51. Big-Raven, or Fox, urges other persons to flee, under the pretext that enemies are coming, and takes their provisions (pp. 164, 188, 189, 318).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Raven (or other person), urges people to flee, under the pretext that enemies are coming, and takes away their provisions (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 107, 172, 233).

Coast of Alaska. — The same episode about the Raven (*Ibid.*, p. 316).

Coast of Washington. — Rabbit makes people believe that a war-party is coming. They run away, and he steals all their salmon (Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 75).

52. Tomwo'get (Self-created), the grandson of Big-Raven, kills his father, thus avenging his mother's death (p. 244).

Algonquin. — Manabozho learns from his grandmother, the Moon's daughter, that his mother was killed by his father, the West-Wind, and starts to kill him (Schoolcraft, p. 18).

53. Raven-Man swallows the sun because Big-Raven declines to give his daughter to him in marriage, whereupon the earth is plunged into darkness. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, Big-Raven's daughter, tickles the Raven-Man who swallowed the sun: he opens his mouth, and sets the sun free (p. 252).

Pacific Coast. — This corresponds to the episodes of the raven cycle of the Pacific coast, in which the Raven liberates the sun (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 360, No. 157).

54. Yiñe'a-ñe'ut and Kĭlu' marry Fish-Men, whereupon Big-Raven's family begin to fish (p. 296).

Big-Raven's people had nothing to eat. He finds and marries the Salmon-Woman. She spawns, and the people eat the spawn. In his absence, Miti' kills her, and cooks her flesh. Raven comes home, and dines on the cooked salmon; but Salmon-Woman suddenly steps out of the dark store-room, denounces Miti', and departs for the sea, notwithstanding the entreaties of Big-Raven. Then Big-Raven's family starve (p. 292).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — Mink marries Salmon-Woman. Salmon-Woman picks her teeth, and throws the pickings into a dish. They turn into a salmon, which is cooked, and serves as food for the Mink. After a while, Salmon-Woman, angered by the brutality of her husband, departs for the river, notwithstanding his entreaties, and Mink has no more salmon (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 159).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Raven catches a fish, which turns into a woman. Raven marries her, and then catches many salmon (*Ibid.*, p. 246).

Txä'msem marries a Salmon-Woman, and thus obtains salmon. He scolds her, and all the salmon disappear (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 237).

Coast of Washington. — A man marries a Salmon-Girl, and the Quinault River gets plenty of salmon (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 112).

Athapascan. — A man marries a Marmot-Woman, and he kills many marmots (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 263).

55. The Wolf kills Ptarmigan-Man's reindeer; and Ptarmigan-Man, by magic, turns them into ptarmigans, which fly away (p. 212).

Miti' cooks a meal. Fox-Woman kicks the kettle, and turns it over. Then the meat of a mountain-sheep comes back to life, and walks out of the house (p. 321).

Athapascan. — "Moss-Child," by means of incantation, revives the flesh of killed bulls. They run away, and the people starve (Petitot, p. 192).

Efwa-e'ke' revives killed birds, which fly away (*Ibid.*, p. 223).

A dried salmon hanging on the roof hits Raven's head. He is angry, and throws it outdoors, where it comes to life, and revives the other salmon, and they all escape to the water (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 19).

Marmot-Woman revives the dried meat of killed marmots. She throws on it the skins, and all the marmots run up the hills (Boas, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut*, p. 265).

56. Arrows supplied with eyes fly without a bow wherever they are sent (pp. 125, 186).

Coast of Alaska. — The Raven Yētl transforms a bird into an arrow, which flies to wherever Raven points (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 318).

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57. Little Bird-Man and Kala-Woman have a contest in enduring intense heat. Little Bird-Man wins by trickery (p. 172).

Big-Raven receives the kalau as guests, seats them on the cross-beam, closes the smoke-hole, and produces an intense heat. The kalau implore him to let them off (p. 149).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A visitor's endurance is tried with a hot sweat-bath, which is heated more than usual for that purpose (Boas, *Bella Coola Indians*, p. 79).

Coast of Washington. — Bluejay and his comrades are challenged to stay in a hot sweat-house with some of the village people. They accept, and win by strategy (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, p. 114).

Bluejay and supernatural beings have a contest in enduring intense heat. Bluejay wins by trickery (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 58).

Athapascan. — Sun puts a boy into an iron sweat-house, and heats it very hot (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 25).

58. Big-Raven's daughters make a whale and swim off in it (pp. 21, 232, see Fig. 1).

Eme'mqut and Envious-One enter an iron dog-salmon and launch upon the sea (p. 163).

Eme'mqut makes a wooden whale and swims off in it (p. 286).

Kutq's daughters find a whale, enter its body, and float on the sea (p. 337).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — One or several persons enter a whale, which takes them home (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 89).

59. Big-Raven puts out the light in the house of the kamaks by throwing snow on it, and in the darkness he carries off their daughter (p. 210).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — The Mink, or some other hero, pours water over the fire in order to carry off a woman in the ensuing darkness (Boas' *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 43, 56, 260, 300).

60. Big-Raven brings food home in a miraculous way: wood and ice which he carries turn into fish and seal-fat. His daughter Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, whom he sends for food, is unable to procure anything (p. 231).

Big-Raven transforms ice into whale-meat, then steams himself in a ditch; and when he rises, roast meat of four bears appears, which he gives to the son of the Fox to take home. The Fox wishes to imitate him, but is unable to do so. When he begins to heap coals around himself, he burns himself to death (p. 315).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — Raven, or some other transformer, wishes to imitate a person who treats his guests in a miraculous way, but is unable to do so (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 76, 106, 177, 245, 300, 302).

Txä'msem fails to imitate his host (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 49).

Algonquin. — Woodpecker and Moose treat Manabozho by procuring food in a miraculous way. Moose cuts out some flesh from his wife's body, and roasts it for his guest. His wife's wound heals immediately. When Manabozho invites Woodpecker and Moose to his house, he is unable to treat them in the same manner. When he cuts the flesh from his wife, she screams and dies (Schoolcraft, pp. 43 et seq.).

Athapascan. — Raven fails to imitate the host in procuring berries and salmon-eggs by use of magic (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 18).

Coast of Washington. — Bluejay fails to imitate hosts in providing food by magical means (Farrand, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 85-91).

Bluejay fails to imitate his host in procuring meat in a miraculous way (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, p. 177).

Ponca. — Ictinike fails to imitate the host in procuring meat in a miraculous way (Dorsey, *The Cegiha Language*, p. 557).

Navaho. — Coyote fails to imitate Porcupine and Wolf in the same way (Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, p. 87).

Micmac. — The same episode is told about the Rabbit (Rand, *Legends of the Micmac*, pp. 300, 302).

61. Big-Raven takes his reflection in the water for a woman, throws presents at her, and then throws himself into the river (pp. 264, 326).

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Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A she-bear sees in a pool the reflection of a deer and a fawn who have escaped from her and are sitting in a tree. She throws herself into the water, which freezes (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 168).

For similar episodes see *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 114.

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A Cannibal-Woman sees in water the reflection of men who have escaped from her and are sitting in a tree. She throws herself into the water, which freezes (*Ibid.*, p. 253).

Coast of Washington. — Hōhōkōs sees in the river the reflection of a girl who has escaped from him and is sitting on a tree. He takes off his clothes and jumps in to get her (FARRAND, *Quinault Indians*, p. 123).

62. The idea of heroes being able to exercise influence mentally at a distance, thus causing others to do what they wish them to (in many tales).

Pacific Coast. — The same in the myths of the Indians of the Pacific coast (in many tales).

63. Big-Raven's son, driven away by his father, becomes a powerful man, and does not get reconciled to his father (p. 240).

The deserted daughter of Big-Raven, raised to heaven, takes vengeance on her father (pp. 305-307).

Coasts of Northern and Southern British Columbia. — The deserted boy becomes a powerful man, and takes vengeance on those who deserted him (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 51).

The punished or insulted boy takes to the woods, and acquires supernatural powers (*Ibid.*, pp. 151, 162, 253, 266).

Athapascan. — The same episode (PETITOT, p. 324).

64. By putting on the skins of animals, the wearer transforms himself into an animal (pp. 131, 135, 156).

Big-Raven and Eme'mqut put on their raven coats and fly up (p. 142).

Creator puts on his raven coat, turns into raven, and flies away (p. 149).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A man puts on a seal-skin, and turns into a seal (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 121).

Mountain-sheep say that they are men dressed in sheep-skins (*Ibid.*, p. 169).

Two boys put on the skins taken from killed birds, and fly off (*Ibid.*, p. 170).

Ō'meatl puts on a raven's coat and flies away (*Ibid.*, p. 175).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A boy catches a bird, skins it, puts the skin on, and flies (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 10).

Ts'ak· puts on skins taken from killed birds, and flies off (*Ibid.*, pp. 126, 127).

Chief's son puts on a gull-skin and flies off (*Ibid.*, p. 179).

Athapascan. — A woman puts on a bear-skin and becomes a bear (FARRAND, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 21).

A man puts on a cloak of marmot-skins and is transformed into a marmot (BOAS, *Traditions of the Ts'ets'ä'ut*, p. 464).

65. Big-Raven destroys the kamaks by placing them upon red-hot stones, and they turn to ashes (p. 235).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A monster is killed by red-hot stones (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 64).

Cannibals are thrown into a hole filled with red-hot stones, and their ashes are turned into mosquitoes (*Ibid.*, p. 165).

66. Big-Raven goes to gather wood, ties it in a bundle, and carries it home. When he reaches home, he notices that what he has carried is dried fish. Then he goes to fetch ice. He reaches the river, puts some ice into his bag, and goes home. When he comes home, he finds that the ice has turned into seal-blubber (p. 231).

Big-Raven loads his sledge full of thin slabs of ice, and drags it home. When he reaches his house, his sledge is full of the choicest whale-meat (p. 315).

Algonquin. — Pauppukkeewiss fills his sack with ice and snow, and he finds it filled with fish (SCHOOLCRAFT, p. 53).

67. The Fox and the Triton become pregnant from Eme'mqut's arrow, and they regard him as the father of their children (p. 214).

Yiñe'a-ñe'ut gives birth because she eats a piece of marrow into which Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta) has transformed himself, then she searches for the child's father among the Reindeer people until Earth-Maker appears (p. 299).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — A girl who refuses her suitors becomes pregnant because the urine of Wolverene (who could not succeed in getting her) got into her mouth. Her parents discover the child's father (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 9).

A girl becomes pregnant because she swallows a piece of gum-resin which the hero has been chewing (*Ibid.*, p. 93).

Kwotiath turns into a leaf, which drops into a bucket of water. The chief's wife drinks of it, and becomes pregnant (*Ibid.*, p. 105).

Ha'daqa becomes pregnant because she swallows the leaf of a cedar (*Ibid.*, p. 184).

Raven turns into a fir-needle and drops into a well. The chief's daughter, Me'nis, swallows it and becomes pregnant (*Ibid.*, p. 208).

Mink gives a piece of gum-resin to a girl, and she becomes pregnant. The child recognizes its father (*Ibid.*, p. 108).

Gyī'l gives a girl a piece of gum-resin, and she becomes pregnant (*Ibid.*, p. 136).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Chief's daughter becomes pregnant because she swallows a cedar-leaf (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, pp. 12, 36).

Chief's daughter swallows a piece of gum-resin and becomes pregnant (BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 274).

Coast of Alaska. — Raven turns into a pine-needle and falls into a lake (*Ibid.*, p. 312).

Coast of Washington. — Girl becomes pregnant by licking moisture, caused by a fog, from nose-ring (FARRAND, *Quinault Indians*, p. 94).

A strong man spits into a girl's abdomen, and she becomes pregnant (*Ibid.*, p. 124).

A girl swallows the water which drips from her hair, and becomes pregnant (BOAS, *Chinook Texts*, p. 51).

68. Kĭlu' kills kalau by breaking wind (p. 152).

Coast of Washington. — Badger kills various animals by means of his wind (BOAS, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 19).

69. The kalau hunt men. The trail to their settlement is strewn with human bones and bodies (p. 129).

Coast of Washington. — Evening Star hunts and kills men. The trail to his settlement is strewn with human bones. His five sons come home throwing dead people down in front of the door (BOAS, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 13).

70. Big-Raven moves with his family to the sky. They begin to ascend to the sky with a train of reindeer-sledges. Eme'mqut is sitting behind on the last sledge. When they are halfway up, he looks back, in spite of his father's order, and immediately he falls down (p. 280).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The chief of heaven carries a girl with her mother up to heaven, but is compelled to leave the mother behind, because, against his orders, she opens her eyes on the way (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 223).

71. Eme'mqut touches the privates of the Moon in token of a marriage-promise (p. 176).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — A man falls into the den of Grisly-Bear and strikes her vulva. She feels ashamed, and says, "I will marry you" (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 203).

72. The skin of Big-Light, who is eaten by the kalau, is placed between two reindeer-skins, and, during an incantation, Big-Light comes to life again (p. 130).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The bones of one dead are placed between two mats. During the ceremony the bones are covered with flesh, and the dead comes to life again (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 214).

73. Eme'mqut cuts off the head of a man of a hostile Chukchee camp, sets it on a pole, and puts it in front of the house. Then a battle ensues between the Chukchee and Creator's people (p. 137).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — Brothers cut off the head of their sister-in-law's lover, and hang it over the doorway. A battle ensues between the former and the relatives of the latter (BOAS, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 221).

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The same passage (Boas and Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, p. 45).

Similar episodes (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 162, 235, 282).

Athapascan. — A man cuts off the head of his wife's lover (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 45)

74. The Fox takes off her privates to dry (p. 182).

Coast of Southern British Columbia. — In former times women could take off their privates (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 72).

Athapascan. — Raven persuades some women to take off their privates and hang them in trees, after which he has intercourse with then (Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 19).

75. Creator eats excrement (p. 190).

Gull-Man says to Raven-Man, "You live on dog-meat and pick up excrement" (p. 199).

Coast of Northern British Columbia. — The raven Txä'msem eats the contents of the slave's stomach. The slave says, "He eats excrement" (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 41).

PART II. — MATERIAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

I. THE COUNTRY OF THE KORYAK.

131 **Present and Former Extent of the Koryak Territory.** — The boundaries of the Koryak territory have somewhat changed since the advent of the Russians to that region. Prior to the time when the Russians came in contact with the Koryak, the latter reached as far as Tauysk. The first encounter between the Russians and the Koryak, according to the reports of the Cossacks, took place in the Tauysk settlement. There were at that time villages of Maritime Koryak all along the western shore of the Okhotsk Sea and Gishiga Bay, and upon the adjacent rocky islands between the mouth of the Gishiga River and Tauysk.

101 131 At present the inhabitants of Tauysk are officially classified as Yakut who were transferred thither from Yakutsk; but, as a matter of fact, they are a mixture of Yakut, Cossacks, and Tungus. Farther north — if we exclude the villages of Yamsk, Tumanskoye, and Nayakhan, whose inhabitants have become Russianized, and who have become physically intermixed with other tribes, Russians, Tungus, and Yakut — the Varkhalam River, in the valley of which some Reindeer Koryak still wander, may now be regarded as the border-line of the Koryak territory northwest of the Okhotsk Sea.

175 131 According to the Russian annals, the Koryak spread in Kamchatka as far as the Tighil River, on which, in the time of Krasheninnikoff, Koryak villages were still to be found.[1] Dittmar, in 1853, drew the boundary-line between the Koryak and the Kamchadal below the fifty-seventh degree of north latitude, somewhat to the south of the village of Oserna on the Bering Sea side, and of Voyampolka on the Okhotsk Sea.[2]

Krasheninnikoff mentions[3] a group of Koryak who in his time lived along the Imatkha River, a tributary of the Avacha, not far from Petropavlovsk. According to Krasheninnikoff, this group of Koryak formerly belonged to the nomadic Reindeer branch; but, their reindeer having been driven away by

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 32.

[2] See Dittmar, Reisen in Kamchatka; and Part I of this volume, map.

[3] Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 50.

175 enemies, they settled down in one place. At the same time, however, they
131 refrained from forming ties of kinship with the Kamchadal, thus preserving
their language and customs intact. Now they have become Russianized, like
the Kamchadal, and in no way differ from them. "Koryaki,"[1] the name of
their settlement, is the sole reminder of their origin.

131 At the present time the camps of the Reindeer Koryak reach as far
south along the western slope of the Kamchatka Ridge as the fifty-fifth degree
101 of north latitude:[1] and, according to Slunin, a few families will sometimes
even reach Bolsheretzk.[2] The Reindeer Koryak have also spread farther northward than at the time of the intertribal wars. Then, according to tradition, the southern Chukchee camps were separated from the northern Koryak camps by a stretch of desert land, which the Chukchee would cross from time to time to attack the Koryak. Now the Chukchee and Koryak camps wander peacefully together upon the table-land of the Palpal.

I am inclined to suppose that no changes have occurred in the distribution of the Koryak in the northeastern region. The northeastern branch of the Koryak, the Kerek, have held themselves aloof from Russian influence, and until recently have been very little known.

The western boundary-line of the Koryak territory is formed, now as
221] formerly, by the Stanovoi, or, as Maydell calls it, the Kolyma Ridge. But
in winter, for purposes of squirrel-hunting, a few camps wander across the
Stanovoi Ridge into the region of the Kolyma River, as far as its tributaries
Omolon and Korkodon, and return in the spring. According to traditions of
[221] the Korkodon Yukaghir, the Koryak in olden times crossed the Stanovoi
Ridge to wage war against them.

At the present time the Koryak territory is situated mainly in the two
131 districts of Gishiga and Petropavlovsk. The Gishiga district has an area of
161 81,553 square miles, and that of Petropavlovsk 149,467 square miles. According to official data, there are in the Gishiga district 0.9 inhabitants to a
361 square mile, and in that of Petropavlovsk 0.45 inhabitants to a square mile.
The population is, of course, concentrated near the mouths of the rivers, in the river-valleys, and in places where reindeer-food is abundant. Between these inhabited places are large stretches of uninhabited desert land.

To understand Koryak culture in so far as it depends upon environment, it is necessary to give here a brief description of the nature of that region.

133 Orography. — The Koryak territory may be called a highland rather
than a lowland country, but nowhere do the elevations reach any considerable height. They are either spurs of mountain-chains which lie outside of the Koryak country, or are small elevations forming the watersheds within the country. The Stanovoi Ridge sends a few such small spurs eastward, which

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[1] See Part I, map.

[2] See Slunin, I, p. 450.

form the divides between the Varkhalam, Gishiga, Oklan, Penshina, and other rivers. The Nalginski spur, at the north of the Koryak territory, abuts against the Palpal Mountains, and separates the river system of the Anadyr from the rivers of the Okhotsk Sea. Former travellers[1] thought that the mountain-ridge of Kamchatka, with its volcanoes, represented an isolated elevation having nothing in common with the elevations proceeding from the Stanovoi Ridge, and that, sloping gradually northward, it disappeared in the mossy tundra of the Parapol Dol (Parapol Valley). However, according to Slunin,[2] the Kamchatka Ridge, though sloping northward, turns sharply away toward the east near the Parapol Dol, and at 170° east of Greenwich meets the plateau-like elevation of the Palpal.

Neither is the Taigonos Ridge, stretching along the eastern part of the Taigonos Peninsula, an isolated elevation. Passing in the north across the Gishiga tundra, it meets with a spur of the Stanovoi Ridge, and forms the watershed between the Gishiga and Paren Rivers.

One more elevation is to be mentioned in this connection; namely, the Mamechenski or Ma'meč Ridge. It extends between the villages of Rekınnok and Ma'meč, and ends abruptly on the seashore in vertical rocks, rendering that part of the country inaccessible from that side. Only in winter is it possible to pass under the ridge, by driving with dogs over the frozen sea. On the east the Ma'meč Ridge is separated from the northern portion of the Kamchatka Ridge by the tundra of the Parapol Dol.

The available data regarding the elevations in the Koryak country indicate their insignificance, and we infer that they interfere but little with communication between the various parts of the region; but, on the other hand, the marshy tundras make communication during summer difficult and in some places impossible. The Stanovoi Ridge, which forms the western boundary of the country, attains there a considerable height, though it is far lower than its southern part or than the Verkhoyansk Ridge.

Having crossed the Stanovoi Ridge by way of the upper part and the source of the Gishiga River, I ascertained the height of that pass to be 950 metres by barometric measurement, while the elevation of the surrounding heights I estimated at about 1150 metres.[3] The height of the crests of the interior ridges, however, is quite insignificant. Thus I determined the height of the following crests: —

1. Between the Varkhalam and Gishiga Rivers, a spur of the Stanovoi

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[1] Maydell, II, p. 101; Dittmar (Russian), p. 332.

[2] Slunin, I, p. 166.

[3] The highest pass of the Stanovoi Ridge on the way from Yakutsk to the Udskoi Ostrog (a settlement at the mouth of the Uda River), as determined by Middendorff (Reise, I, p. 133), is 1290 metres. The two summits of the Stanovoi Ridge on the way from Yakutsk to Okhotsk are 1260 and 805 metres respectively (Ermann, Reise, II, pp. 378, 352). The two summits between Yakutsk and Ayan are 940 and 996 metres respectively (Stephanovich, From Yakutsk to Ayan, Irkutsk, 1896, pp. 106-108). The height of the pass of the Verkhoyansk Ridge, between Yakutsk and Verkhoyansk, was found by me to be 1550 metres. Maydell as well as Dr. Bunge (see Maydell, I, p. 33) found it to be about 1500 metres.

133 Ridge, 517 metres; 2. Between Top olovka and Kilimadja Rivers, a branch of the Taigonos Ridge, 540 metres; 3. The summit of the Taigonos Ridge on the way from Gishiginsk to Itkana, 500 metres; 4. The crest between the Talovka and Penshina Rivers, 420 metres; 5. Between Itkana and Paren, 360 metres; 6. Between the mouths of Shestakovka and Penshina Rivers, 360 metres.

The average height of the summits of the ranges of the Stanovoi Ridge on the way from Markova to Penshina River, along the Anadyr River, is determined by Maydell at about 300 metres.[1] The crest of the northern part of the Kamchatka Ridge is estimated to be no higher.[2]

Of the more or less extensive tundra regions, — that is, open expanses devoid of trees, and covered with moss, lichen, grassy hillocks, and creeping plants, — which in summer are converted into marshes, there are the following: —

1. The western part of the Taigonos Peninsula.
2. The Gishiga tundra, occupying the space from the lower course of the Kolyma River to the tributaries of the Paren River in the east.
3. The Parapol Dol, beginning near the village of Lesnovskoye (Lesna). This tundra, broadening near Rekinniki (Rekınnok) village, stretches between the Mameche (Ma'meč) Ridge in the west and that of Kamchatka in the east, abutting on the heights of the Palpal in the north.
4. The Palpal table-land, occupying the entire northern part of the Koryak territory.

Besides, the entire littoral tract of the Okhotsk Sea as well as of the Bering Sea, for a distance of about fifteen miles, is nothing more nor less than a tundra, either sloping down towards the sea, as at Bering Sea, or rising above it, as near the shores of the Okhotsk Sea. Moreover, the summits of highlands, crests, and divides, and occasional glades in the river-valleys, at the places where they become wider, also form tundras. The former are usually covered with moss and lichen, and the latter with grass and grassy hillocks. The tundra of the coast is mainly grassy, with intermittent patches of brown moss hardly anywhere suitable for reindeer-breeding.

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Mosses (*Muscineæ*, of the genera *Polytrichum*, *Hypnum*, *Sphagnum*, *Bryum*, and others) generally cover the most boggy and marshy parts of the tundra; while the lichen (*Lichenes*, of the genera *Cetraria islandica*, *Cladonia rangiferina*, *Cetraria arctica*, *Stenocaulon paschale*, and others), which serves as pasturage for reindeer, creeps over less swampy places, on the summits and slopes of mountains and hills, over places having a stony substratum, or

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[1] Maydell, I, p. 225.

[2] However, in the southern part of this ridge we find volcanoes, like the Klutchevskaya, 4839 metres high. As to the pass "Polkovnik," in the northern part of the Kamchatka Ridge, Slunin says (I, p. 194), that, on the day when he crossed it, his aneroid indicated a pressure of 738 mm.: consequently its absolute height was less than 300 metres.

on rocks. The lichen and moss tundras are frequently intermixed, one forming 137
islands in the other. Wherever the tundra is hilly, or where it has slopes
which serve to drain certain parts of it, phanerogamous plants appear. 133

However, the large tundras enumerated above do not represent a continuous plain surface. At some places they are cut up by ravines or by dales watered by rivulets, or they form a hilly surface with mounds and rocks, denuded by atmospheric influences. In this manner, plain marshy, swampy spaces, covered with stagnant water which cannot penetrate the frozen soil, alternate with more or less dry earthy or stony slopes from which all precipitation is carried off, or with dank dome-like or oblong hills standing alone in the midst of the tundra, and often covered with bushes and trees. These hills are called yedoma (ѣдома) by the Russian settlers of northern Siberia, — a name of unknown origin.

Neither are these tundras entirely devoid of arboreal vegetation, which is found here and there, forming, as it were, oases. Some ravines and the banks of some streams have a scant growth of slender willows, thin poplars, and crooked, stunted birches; and the summits and slopes of hills are often covered with low stone-pines, which serve as the only but excellent fuel for the nomadic Koryak and for travellers who occasionally spend the night in the tundra. The hard and solid wood of the stone-pine and its creeping roots burn slowly, and produce a strong heat.

Coasts. — The coasts of the Koryak territory, particularly those of the 133
Okhotsk Sea, have many small bays, which evidently have proved favorable
to the formation of permanent Maritime settlements. With the exception of 361
the eastern shore of Kamchatka, almost the entire coast-line is a continuous
steep rocky shore (either of granite or gneiss, as for instance on the Taigonos
Peninsula, or of schistose rock), with reefs and small rocky islands lying near
by, upon which the Koryak of former times used to seek shelter when attacked by enemies. Only the mouths of the rivers are sandy. For this reason [502]
the shores, particularly those of the bays of the Okhotsk Sea, are very difficult of access by vessels. Besides, the water in the bays is very shallow, and the sand-bars and sand-banks at the mouths of the rivers prevent vessels from coming close to shore.

The largest bays are those of Gishiga and Penshina in the Okhotsk Sea, 133
and Baron Korff's Bay in Bering Sea. It is curious that on Steller's map of [114]
the Okhotsk-Kamchatka region the Taigonos Peninsula is not indicated, and
the two bays which are separated from each other by that peninsula are thrown together under the name of Penshina Bay.[1] Gishiga Bay extends into the continent for about 170 miles. The head of Gishiga Bay is so shallow, that steamers have to anchor from sixteen to twenty miles below the

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[1] See Steller, map opp. p. 12.

133 mouth of Gishiga River; and only at high tide are the steamer-tugs able to enter the mouth of the river.

505 When a strong wind is blowing, steamers cannot lie at anchor, and, since storms are of frequent occurrence in the Okhotsk Sea, it often happens that steamers are compelled to stand off for a week, without being able to cast anchor. Once for two weeks a government steamer (until 1900, only once a year did a government steamer call at Gishiga) was unable to approach the mouth of the Gishiga; and, to avoid greater loss of time, she steamed farther north, to the Anadyr, without having discharged her cargo in Gishiga, and thus the inhabitants of Gishiga were left without provisions for the winter.

In former times, Penshina Bay, when its waters still swarmed with whales, was frequented by American whaling-schooners, which anchored near the Koryak villages. Even now American whaling-schooners enter Penshina Bay from time to time; but steamers have not yet visited it. So far its depth has been little sounded. In 1897 the steamer "Kotik," belonging to the Kotik Company,[1] made an attempt to cast anchor near the Kamenskoye settlement; but, the mouth of the river proving to be full of rocks, the attempt had to be given up. However, in 1895–96 the Russian schooner "Siberia" succeeded in coming close to the village and unloading its cargo.[2]

122 I arrived in Gishiga at the end of August, 1900, on the steamer "Khabarovsk" of the Russian Volunteer Fleet. In order to avoid loss of time,
505 I wished to get to the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay before the opening of winter travel. In the summer, communication with the Koryak villages is interrupted. I wanted to avail myself of the steamer "Progress" of the Russian-American Gold-Mining Company, which was then about to leave Gishiga for Vladivostok. I applied to Mr. Shockley, the American engineer in charge of that expedition, for passage with them, for myself and my companions, over to the Itkana Koryak in Penshina Bay, on their way to Vladivostok. Unfortunately he did not grant my request, for the captain of the steamer thought it too risky to venture into a bay which had not been surveyed.

504 Baron Korff's Bay, in Bering Sea, is about thirty-five miles long. It is deep,
133 and has several harbors suitable for steamers. There are a few other accessible bays in Bering Sea, such as the one at the mouth of Karagha River, sixteen miles long, and another one, called False Bay, on the western shore of Karagha Island, which is often visited by American schooners for walrus-hunting.[3]

133 Rivers and Lakes. — All those rivers of the Koryak territory which flow from the Stanovoi Ridge, its spurs, or the Kamchatka Ridge, are short

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[1] The Russian word *kotik* (Котикъ) means "sea-bear" (*Otaria ursina* L.).

[2] See Slunin, I, p. 155.

[3] In August, 1897, Karagha Harbor and False Bay were visited by the British man-of-war H. M. S. "Linnet" see G. E. H. Barrett-Hamilton and H. O. Jones, A Visit to Karaginski Island, Kamchatka, in The Geographical Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, September, 1898, pp. 280–299).

and rapid. The mountain-ridges from which these rivers take their source 133
are not far from the seashore, which accounts for the steepness of the river-valleys. The length of the large rivers varies from forty to two hundred and fifty miles. Compared with the gigantic rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean west of the Stanovoi Ridge, these rivers appear as pygmies. Of their rapidity one can judge from the fact that it is possible to row only seven miles up the Gishiga River, which, next to the Penshina, is one of the largest rivers of that region. Farther up the boat has to be towed.

The Penshina is to a certain extent an exception in this respect. Not only is it longer than all the other rivers of the Koryak territory, but in its lower course it is more in the nature of a large river traversing a plain. In the eighteenth century the cossacks plied the Penshina River in boats, on the way from Kamchatka to Oklansk[1] and farther to the north. Prior to the advent of the Russians, there was a large village of Maritime Koryak at the mouth of the Oklan River, the largest tributary of the Penshina. Fishing was the main industry of the inhabitants, and by it they subsisted.

Almost all the rivers of the Koryak territory have cut their way through the mountains. Piling up a rocky bed, they carry off in their rapid course the smaller fragments to the seashore, and either deposit them near the mouth of the river, or form sand-bars near by in the sea. Although some of the rivers flowing into Bering Sea — as, for instance, the Dranka and Karagha Rivers — have in their upper course all the characteristics of mountain-streams, when they reach the coastal tundra strip, they take a more quiet course, owing to which the bay near the mouth of the Karagha River offers a safe harbor.

Especially in the rainy season, during the summer, and when the snow 502
is melting after the ice breaks up, the rivers are full and raging; but in dry 133
seasons they are quite shallow. In summer, when there are no rains, it is possible to wade across the Gishiga River at a distance of only forty-five miles from its mouth. Owing to these conditions, the rivers of the Koryak territory cannot be depended upon as a means of communication between the various branches of the tribe.

The unusual force and height of the tides in the long and narrow 133
Gishiga and Penshina Bays of the Okhotsk Sea also tend to the formation of sand-bars, and they are destructive to the coastal rocks. The rocky mouth of the Penshina River near the village of Kamenskoye is blocked by large bowlders and small rocky islands. Up to this time no one has made any regular observations of the tides in the Okhotsk Sea; but, according to information obtained from Russian seamen, the spring-tides and neap-tides in

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[1] Oklansk (Окланскъ) was a fortified Russian settlement (see Chapter XIV) founded by the cossacks in 1690, after the destruction of the Koryak village of the same name.

133 Gishiga Bay, or, as they are locally called, the "larger and smaller waters," alternate regularly every two weeks.

The tides move with a rapidity of from one and a half to two and a half miles per hour, reaching a height of from four to eight metres. According to Slunin's data,[1] the tides of Penshina Bay have a still greater force and height. At the mouth of the Penshina River the tide reaches a velocity of seven miles per hour, and a height of from seven to ten metres. In the village of Kamenskoye I could see the tide crashing through the ice near the shore, and driving it into the mouth of the Penshina River. Enormous blocks of ice were piling up on each other, and wearing away the steep and rocky shore upon which the village is situated. At the mouth of the Tighil River the tide sometimes rises to a height of from five to seven metres. The height of the tide evidently depends upon the degree of exposure of a certain point. Near Okhotsk, for instance, where the sea is quite open, the tide does not rise higher than from two and a half to four metres.

Owing to the rolling surface of the country and to the absence of vast plains, the lakes in that region, in spite of the abundance of tundra spaces, are exceedingly limited in number as well as in size. In this respect the Koryak region differs strikingly from the vast plain of the Kolyma tundra, which contains thousands of lakes connected with each other by small rivulets.
[361] These lakes abound in fish, rendering them attractive to the settled population of the northern Yakut as well as to the nomadic Yukaghir. The rapidity of the rivers, and the small number of lakes, may offer an explanation of the absence of a settled population in the interior of the Koryak territory.

[136] Of the lakes of the Gishiga tundra of more or less considerable size, I mention here the Kharitonovskoye, Chukchee (Chukotskoye), Ankudin (Ankudinovskoye), and Paren (Parenskoye) Lakes. They are said to abound in pike and crucian-carp.[2] However, none of the inhabitants of that region ever think of catching them. Some small lakes in which rivers take their rise are situated in the mountain-valleys. The largest lakes in northern Kamchatka are Lake Pallan, from which Pallan River rises, and Great Lake, in the Parapol tundra, forming the source of a tributary of the Talovka River.

132 CLIMATE. — In the entire vast country of the Koryak, meteorological observations, so far, are carried on in one place only, the Gishiginsk settlement (and this regularly, only since 1901), it being a second-class meteorological branch station of the principal physical observatory of St. Petersburg. However, from the fragmentary observations of travellers, among them the observations of the author during his travels over the country, the conclusion may be drawn that the climate of the interior is somewhat more severe than it is on the strip of land near the shore where Gishiginsk is situated, and

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[1] Slunin, I, p. 147.

[2] See Slunin, I, p. 560.

that the moderating influence of Bering Sea upon the climate of the eastern shore is somewhat stronger than that exercised by Okhotsk Sea and its bays upon the climate of the coasts adjoining them.

Since the country of the Koryak extends from about the 56° of north latitude to the 64°,[1] the geographical position of certain points exercises some influence over their climate. However, the difference in the climate of the various places is not considerable. So far as the short series of available observations goes to show, it seems that a greater or less amount of humidity, or a greater or less severity of winter, results in a difference of about two degrees between the yearly averages of temperature of various points.

I will cite here, from reports of the principal physical observatory of St. Petersburg, data concerning the mean annual and monthly temperatures, according to observations at the Gishiginsk station, for 1901 and 1902, the temperature being given in Centigrade degrees.[2]

	1901.	1902.
January	—26.0	—22.8
February	—22.1	—27.6
March	—16.2	—17.9
April	— 4.4	— 9.6
May	1.7	0.1
June	7.8	9.4
July	13.2	12.1
August	12.0	10.6
September	4.0	3.0
October	— 4.5	—11.1
November	—14.1	—19.1
December	—14.9	—23.8
Mean annual temperature	— 5.2	— 8.0

According to further information furnished by the Gishiginsk station, the maximum temperature for 1901 was 25.1 C°. (VII. 7), and the minimum, -42.0° (II. 5). The first frost in 1901 took place Aug. 24; there are no data as to when it took place in 1902. The last frost in 1901 occurred on June 6; in 1902, on May 29. The first snow in 1901 fell on Sept. 27; in 1902, on Aug. 27. The last snow in 1901 fell on May 19; in 1902, on May 25. In 1902 the Gishiga River froze up on Oct. 15, and the ice in the river broke up on May 9. During my travels in the winter of 1900–01, the severest frost I experienced (-41.5° C.) was in Paren, on Jan. 26. The mean annual temperature of the coast of Bering Sea is -4°.[3]

If we compare the Koryak country with other maritime countries of the same latitude, we see that in the severity of its climate, which justly may be called arctic, it outranks them all. In no other place of a corresponding latitude, except Labrador, do we find such a low mean annual temperature on the seacoast. The climatic conditions on the east coast of America are determined by similar geographical conditions, to which is added the influence of the cold arctic current which skirts the coast of Labrador. Points lying north even of Gishiginsk (situated in 61° 55′ north latitude) enjoy a higher mean annual temperature than the latter. Reykjavik in Iceland, for instance (64° 8′ north latitude), has a mean annual temperature of 4.1°. Archangel (64° 32′ north latitude), situated 2° 37′ farther north than Gishiginsk, has a mean annual temperature of 0.4°. This is explained by the influence of other unfavorable climatological factors, such as cold currents, the presence of ice in the sea late in the summer, the influence of cold northern winds, and air-currents from the western quarter; that is, from the Yakutsk-Kolyma side. However, as compared with the cold continental climate of the latter, the climate of the Gishiga region is considerably less severe. This is due to its position near the sea, as well as to the protection from cold winds afforded to some extent by the Stanovoi Ridge, west of which are observed the lowest mean annual temperatures on the surface of the globe. The mean annual temperature, calculated for a number of years, was found to be −11.0° C. at Yakutsk, −12.4° C. at Sredne-Kolymsk, and −16.9° C. at Verkhoyansk.[1]

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[1] See Part I, map.

[2] The observations of this station prior to 1901 being incomplete, it is impossible to find the mean annual temperature.

[3] See Atlas climatologique de l'Empire de Russie publié par l'Observatoire Physique Central Nicolas à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa fondation, 1849–99 (St. Petersburg, 1900).

The maritime character of the climate of the Koryak country is to some extent made still more manifest by the comparison of data showing the difference between the highest summer and the lowest winter temperatures. The annual amplitude was, for Yakutsk (in 1901), 92.3° (summer maximum, 33.6°; winter minimum, −58.7°[2]); for Verkhoyansk (in 1899), 103.5° C. (summer maximum, 33.7°; winter minimum, −69.8°[3]); while for Gishiginsk it was (in 1901) 67.1° (summer maximum, 25.1°; winter minimum, −42.0°).

Judging from data collected for Gishiginsk, the amount of rainfall is insignificant for a country situated near the sea. The annual rainfall in 1901 amounted to 218.2 mm., and in 1902 to 283 mm. The amount of rainfall is thus distributed by months: —

	1901.	1902.
January	2.2 mm.	39.7 mm.
February	19.0 "	8.3 "
March	4.1 "	26.2 "
April	10.3 "	11.1 "
May	2.8 "	7.9 "
June	14.4 "	11.4 "

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[1] Reports of the Department of Physical Geography of the University of St. Petersburg (St. Petersburg, 1899), Vol. I, p. 20 (Russian).

[2] Annals of the Principal Physical Observatory in St. Petersburg, 1901.

[3] Voyeikov, The Coldest Places on the Globe (Meteorological Messenger, St. Petersburg, 1897, No 8, p. 2 [Russian]).

	1901.	1902.
July	8.3 mm.	21.0 mm.
August	9.1 "	69.2 "
September	26.9 "	58.6 "
October	45.4 "	17.7 "
November	45.2 "	1.4 "
December	30.5 "	10.4 "
Total for the year	218.2 mm.	282.9 mm.

In 1901 there were 52 days of snow and 26 days of rain, and but 42 days of fine weather were recorded. In 1902 there were 62 days of snow and 28 days of rain. But the amount of humidity and the almost constant cloudiness point to the maritime nature of the climate of that country. I will cite here some observations made by me during my travels, which may give some idea of the difference in the amount of humidity in the atmosphere between places east and west of the Stanovoi Ridge.

On leaving Gishiga in summer (in the month of August, 1901), on my way to the Kolyma River, I had, among other provisions, dried fish and rye biscuits packed in seal-skin bags, which are moisture-proof. On the third day I was compelled to throw out almost all the fish, and about half of the biscuits were covered with mould. On the contrary, up the Kolyma River dried fish kept well for weeks in my bags, and the rye biscuits became even dryer than they had been before.

The following fact is still more interesting. Leaf-tobacco, for exchange and for presents, had been purchased for the Expedition in Russia by the Irkutsk firm of Anna Ivanovna Gromov.[1] It was shipped in boxes by sea from Odessa to Vladivostok. In July, 1900, on leaving Vladivostok for Gishiga, I took the tobacco along with me on the steamer. Part of it I left in Ola Bay, whence it was sent directly to Verkhne-Kolymsk. The rest I took along to Gishiga. In the spring of 1901 I weighed the remainder of the tobacco, which was kept packed in its original case in the Government warehouse. The leaves proved to be moist; and to each pud of weight, according to the original invoice, there were found three pounds and a half (Russian) additional weight.[2] In October of the same year I arrived at Verkhne-Kolymsk, and, upon opening the boxes of tobacco sent from Ola, I found the leaves to

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[1] I avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude to Mrs. A. I. Gromov, and her son-in-law Mitrophan Vasilievich Pakhtin, the manager of the firm, for the help and gratuitous services rendered by them to the Siberian section of the Expedition. The firm of A. I. Gromov is the largest in East Siberia dealing in furs, and supplying the districts along the Lena River with European wares. It has its own steamer-line. Mrs. A. I. Gromov rendered valuable services to many polar expeditions. She sent her steamer "Lena," the former auxiliary vessel of the steamer "Vega" of Nordenskiöld's Polar Expedition, in search of Baron Toll. Many ethnographical works on Siberia have been published at the expense of Mrs. Gromov; the large work on the Yakut, by V. Sieroszewski being one of them.

[2] Forty Russian for 36.02 English pounds, pounds, constitute one pud.

132 be perfectly dry, and to every pud of its original weight there was found a shortage of four Russian pounds.

The following table will give an idea of the changes of the barometric pressure in Gishiginsk in 1901–02, according to the records of the Gishiginsk Meteorological Station.

	1901.			1902.		
	Average	Max.	Min.	Average	Max.	Min.
January	759.5	769.0	742.3	754.1	764.3	741.9
February	62.9	84.2	39.2	56.3	65.0	37.6
March	62.3	72.3	52.7	57.7	67.2	40.8
April	62.4	76.9	43.7	56.5	76.2	31.3
May	61.6	73.5	51.5	55.8	63.8	39.6
June	57.4	67.8	49.4	56.7	61.2	51.0
July	54.5	66.0	45.9	54.4	59.1	48.0
August	55.0	62.2	49.5	54.8	64.6	49.0
September	54.5	62.5	28.0	53.0	61.7	37.2
October	56.5	71.2	35.0	52.7	62.8	35.6
November	53.5	67.0	30.2	52.6	66.7	37.4
December	54.5	74.5	27.3	57.7	27.0	25.8
Entire year	757.9	784.2	727.3	755.2	777.0	725.8

We see from this table that Gishiginsk is outside the sphere of the anti-cyclone of northeastern Siberia, west of the Stanovoi Ridge, where we observe a regular winter maximum and a summer minimum. In general, a higher pressure is observed here during the spring months, beginning as early as February, when the weather is settled and is more or less quiet; and a lower pressure is observed in the fall and first winter months, when the greatest number of snow-storms occurs. However, a sudden change of pressure, depending upon the main winds, may occur at any time of the year.

According to the observations of the Gishiginsk station during 1901,[1] the winds are as follows: north, 324 times; northeast, 268; south, 94; southwest, 91; northwest, 46; east, 17; southeast, 11; west, 7; and calms, 196.[2] As will be seen, the greatest number of winds falls to the northern quarter. The winds from the northern and western quarters — that is, those blowing from the Arctic Ocean and the Stanovoi Ridge — bring cold, and those from the east and south bring warmth. A sudden change in the winter, in the winds from one of these two directions, may cause a very low temperature, followed by thawing weather, and *vice versâ*. A sudden rise in temperature is accompanied by a strong wind, a penetrating damp fog, melting ice, or by a fine drizzling rain. The dampness penetrates everywhere; the clothing is wet through and through, and sticks to the body. But instantaneously a cold wind rises, and the wet straightway changes to frost. The clothing, heavy with moisture, quickly stiffens, turning to an icy coating, which cuts the body mercilessly. Woe to the traveller overtaken by such weather away from human habitation, or in an open tundra without wood for a fire! I was told that oftentimes people overtaken in the desert by such sudden changes of wind had been frozen to death. We ourselves, in our travels, were twice overtaken by sudden thaws, but fortunately in each case we were not far from dwellings.

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[1] These observations are not complete for all the months of the years preceding 1901. For 1902 the observations were taken three times a day.

[2] Annals of the Principal Physical Observatory of St. Petersburg, 1901.

My own observations, covering a period of about three months (from November to January, 1900–01) in Kamenskoye, at the mouth of Penshina River, show prevailing northeasterly winds, and thirty, out of a hundred observations, followed by a rise in temperature. Eastern winds, in most cases, also brought warmth. This was accompanied by a considerable fall of barometric pressure and by snow-storms. For instance, Nov. 7, 1900, the temperature in the morning was 21.5° C. (mimimum for the night, –24° C.), the wind was southwest, the barometric pressure, 766 mm. In the daytime of the 8th the temperature was 1.6°, the wind northeast, barometric pressure 745 mm., and it was raining. On the morning of Nov. 12 the temperature was –16.5° (minimum for the night, –23.5°), pressure 749 mm., wind northeast with a velocity of 8.1 metres per second. In the evening of the same day the temperature was -7.6°, barometric pressure 739 mm., wind east, and a storm with a wind-velocity of 18.6 metres per second; while on the morning of the 13th the temperature was 3.8°, the pressure 735 mm., wind east with a velocity of 10.8 metres per second, and it was raining. On the morning of Nov. 18 the temperature was –5.2° (minimum of the night, –11.5°), pressure 755 mm., wind northeast with a velocity of 5.8 metres per second. In the evening of the same day the temperature was 0.5°, the pressure 745 mm., wind northeast with a velocity of 18 metres; while on the morning of the 19th the temperature was 0.2° (night minimum, 0.2° as well), barometric pressure 737 mm., wind northeast with a velocity of 21.3 metres per second, that is, 47.5 miles per hour.

On the other hand, according to my own observations, on the very coldest days of the winter of 1900–01, which I spent in the villages of Kuel (the 24th) and Paren (the 25th and 26th), on the shores of Penshina Bay the wind was blowing from the western quarter, the barometric pressure was 761–762 mm., the velocity of the wind was only from 0.2 to 3 metres per second, and the temperature ranged from − 40° to − 41.5°. As mentioned above, the snow-storms are accompanied by a great and sudden rise of temperature. But there were a number of stormy days in January, in Kamenskoye, with a very low temperature and the wind north-northeast. For instance, Jan. 17 — with the thermometer at − 21° (night minimum, −37°), wind north-northeast, a pressure of 745 mm. — the anemometer showed a wind-velocity of 20.2 metres per second.[1] On such days no clothing, no matter of what kind, is any protection from the cold. Woe to the person who is on the road at such a time! Snow-flakes as fine as sand and as hard as crystals whirl and whizz through the air, creep up under the clothes, blind the eyes, and cut the face. The hands and the entire body grow rapidly stiff, and in a long-continued struggle against the unceasing onslaughts of the wind one finally succumbs. Not a thing can be seen around, since the air is thick with snow.

When, on such days, I went to make observations at my station (which was only a few metres distant from the house), I should have soon lost my way and been unable to find my house, without the assistance of the cossack or interpreter. On days when snow-storms raged with extreme violence, not less than three of us would venture out together, for it was very easy to be thrown down by the wind, and buried under the snow, in the very midst of a settlement. Not only women, but even men, do not leave the house during very violent storms. When a snow-storm begins to rage, the dogs are let loose in order to give them freedom to find a sheltered place for themselves in their struggle against the weather. They lie down huddled together, and do not move until the falling snow makes breathing difficult. Then they get up, shake off the snow, and lie down again. In this struggle with the storm the dogs get so tired out that they lie motionless for an entire day after the storm has passed over. Dogs which are left tied perish oftentimes. When Mr. Bogoras came from Markova to visit us at Kamenskoye, in November, his driver left his dogs tied near my house over night. On the following morning the dogs had to be dug out from under the snow, and one of them was smothered. The wind-velocity, according to the anemometer, was then only 3.5 metres per second.

How frequently snow-storms occur during the first winter months may be judged (at least for 1900–01) from the fact that during my sojourn in Kamenskoye in November and December, 1900, and part of January, 1901, there were twenty-five days with a wind-velocity of from 10 to 21.3 metres per second. I settled down there in a small log-cabin belonging to a resident cossack. On mornings after a strong wind had been blowing at night, the hut would be found covered up to the roof with snow, so that we were unable to get out, and the Koryak would come to shovel off the snow and dig us out. 132

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[1] However, on Jan. 16 the temperature was −34° C. (night minimum, −37.5°), pressure 761 mm., wind northeast with a velocity of 4.5 metres per second.

The bays of Okhotsk Sea, as well as those of Bering Sea near the Koryak shores, remain open in winter. Only the northern part of Gishiga Bay freezes up for a distance of from ten to fifteen miles from the shore. As late as May 10, 1901, I succeeded in driving on dog-sledges across the sea-ice from the mouth of the Chaibuga River to the small Russian settlement Kushka, at the mouth of the Gishiga, since, owing to the rising of the mountain-streams and the melting of the snow, it was impossible to go to that place direct by land. However, in Penshina Bay and on Bering Sea, only small narrow bays and a narrow strip along the shore freeze up; and in the course of the winter, even this strip of ice often gives way to the attacks of stormy tides and violent winds, and the ice is carried off into the open sea.

The mouth of the Penshina remained clear during my entire stay at Kamenskoye. Each incoming tide brought in the ice-floes, which, breaking against the rocky shore, were turned into a mass of ice, or left upon the rocks. All these circumstances — the open sea, the instability of the ice along the coast, and the floating ice in the open — affect unfavorably the sea-hunting of the Koryak. During the winter, when the Chukchee and Eskimo hunt seals under the ice, the Maritime Koryak cannot have fresh provisions from the sea, but are dependent upon their summer and fall supplies. 132 225

On the other hand, since the sea is not ice-bound, navigation in the Okhotsk Sea begins early in spring. According to Slunin,[1] American whaling-schooners appear in Penshina Bay as early as April, casting anchor near the Itkana settlement on the Taigonos Peninsula and in Ma'meč Bay in Kamchatka, where they find shelter from the strong winds. The first Russian steamers, however, do not sail from Vladivostok for the ports of the far north before the end of May, since, even as late as June, drifting ice is to be found in Baron Korff's Bay, near Okhotsk, and even near the Shantar Islands, situated to the north of the mouth of the Amur River, whither they are carried by the cold currents. The cold current from Bering Sea hugs the eastern shores of Kamchatka, while two cold currents are observed in Okhotsk Sea, — one, from Gishiga Bay toward the southeastern shores of Okhotsk Sea; another, in the northern part of Penshina Bay, passing along the western shore of Kamchatka toward the Kurile Islands. 505 132

The presence of ice far into summer, which absorbs most of the heat of the long summer days prevailing in that latitude, does not give the sea-water a chance to get warm, and to moderate the night temperature of the 132

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[1] Slunin, I, p. 259.

132 shores. Owing to the constant cold fogs in the beginning of summer and the heat-energy expended in melting the snow, the earth gets but little heated. More or less clear and comparatively warm days come not earlier than at the end of July and beginning of August. The soil, however, thaws out only to an inconsiderable depth.

[251] Regular observations with reference to this matter have hardly been carried on as yet, but all over that region the natives utilize a hole in the ever-frozen soil as a cellar in which to preserve their provisions. Slunin found a frozen layer of soil in the Gishiga tundra at a depth of 0.9 metres, and on the Stolbovoi tundra at a depth of from 0.36 to 0.54 metres.[1] Dittmar found in summer, near Gishiginsk, a thick layer of fossil ice at a depth of from 45 cm. to 60 cm.[2] On the Sedanke River he found the frozen soil at a depth of from 60 cm. to 90 cm.[3]

On the northern slopes of even very small heights, in gorges, or in rocky bays, the ice-glazed snow, hardened by the winds, melts only toward the end of August. The moist, moss-covered turf-layer of the tundra is another means by which the heat is prevented from penetrating deep into the soil. The rain-water and the water from the melting snow, which evaporates but very slightly, unable to penetrate the frozen soil, stagnate on the surface of the plain, forming extensive swamps, and rendering all communication [177] difficult or impossible during summer. Thus, from the beginning of May until the middle or end of October, the Russian settlement of Gishiginsk, as well as other settlements, is completely cut off from the Koryak villages and camps.

492 484 177 Communication between points situated at a short distance from one another is carried on by the Koryak on foot, and by the Tungus by riding their reindeer. The animals best adapted for use in moving from place to place in that swampy region would be pack-horses; but there are very few horses available, particularly in the Gishiga district. The Russian inhabitants of Gishiginsk owned in 1901 only about sixty-five horses, brought thither at different times from the Yakutsk Province. Though these horses are very hardy, they cannot long endure the journeying through the swamps, but wear out quickly, since they have only the scant green fodder upon which to depend. The Russians use them only for short-distance riding between their own settlements along the Gishiga River, or from the settlement Gishiginsk to the Tungus fairs on the Varkhalan and Nayakhan Rivers; and seldom during summer does a Russian merchant venture even to the nearest Koryak villages.

For getting over from Gishiga to Paren (Poitın) in the fall of 1900, I

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[1] See Slunin, I, p. 250.

[2] See Dittmar, Reisen in Kamtschatka, pp. 427, 431.

[3] Ibid., p. 483.

succeeded in hiring twenty saddle and pack horses.[1] The distance from 492
Gishiginsk to the Koryak village of Paren (about a hundred miles), which 484
in winter is covered in two days when driving with dogs, occupied us eighteen
days. It must be added, however, that the conditions were particularly 177
unfavorable. After a very rainy summer the swamps were unusually deep, and, just before crossing the northern part of the Taigonos Ridge, we were suddenly overtaken by a violent snow-storm, which forced us to stop for three days. It so happened that the place where we stopped afforded only very poor pasture; and our horses, tired out by the journey of the preceding days, were completely exhausted.

Good fodder-grass is, as a rule, very rare in that region. The swamps 824
are covered mainly with varieties of reed-grass (*Cyperaceæ*), horse-tails (*Equisetaceæ*), and ferns, which are not very nourishing. In civilized countries 492
many of these grasses, which serve here as fodder for horses, are regarded as harmful for cattle. Thus the horses hardly managed to drag us up to the Koryak village. Of the horses which I sent back to Gishiga with a driver, six died on the way from the effects of a snow-storm, and six in Gishiginsk soon after their arrival in that place.[2]

It may be remarked in this connection that among the horse-tails, the preponderance of which among the pasture-grass frequently produces epizoöty even among the by no means fastidious cattle of northern Siberia, there are found some useful varieties. One species, ***Equisetum scirpoides*** Mich., is particularly liked by the Yakut horses. The horses of the arctic region fatten in two or three weeks on pastures covered with this variety of horse-tail. On our way from the Gishiga territory toward the Kolyma, in the fall of 1901, we came across an enormous pasture-ground covered with ***E. scirpoides*** at the source of the Gishiga River, and the Yakut asked me to stop there for a day in order to give the horses a chance to recuperate on that pasture.

VEGETATION. — Very few varieties of trees are represented in the Koryak 137
territory. Of the coniferous trees there are two species, — the East Siberian larch-tree (*Larix Dahurica* Turcz)[3] and the shrub of dwarf cedar or stone-pine (*Pinus pumila* Pall.), which represents a certain variety of the Siberian cedar (*Pinus cembra* L.). Its seeds, small edible nuts, and cones, are the same as those of the Siberian cedar, from which they differ only in size. Dr. Slunin thinks[4] that the Siberian fir (*Picea obovata* Ledb.) is also to be

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[1] This trip proved very advantageous. Had I waited in Gishiga for the winter roads to become passable, I should not only have lost two months, but I should also have missed the opportunity of seeing the autumnal religious festivals described in Part I, Chapter V, and which heretofore were unknown.

[2] See the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, popular account (The American Museum Journal, 1903, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 102).

[3] While the Siberian larch-tree (*Larix Siberica* Ledb.) occurs west of the Yenisei River, the Dahurian larch-tree (*Larix Dahurica* Turcz) grows east of it (see Professor S. Korshinsky, The Vegetation of Russia, in The Russian Encyclopædia of Brockhaus and Efron, Vol. XXVII, p. 45).

[4] See Slunin, I, p. 306.

137 found, though very seldom, on the northern coast of the Okhotsk Sea; however, I never observed that tree in the region of Gishiga and Penshina Bays.

Of the deciduous trees there are the following species, — three kinds of birch (*Betula alba* L., *B. Ermanii*, and *B. nana*), the fragrant poplar (*Populus suaveola* Fisch.), the aspen (*Populus tremula* L.), and two kinds of alder (*Alnus incana* Wild. and *Alnaster fruticosus* Ledb.). In addition to these species of trees, there are to be found in the river-valleys a few varieties of willows, which frequently reach quite a luxurious development and height, having thick, tree-like trunks.

[313] While in all other parts of Siberia, particularly in the north, the coniferous trees preponderate over the deciduous trees, we meet here mainly the above-mentioned deciduous trees, which furnish less durable material for building and manufacturing purposes, and which, when used for fuel, do not produce as much heat as do the coniferous trees.

In the absence of other species of coniferous trees, except the abovenamed *Larix Dahurica* and *Pinus pumila*, — such as the Siberian spruce, the pine, the two species of fir, *Picea obovata* Ledb. and *Picea Ajanensis* Fisch., which are represented in the southern region of the Okhotsk Sea,[1] — the Koryak territory (namely, the northern part of the Okhotsk Sea and northern Kamchatka) does not differ from the arctic strip of Siberia west of the Stanovoi Ridge. In the Yakut Province the northern spruce, so characteristic of the woods of the southwestern parts of eastern Siberia, disappears north of Olekminsk, and the Verkhoyansk Ridge forms the northern limit, which the pine and fir do not cross. East of the Stanovoi Ridge the spruce disappears near the Uda River, and the pine and the fir reach to the north as far only as Okhotsk. In Kamchatka the Siberian spruce (*Abies Siberica* Ledb.) and the fir (*Picea Ajanensis* Fisch.) are to be found in the extreme southern part only, along the Kamchatka River and in Kronotzki Bay.[2]

In the distribution of the larch and of the dwarf cedar the Koryak territory differs materially from the arctic region of Siberia west of the Stanovoi Ridge. There the larch (*Larix Dahurica* Turcz) is the tree that forms the northern limit of woods, — like the American fir of North America, — and also reaches highest up on the mountains; there we find the poplar and the aspen only in the river-valleys far to the south of the northern tundra; and in a similar manner the stone-pine or creeping cedar (*Pinus pumila* Pall.) covers the slopes of mountains at the source or at the middle course of the rivers of the Yana-Kolymsk region, without extending far northward. Here, however, in the Koryak territory, the deciduous varieties, the poplar and the aspen, are the trees found to form the limits of arboreal growth (the southeastern border-line, in the direction of Bering and Okhotsk Seas), while the dwarf cedar is found highest up on the mountains.

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[1] See Slunin, p. 269. According to Korshinsky, there are the varieties *Picea excelsa* Link and *Picea Ajanensis* Fisch. (l.c., p. 46).

[2] See Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 44; Slunin, I, p. 306; Korshinsky, p. 46, map; Dittmar, p. 765.

In the Koryak territory the larch disappears at a considerable distance from the forest-line. Vast larch-forests may still be found upon the eastern slopes of the Stanovoi Ridge and near the heads of the rivers and their tributaries flowing into the bays of the Okhotsk Sea, such as the Nayakhan, Varkhalan, Gishiga, Paren, and Penshina. On the Varkhalan and Gishiga Rivers, larch-trees, sometimes mixed with poplar and aspen, are to be found, even as far down as their mouths; but on the Gishiga, at about thirty miles from the mouth, they are scant and puny. They follow both banks of the river in almost regular rows, so that on the lower course of the Gishiga one may follow its windings by these scant rows of trees standing out amidst the marshy tundra. However, at a distance of about eighty miles up the Gishiga, large larch-trees with trunks may be observed. One trunk collected by me measured 63 cm. in diameter. East of the lower course of the Gishiga, down to the coast of Bering Sea, the larch-tree is not found.

On my trip from the mouth of the Penshina River up to the north, to the Palpal Ridge, I observed enormous poplar and aspen forests in the river-valleys, but saw no larch-trees. Toward the south the larch may be found again, according to Dittmar, only in southern Kamchatka, at the middle part of the Kamchatka Ridge. But even there it does not flourish down to the sea, being surrounded on all sides by woods of deciduous trees. The proximity of Okhotsk and Bering Seas proves to be unfavorable to arboreal growth in general, and to that of the larch in particular, which, in the river-valleys of the Okhotsk Sea, retires from the shore in the direction of the Stanovoi Ridge.

The larch, which can endure the cold of −70° C. in Verkhoyansk, is unable to withstand the destructive influence of snow-storms and the sudden formation of ice on its trunk after penetrating dampness. For the same reason, poplars and aspens disappear at a distance of from twelve to seventeen miles, or more, from the seashore. Only when protected by the banks of the river-valleys or hills do we find them nearer to the shore.

The stone-pine, growing upon hills and mountain-slopes, attains in the Koryak territory higher altitudes than other varieties of trees. According to my observations on the Taigonos Ridge, the stone-pine reaches an altitude of about five hundred metres absolute height; while the deciduous trees, such as poplar, aspen, and alder, remain far below, in valleys and gorges. It should be added, however, that on the Stanovoi Ridge proper, even on its eastern slope, the larch marks the vertical limit of forest-growth.

I have entered in my travelling-diary that on the eastern slope of the Stanovoi Ridge, in the valley of the upper course of the Gishiga River, the poplar and aspen disappear at the height of 515 metres; the stone-pine, at

137 the height of about 540 metres; while the larch reaches as high as 585 metres.[1] Travellers who have visited northeastern Siberia usually describe the stone-pine as a low, creeping shrub. Slunin says[2] that the stone-pine does not reach more than three feet in height. In most cases this is perfectly true; but on the Taigonos Ridge and on the elevated right bank of the Paren River we saw stone-pines six and seven metres high with a trunk-diameter of forty centimetres, and over. In some places these trees actually formed a dense forest. Sitting on our horses, we could reach out with our hands and pull down the cones filled with nuts, but from the lower branches only. Hence the term "creeping" or "dwarf" cedar could hardly be applied to those particular specimens of the stone-pine.

It may be said, in general, that the territory of the Koryak, especially the inhabited places near the seashore or the tundra, are scantily supplied with trees. Vast forests — deciduous, or coniferous mixed with deciduous varieties — are to be found, as we have seen, on the eastern slopes and branches of the Stanovoi Ridge. Farther east, the forests are confined to river-valleys, and some groves may be found on mountain-slopes and hills. But the forests become still scarcer as we approach Bering Sea. East of the Gishiga, the spaces between the river-valleys are either treeless tundras with a few thin shrubs of willow, alder, Erman birch, mountain-ash, blackberry, and hard carices scattered here and there, or mountains whose slopes are overgrown with dwarf cedar.

824 [233] Thus the western slope of the Taigonos Ridge, the Parapol Valley (which passes in the north into a tundra plain), and the elevated tundra of the Palpal plateau-land, constitute more or less vast tundras covered with moss, and are suitable for reindeer-breeding. The mouths of the rivers and the rocky seashore, where the Maritime Koryak live, are covered with grass, among which there are some gramineous varieties, particularly the *Elymus mollis* Trin., which plays an important part in the Koryak household, and which sometimes reaches the height of a man. Here on the littoral strip we observe a few varieties of sedge-grass, which is used in sacrificial ceremonies, the edible willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), two varieties of nettle (*Urtica dioica* L. and *Urtica angustifolia* Lebd.), which are used for making thread for plaiting sacks, bags, and nets. For other useful plants the reader is referred to Chapter VIII and X.

313 The lack of woods at the river-mouths is compensated for by the drift-wood carried down from the upper and middle course of the rivers during

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[1] It is of interest to add, in connection with this, Slunin's description (I, p. 194) of the eastern slope of the Kamchatka Ridge, between the Karagha and Dranka Rivers, from the coast-line to the summits. He says, "First there is the rolling, wet, treeless tundra, the tundra of the reindeer; a little higher follows a wide strip of stone-pine tundra; still higher up, the mountain-slopes are thinly overgrown with Erman birch, the mountain-summits are sloping and treeless". From this description we draw the conclusion that in that region *Betula Ermanii* forms the vertical limit of arboreal growth on mountains.

[2] See Slunin, I, p. 306.

high water in spring. In some places logs are piled up several feet high on the banks of the rivers. These are mostly varieties of deciduous trees, — poplars and aspens. This timber is not very durable for building-purposes. Boats hollowed out of a poplar-tree will last only about three years. In like manner the poplar-logs used for poles in underground houses have to be replaced by new ones every few years; while among the Yukaghir on the Kolyma River, who use larch (which grows there in profusion) for building, I saw log-cabins and storehouses built a hundred years ago, the logs of which were still perfectly solid.

At the mouth of the Nayakhan, Gishiga, and Paren Rivers, and partly of the Penshina River, we found among the driftwood a small quantity of larch, but farther to the east it is no longer found. According to the natives, the larch may be found at the upper course of the Penshina River, which is the longest of the rivers of the Koryak territory. Larches carried away by the rising of the water in spring are often thrown out on the banks long before they reach the mouth of the river.

The agents of the Russian-American Company, which was to build a telegraph-line,[1] used to cut down for telegraph-poles, along Penshina River, near the place where the Oklan empties into it, only poplar and aspen trees. The Koryak of Alutor have to be content with slender deciduous trees for their buildings; while the Kerek have no timber at all, the short rivers of their country flowing along absolutely treeless banks. Neither can they burn their dead (see Part I, p. 104); and their underground houses are made of rods and fragments of wood covered with earth and snow (see Chapter IV).

Mr. Kennan's opinion, that the Koryak build their houses of driftwood brought in by the sea, is erroneous. The sea washes very little driftwood to the shores, which are too steep and rocky, at least in the bays of the Okhotsk Sea, to permit any driftwood to accumulate upon them. When I went from the mouth of the Gishiga to that of the Nayakhan in a boat (about one hundred miles), I saw very little driftwood on the shore. In the little bays where we stopped to rest or to seek shelter from inclement weather, we found a sufficient quantity for a wood-pile to make a fire, but not enough for buildings. Besides, the logs were so broken and shattered, that they could hardly be used in a building.

The driftwood which the Koryak use for building-purposes and for fuel is found by them on the river-banks. The timber thrown out by the currents forms, in some places, piles a few metres in height. The driftwood is carried

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[1] Kennan mentions that the larch is to be found on Penshina River at the place where the agents of the Company felled trees for telegraph-poles, but Maydell's information (I, pp. 230, 575; II, pp. 245, 247) on this subject is more reliable. On his way from Markova to Gishiginsk he saw a few sporadic, crooked larches along Penshina River, only near the Penshinsk settlement; then along Gishiga River up to the point where the Black (Черная) River empties into it, he met with no more larches. During my trip from Kamenskoye on the Palpal, I turned off from Penshina River to the right, without reaching Penshinsk. On my way I noticed in the river-valleys only poplar and aspen trees, which on the Penshina River can be found almost at its very mouth.

313 off from the heads of the rivers in the spring, when the ice breaks up, by the strong current. The ice at the upper course of the river presses in its movement on the ice farther down the course, which has not yet broken up, and forms ice-packs, which raise considerably the level of the water, and widen the river-bed. When the stationary ice is unable to withstand the pressure longer, it breaks with a crash; the ice-floes uproot the trees growing on the banks, and they are washed away by the rapid current, and thrown out on the bank somewhere below, after the river has assumed its former level.

It often happens that the ice-floes will tear from the bank a piece of solid earth with the trees growing on it, and carry it off to the sea. I had an opportunity to observe such floating islands at the time when the ice was breaking up on the Kolyma River. Such floating piles are carried from place to place by the ice-floes; so that, at the mouth of the river, one can find trunks which have been travelling for several years from the head of the river to its mouth.

825 FAUNA. — From an ethnographical standpoint we are interested in only those species of animals which bear some relation to human activity. With reference to those we shall speak at greater detail in the chapters on domestic animals and the trades. We will confine ourselves here to a few general remarks. The land-mammal fauna are represented by a small number of species.

Slunin enumerates[1] forty-three species of land-mammals in the Okhotsk-Kamchatka region; but from this number those species are to be excluded which are to be found in the southern part of the Okhotsk region, and not in the Koryak territory, such as *Meles taxus* Sch., *Mustella Siberica* Pall., *Canis alpinus* Pall., *Cervus alces* L., *Cervus capreolis* L., *Moschus Moschiferos*.

Of the sea-mammals, Slunin enumerates[2] twenty-three species; but in this number are included *Rytina borealis* Stell., which is extinct, and *Enchydris marina* Schr., which is not to be found at present in the Koryak seas. Out of the nine varieties of whales enumerated by Slunin, perhaps four are to be met with at present.

According to Professor Allen,[3] the mammal fauna of eastern Siberia, including the Koryak territory from which the zoölogical collection for the American Museum was mainly obtained by the Jesup Expedition, "so far as genera are concerned, consists of exclusively holarctic types, represented in both arctic America and in Eurasia, but in more or less differentiated forms on the two continental areas. A close relationship between the forms of boreal mammals inhabiting the two continents is beyond question, — a relationship so intimate that it could only have been brought about by a former land bridge connecting the two areas."

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[1] Slunin, II. pp. 84–86.

[2] Ibid., II, p. 86.

[3] Allen, Report on the Mammals collected in Northeastern Siberia by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XIX, New York, 1903), p. 182.

It is hardly necessary to say that the species of fish caught by the 825
Koryak are the same as those on the American side of Bering Sea, but they differ from those of the arctic rivers west of the Stanovoi Ridge. There we find mainly the *Coregonidæ*, which ascend the rivers from the polar sea, while in the Koryak waters the *Salmonidæ* (especially of the genus *Oncorhynchus*) are of greatest importance.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATIC CONDITIONS UPON PROGRESS. — From this brief 241
description of the nature of the region, it may be seen to what extent its form of culture depends upon surrounding conditions. It can hardly be expected that under such a climate the manner of existence can be materially changed. In the far north, material culture depends more upon the degree of latitude than upon human efforts. Agriculture is impossible, because the earth does not thaw out to a sufficient depth; the soil is mostly marshy; and the temperature is too low for the growth of cereals.

In 1901 there were in Gishiginsk only seventy-eight days without frosts, which is not a sufficiently long period for the growth of cereals. This time is in reality still more curtailed, since the growth of cereals does not begin, or stops if already begun, till the temperature is somewhat above the freezing-point. Botanists regard the temperature above 6° C. as a necessary one for the growth of cereals.

Taking into consideration the poor quality of the grasses, and the 233
enormous expanses covered with moss, lichen, and marshes, cattle-breeding 177
as an industry is also impossible. As we shall see below, the efforts of the Russian Administration to develop cattle-breeding among the Russianized Maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the Okhotsk district — that is, in the more southern parts of the territory — has met with very little success.

The fur-trade cannot be regarded as a means of improving the general 224
welfare of the natives, since, aside from the fact that the profits derived from it remain in the hands of unscrupulous traders, the number of fur-bearing animals is rapidly decreasing, owing to their ruthless destruction.

Fishing and the hunting of sea-mammals, as indicated above, can be 225
carried on in the summer only; so that during the long winter the Maritime population have to depend exclusively upon their summer supplies.

Reindeer-breeding, though affording a more reliable source of sustenance 233
to the wandering Reindeer people than that offered by hunting and fishing
to the Maritime people, is still in a most primitive state. The type of a 178
Reindeer household has so far remained unchanged, contact with Russian civilization for a century and a half not having exercised any influence upon it. This primitive state of the material life of the Koryak, left almost intact by outside influence, determines the primitive state of their mental culture.

II. — THE KORYAK TRIBE.

101 The Name “Koryak”. — The Koryak do not call themselves by this name, and the exact origin of the word is unknown. Some travellers are inclined to connect the name with the Koryak word qoya′ñɪ or qora′ñi, meaning “domesticated reindeer.” Mr. Bogoras thinks that the Cossack conquerors created it from the word qora′kɪ, taken from the southeastern Koryak dialect, and meaning “(being) with reindeer.”[1] On the other hand, the Yukaghir call the Koryak Kere′ki or Kere′ke (*pl.*, Kere′kepul). It is difficult, therefore, to tell who first gave the name “Koryak” to this tribe. It only remains to be said that there is no other word in the Yukaghir language to indicate the Koryak. Similarly, the origin of the name “Ke′rek” is unknown. The Ke′rek constitute the eastern branch of the Maritime Koryak, occupying the country between Cape Anannon and Cape Barykoff, and the name has been borrowed by the Russians from the Chukchee.

The following considerations seem to favor the supposition that the name “Koryak” was not invented by the Russians, but was borrowed from the tribes contiguous to the Koryak. In former times the Maritime people constituted the majority of the Koryak tribe; while the Chukchee, particularly those with whom the Russians came in contact, belonged mainly to the Reindeer branch, which at present constitutes seventy-five per cent of the entire tribe.[2] The Russians would therefore have more reason to call the Chukchee a “Reindeer people” than the Koryak. At the same time, the nearest neighbors of the nomad Reindeer Koryak were, besides the Chukchee, on one side the Yukaghir living near the sources of the Kolyma River, and on the other side the Kamchadal, who had no nomad members among themselves. If the name “Koryak” is connected with the word qora′kɪ (“being with reindeer”), this name may have been given to the Koryak by the Kamchadal or the Yukaghir. It may be noted here that the Yukaghir word Kere′ke, or Kere′ki, is evidently the Koryak word qora′kɪ, in which the vowels *a* and *o* are changed into *e*, according to the Yukaghir rules of harmony of sounds.[3]

From a comparison of the words which have apparently some connection with the formation of the name, it may be concluded that “Ko′rak” would be the more correct spelling of it; but I retain its modified transcription “Koryak”

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 19.

[2] See Patkanov, p. 66.

[3] See W. Jochelson, Essay on the Grammar of the Yukaghir Language (Supplement to American Anthropologist, N. S., 1905, Vol. VII, p. 373.

(evidently adapted from the Russian spelling of the name, корякъ), since that spelling has been adopted in ethnology.

The Koryak themselves have no common tribal name, unless we consider the word voye'mtɪvolaᵋnu or voye'mtɪvolu ("people," "men") as a name. By this term the Reindeer as well as the Maritime Koryak call themselves, and it corresponds to the Chukchee ora'wêlat ("men"). The Maritime Koryak call themselves, and are called by the Reindeer branch of their tribe, Nᴀ'mᴀḷaᵋn (*pl.*, Nᴀ'mᴀḷu), Nᴇ'mᴇḷaᵋn (*pl.*, Nᴇ'mᴇḷu), or Nɪ'mɪḷaᵋn (*pl.*, Nɪ'mɪḷu), according to the different pronunciation of the Koryak dialects. These words signify "an inhabitant of a settlement or village," and are from nᴀ'mɪtᴀm, nᴇ'mnᴇm, or nɪ'mnɪm ("habitation"). The Maritime Koryak call themselves also Nᴇ'mnᴇmkin voye'mtɪvolaᵋn ("a man from a habitation") or A'ñqalaᵋn ("maritime dweller"), from a'ñqa ("sea").

According to Steller,[1] the Reindeer Koryak, the nearest neighbors of the Kamchadal, called the latter Nāmālān, "since they were dwellers of underground houses." But, as we have seen before, this name means simply "an inhabitant of a settlement," for it is evident that Steller's spelling nāmālān corresponds to our nᴀ'mᴀḷaᵋn. According to Wrangell,[2] the ancient inhabitants of underground houses found by him on the Arctic shore were called by the Chukchee Namollo or Onkilon; but these names also, it seems to me, are but the incorrectly recorded Chukchee-Koryak words nᴀ'mᴀḷaᵋn and a'ñqalaᵋn, signifying "an inhabitant of a settlement" and "a maritime dweller."[3]

The Reindeer Koryak, like the Reindeer Chukchee, are called Ča'uču (*dual*, Ča'učenet; *pl.*, Ča'učenni). Krasheninnikoff's assertion,[4] indorsed since by other travellers, including Dr. Slunin,[5] that the Maritime Koryak call themselves Ča'uču, and the Reindeer, Tumu'gutu, is apparently based on a misunderstanding; for ča'uču means "rich in reindeer,"[6] and tumu'gutu (*sing.*, tu'mgɪn), "comrades," and "kinsmen, relatives."

The Chukchee call the Koryak Ta'n·ñɪtan; and the latter, in turn, call the Chukchee by the same name, with the only difference that the Chukchee form of the plural, Ta'n·ñit,[6] is used in the Koryak language as the dual. The Koryak plural would be Ta'n·ñu. The Chukchee has no dual. According to the explanation of the Koryak, ta'nñɪn means "a warrior." It is curious

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[1] Steller, p. 240.

[2] Wrangell, II, pp. 295, 333.

[3] From the fact that we find among the Eskimo of northwestern America the same kind of underground houses as those the ruins of which have been found along the shore of the Arctic Ocean from Cape Erri or Shelagski to Bering Sea, Wrangell draws the conclusion that the former inhabitants of the Arctic shores were Eskimo. On the same basis, Markham (On the Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux, in The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, 1865, Vol. XXXV, pp. 87—99) draws his conclusion regarding the emigration of the Eskimo from Asia to America. This supposition is quite as groundless as is the assumption that to the Eskimo alone belong the names which are applied by the Chukchee, as well as by the Koryak, to people in general living in permanent settlements. (See Chapter IV.)

[4] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 6.

[5] Slunin, I, p. 376.

[6] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 11.

101 that, in the Nishne-Kolymsk dialect of the Yukaghir, the Chukchee are called Kude'je, which also means "warrior."[1]

Separate branches of Reindeer and of Maritime Koryak give to each other territorial names, according to their place of wandering, the point of the horizon or the rivers where their settlements are situated. For instance, the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula call themselves Taigonotolu ("Taigonos people"), from the Russian word Taigonos (Тайгоносъ);[2] the inhabitants of the village of Kamenskoye are called Va'ikenalu ("Kamenskoye people"), from Va'ikenan, which is the Koryak name of that village; the inhabitants of the village of Nayakhan are called E'gıvalu ("people from the west"), from E'gıval ("sunset," "west"), the Koryak name of that settlement. The Koryak of Gishiga call the Koryak of Kamchatka, as well as the Kamchadal, I'vtal̦a'l̦u (*sing.*, I'vtala'n or Ivtal̦ala'n), "the lower ones," "those living below." According to an oral statement by Mr. Bogoras, the Kerek call the Maritime Koryak living south of them by the same name.

141 PHYSICAL TYPE. — As yet but very little of the anthropological material collected by the Jesup Expedition in reference to the Koryak has been worked up; but I shall make use here of some data from the essential measurements of the Koryak worked out by Mrs. Jochelson,[3] as well as of observations from the anthropometrical notes of the Expedition.

The Koryak are below the average height, and indeed may be said to be of rather short stature. From the measurements of 173 men and 133 women, we found that the average height for men is 1596 mm. (the maximum, 1700 mm.; the minimum, 1490 mm.), and that the average height for women is 1491 mm. (the maximum, 1610 mm.; the minimum, 1380 mm.). The average height of the Koryak of northern Kamchatka (based on measurements of 24 men and 19 women) is 1620 mm. for men (the maximum, 1710 mm.; the minimum, 1530 mm.) and 1530 mm. for women (the maximum,

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[1] Kude'je is the co-operative voice ("to kill together") of the verb kude'de ("to kill"). Kude'jepul means "fellow-killers," "fellow-fighters;" that is, the men who kill or fight together, — warriors. In primitive times it was but natural for a people to call by this name a tribe with whom they were constantly at war (see W. Jochelson, Essay on the Grammar of the Yukaghir Language, in American Anthropologist, N. S., 1905, Vol. VII, p. 403).

[2] The Russian word taiga' (тайга) means "a vast marshy Siberian forest;" and nos (носъ) means "nose" and also "cape." Probably the peninsula between Gishiga and Penshina Bays is called by the Russians Taigonos ("the forest cape") from the forests in its river-valleys, especially the poplar forests in the valley of the Topolovka River, which means "Poplar River" (from to'pol [тополь], "poplar").

[3] I wish to state here that the anthropometrical work of my party in the field was carried out by Mrs. Jochelson. With the permission of Professor Boas, she worked out a part of the anthropometrical material of the Jesup Expedition in Siberia for her thesis for the degree of M.D. of the University of Zürich, Switzerland. This work was also published in the Archiv für Anthropologie, Jahrgang V, Neue Reihe, Heft 1, 2, 1906, pp. 1—63, under the title "Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers nordostsibirischer Völker," and a Russian translation was printed in the Russian Anthropological Journal in Moscow. For the Koryak men and women Mrs. Jochelson worked out the following measurements and indices: standing height, height of the ear, length of the head, breadth of the head, bizygomatic breadth, anatomical index of the face, and the length-height index of the head. For comparative data and special measurements of women, see the above-mentioned work.

1600 mm.; the minimum, 1430 mm.).[1] Thus we might consider the Koryak 141 of Kamchatka as below the average stature, according to the accepted standard; but we must not be too hasty in drawing such a conclusion, since the number of measurements taken was so small. There is the more reason for this, since the Kamchadal, with whom the southern Koryak have been intermixed to a degree, show a lower average height. The measurements of 63 Kamchadal men and 65 women give the average height of their men as 1601 mm. (the maximum, 1740 mm.; the minimum, 1470 mm.), and of their women as 1496 mm. (the maximum, 1600 mm.; the minimum, 1400 mm.).[2] To some travellers the Koryak gave the impression of being a tall people. This is apparently owing to their strong constitution, and to the fact that their neighbors, the Lamut and Yukaghir, are of very small size. No fat and stout people are found among the Koryak, such as are met with among the wealthy, cattle-breeding Yakut or Buryat; neither are there such lean, lank figures among them as among the Tungus and Lamut reindeer-riders.

On the whole, the Koryak are well built. They have a well-developed 142 bone-structure, broad shoulders, and good muscles. Among the Maritime Koryak, one may often see well-shaped figures; as, for instance, among those of the Big Itkana settlement. The Reindeer Koryak, however, make a less favorable impression in this respect. They are clumsy in appearance, their build is not symmetrical, and their motions are angular; but in taking care of the herd they are nevertheless very dexterous and alert. All Koryak, as a rule, are slow; and they talk in a lazy manner, without hurrying, unless they are excited.

The cephalic index of the men is 80.3 (maximum, 86; minimum, 75), 141 and of the women 80 (maximum, 86; minimum, 75). The greatest percentage falls to the group between 78 and 82. The average cephalic index is below that of the Mongolian-Turkish tribes.[3]

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[1] The above figures relate to men between the ages of twenty and fifty years, and to women between the ages of eighteen and forty years. In all, measurements were taken of more than five hundred Koryak (men, women, and children), and they are the first measurements ever taken of them. Dr. Slunin tells us (I, p. 378) that all his attempts at taking measurements of the Koryak were unsuccessful. He always met with a refusal. Only among the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal and among some Maritime Koryak of the village of Kamenskoye did we meet with a reluctance to being measured. I cannot say that the others submitted to the measurements with great eagerness; but they were generally tempted by presents, and then regarded the proceedings with amusing curiosity. While they were wearing the wooden masks (see Part I, p. 80, and Plate V., Fig. 2, opp. p. 74), the young men of the Paren settlement acted in pantomime the process of taking measurements. By means of a stick and various gestures one masked man would take the measurements of another, burlesquing us. Many Koryak asked the reason for being measured. As soon as the older people consented to be measured, the young people came up without objection. Among the Taigonos Koryak I owed much of my success to the influence of their elder, a bright and sharp fellow (see Plate XIV, Fig. 1). He assured the Koryak, half in jest and half in earnest, that their heads and bodies were being measured in order to get caps, boots, and coats which the Czar was to send them the next year. However, he himself refused for a long while to allow me to take his measurements.

[2] See Jochelson, Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers etc., p. 6.

[3] See Jochelson, Ibid., pp. 11—14.

[144 In the same manner, the maximum breadth of face of the Koryak is below that of the Mongolian-Turkish tribes. The average breadth of face of
141 the men is 146.2 mm. (maximum, 160 mm.; minimum, 132 mm.); that of
142. the women, 139.5 mm. (maximum, 151 mm.; minimum, 126 mm.). The
measurements of the Yakut taken by us give the average breadth of face of the men as 150 mm., and of the women as 142 mm.[1] The face is generally oval, with the corners of the lower jaw strongly developed, and the chin narrow. A number of types are shown on Plates XIV-XVIII.

The prevailing color of hair among the men is black. Out of 282 men,
142 220 (78 per cent) had black hair, 59 (20.9 per cent) had brown hair, 2 (0.7 per cent) had light-brown hair, and 1 (0.3 per cent) was a blond. The prevailing color of hair among the women is likewise black, but the percentage is considerably lower than it is among the men. Out of 185 women, 98 (53 per cent) had black hair, 78 (42 per cent) had brown hair, 8 (4.3 per cent) had light-brown hair, and 1 (0.5 per cent) was a blond.[2] Gray hair is seldom seen. Out of 14 old men of an estimated age of from fifty-five to seventy years, only 2 had gray hair. There was not a single bald person among the entire number of persons whose measurements were taken; but, according to the myths, bald-headed people may be found among the Koryak, though seldom.[3]

All of the 282 men had straight hair; while out of 179 women, 3 had wavy hair: the hair of the rest was straight. Mr. Bogoras says that the hair of the Chukchee, as well as that of the Koryak, is often wavy or even curly.[4] The above statement refers apparently to the Koryak of Bering Sea. I was told that among the Koryak of Alutor there are people with curly hair; but the Koryak of the Pacific coast whom I saw had straight hair.

The prevailing color of eyes is dark brown. Out of 257 men examined, 189 (73.5 per cent) had dark-brown eyes; 62 (24.2 per cent), light-brown eyes; 4 (1.5 per cent), black eyes; and 2 (0.7 per cent), gray eyes. Out of 166 women, 151 (90.9 per cent) had dark-brown eyes; 12 (7.2 per cent), light-brown eyes; and 3 (1.8 per cent), black eyes. Thus we see that the number of men with dark eyes exceeds that of women with hair of the same color, while dark-haired women are much more numerous than dark-haired men. Among the men we find a larger percentage of persons with eyes of a light color.

The form of the Koryak eye is not of a marked Mongolian type, still it is narrow. The outer corners are raised, and the upper fold is well

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[1] See Jochelson, Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers etc., pp. 17-19.

[2] Although the genealogical information obtained about the blonds showed that their fathers and mothers were Koryak, it is fair to presume that there is an admixture of Russian blood. Moreover, the eyes of the woman are light brown, and those of the man are gray, neither of which colors is ever met with among the Koryak.

[3] Some myths tell how Big-Raven or other people, who have been for some time in the anus or stomach of a man or an animal, grow bald (see Part I, pp. 169, 293).

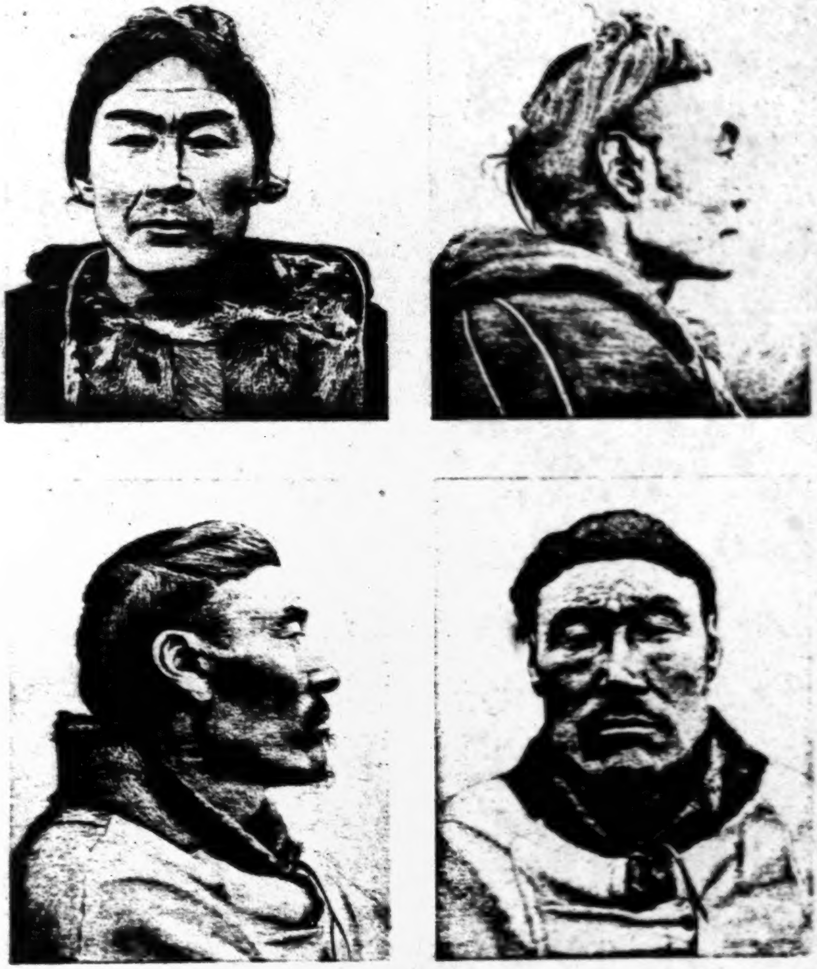
[4] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 34.

I: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI.

Plate XIV.

142



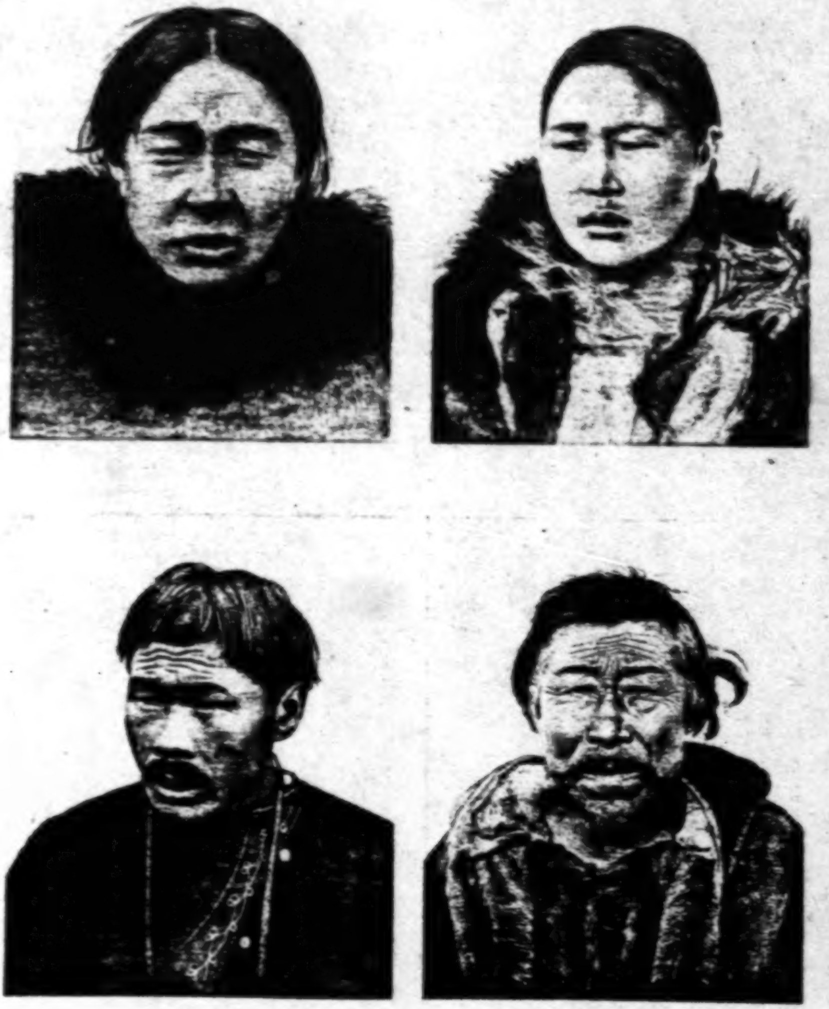
TYPES OF KORYAK MEN.

The Koryak

[Facing p. 410:A]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

142

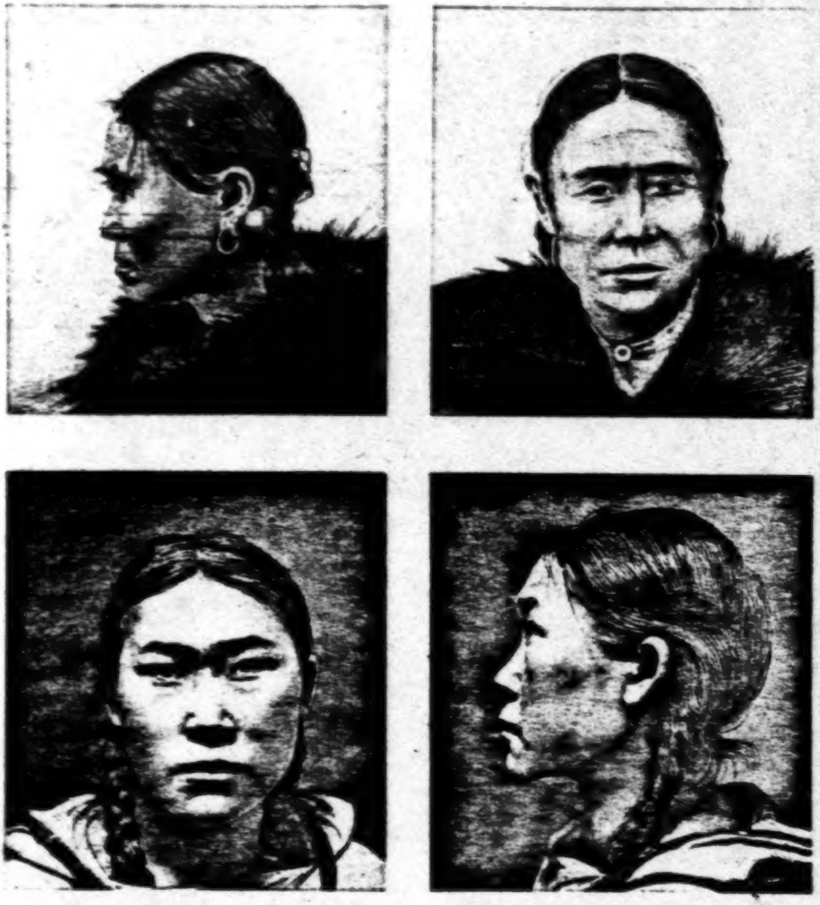


TYPES OF KORYAK MEN AND WOMEN.

[Facing p. 410: B]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

142



Types of Koryak Women.

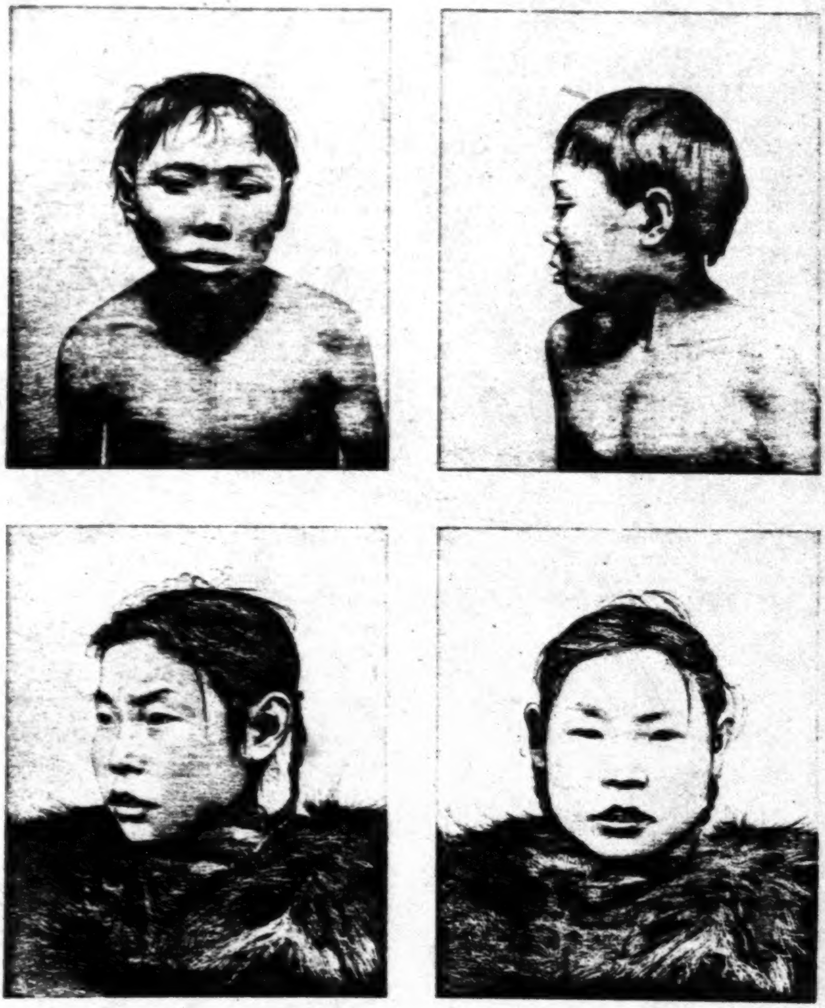
The Koryak.

[Facing p. 410:C]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XVII.

142



KORYAK BOY AND GIRL.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 410:D]

142 developed. The cut of the eye, nevertheless, is wider than that of the Mongolian. The lower eyelid seldom forms a straight line, which produces the effect of a narrow Mongolian eye. With rare exceptions it is more or less arched. Frequently the fold over the upper lid is but slightly developed; and instances are found of a wide-open eye, like that of the Caucasian race. For instance, the eyes of the boy (Plate XVII, Fig. 1) and of the woman (Plate XVI, Fig. 2) approach this type.

The eyebrows of the Koryak do not form a regular narrow line or arch. They usually grow irregularly, forming an unsymmetrical broad line, and meet on the glabella above the bridge of the nose. This gives a severe expression to the face; and at a distance the eyebrows appear to be thick and heavy. The eyelashes are very thin, and hardly perceptible.

The measurements of the nose have not been worked up as yet; and so far, I can only say that the nose is of moderate width. Its profile is depressed above, straight lower down. The bridge of the nose of men is higher, the nose is longer, and the nostrils are less frequently turned upward, than is the case with the women. The short, low-bridged nose of the women, with a wide bizygomatic diameter of the face, gives, in most cases, the impression of the flat Mongolian face. A projecting nose with a high bridge is more frequently met with among men than among women, but I never saw an aquiline nose.

The growth of hair on the face is scanty. As statements from memory, based on personal impressions, are liable to be misleading, I have taken the data pertaining to this point from the measurement notes.

302 Out of 185 men over twenty years of age, 66 (35.7 per cent) had no growth of hair on their faces; 32 (17.3 per cent) had removed it by shaving,
149 clipping with a knife, or by pulling it out; 37 (20 per cent) had a mustache only; 37 (20 per cent) removed the whiskers, leaving the mustache; and 13 (7 per cent) had whiskers and mustache. The hair of the mustache is usually thin, short, and straight. A long, thick mustache is seldom found. Age has nothing to do with the wearing of a mustache. Young men often have a mustache, while old men will pull it out. As a rule, hair does not appear on the face till rather late in life. More than half the persons without any growth of hair on the face were from twenty to twenty-five years of age, and some of them may yet grow a beard.

142 Men, after reaching the age of forty, usually allow the beard to grow, although the only two old men mentioned in our notes, who had gray hair
145 (one was said to be sixty, and the other seventy years old), had mustaches only, and were in the habit of pulling out their whiskers. Usually the beard consists of a short, scanty growth upon the chin, though sometimes there are stray tufts of hair on the cheeks also. I saw only one Koryak of Penshina Bay with a more or less thick round beard, — an old man of the village of

145 Ma'meč; and he gave me the impression of being a Russian-Koryak half-blood.
142 I heard that the Alutor people have a more abundant growth of hair on their
faces; but those whom I saw did not differ in this respect from other Koryak.[1]

142 It is quite impossible to define the shades of color of the skin without the assistance of chromatic tables, which we did not have with us; so we can speak on this point only in a general way.

The characteristic coloring of the Koryak skin is of the bronze scale of tints, ranging from light brown to copper-red and dull brown, and is darker on the exposed parts. The skin of the women is of a somewhat lighter shade. It is easy to distinguish between the color of skin of the Koryak and that of his neighbors, the Tungus and the Russians. The Koryak skin seems to me to lack entirely the yellow pigment of the Tungus skin, as well as the pale white of the Russian. In comparison with the Koryak, the Tungus appeared white to me.

I observed an interesting illustration of this. In the summer of 1901 I was at the mouth of the Avekova River, where a few Koryak and Tungus families were hunting and fishing. Once when I was present at a contest between two boys, a Tungus and a Koryak, with their bodies stripped to the waist, I was struck by the whiteness of the body of the Tungus boy compared with that of the Koryak. The photograph which I took then illustrates this difference well (see Plate XVIII, Fig. 2).

I was often struck by the light color of the skin of the Tungus (at least, the northern members of the tribes with whom I came in contact), particularly of their women and children. When I examined their skin closer, and compared it with mine or with that of my European fellow-travellers, I discovered that the Tungus skin is actually a light yellow (the color of a lemon-rind), or even somewhat lighter, while the skin of northern Europeans is of a bluish-milky or rosy-white color.

The bright-red cheeks so often seen on young Tungus women are particularly misleading as to the character of their complexion. The greater part of the northern Tungus seen by me were of a dark-yellow or dull earthy hue.

The above description of the color of the Koryak skin is as accurate as it is possible to give it without the aid of tables.

619 The tribes with whom some branches of the Koryak formerly intermarried,
and do even at present, are the Chukchee, Kamchadal, Tungus, Russians,
582 Yakut, Chuvantzy, and Yukaghir. The Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal, at
the southern border of the Chukchee territory, intermarry mainly with the
Chukchee. In northern Kamchatka the Maritime Koryak have long inter-

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[1] It is of interest to note that the conqueror of Kamchatka, Atlassoff, in his report, characterised the Koryak as a bearded people. Barrett-Hamilton and Jones (A Visit to Karaginski Island, Kamchatka [Geographical Journal, London, 1898, Vol. XII, p. 290]) tell that some of the men of the Karagin village were bearded, and they regard this as due to a mixture with Russian blood.

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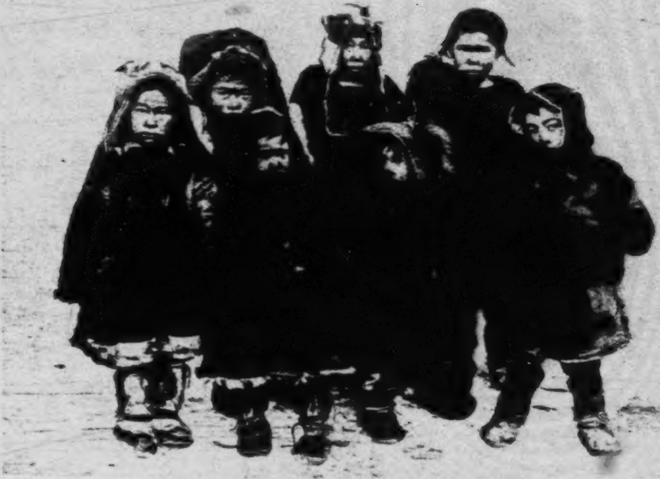

Fig. 1. Koryak Children.

524

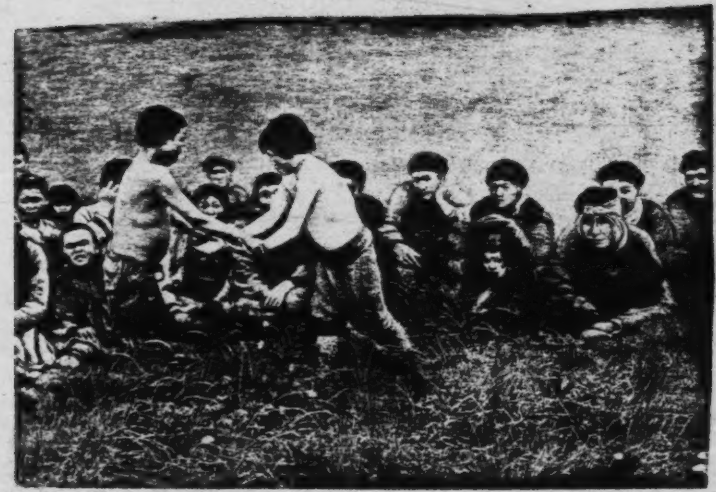

Fig. 2. Tungus Boy and Koryak Boy Wrestling.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 412]

582 married with the Kamchadal. In olden times the Koryak on the border of
the ancient Tungus-Koryak territory, near Tauysk, undoubtedly intermarried
619 with the Tungus. Of late years the Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga and Varkhalam Rivers have intermarried with Tungus women, and *vice versâ*. Since the close of the eighteenth century some of the Russianized Maritime Koryak of the Okhotsk Sea in the villages of Yamsk and Tumanskoye have intermarried with the Yakut.

Russo-Koryak half-breeds are found in the Russianized settlements of
[727] Nayakhan, Yamsk, and Tumanskoye, and in Russian villages of that region. The Koryak intermarried with the Chuvantzy and with the Yukaghir at the time when they were waging war with them, and took their women prisoners.

MORTALITY, FECUNDITY, and EXTREME AGE. — To get an idea of the rate
165 of mortality among Koryak children, I copied from the records of seventy-one married women whose measurements we had taken, the number of their living
853 and dead children. Of 278 births, 160 individuals lived, and 118 (42 per cent) were dead.[1] The ages of the dead children are not indicated; but, since about half of the mothers were not quite thirty years old, the children must have been young when they died. As everywhere, so among the Koryak, most of the children that do not survive die during the first year of their lives. This may serve as an explanation of the Koryak belief that children's souls are timid, and that therefore children are more subject than older persons to attacks from evil spirits. For this reason, children are placed under the special protection of the household penates.[2] Notwithstanding this, the mortality of children is enormous in comparison with that of civilized nations. This is the more remarkable, since the Koryak women nurse their children, and not infrequently continue to do so until the children are three years of age. As is well known, the great mortality in civilized countries
[164] among children in their first year is due to artificial feeding. It should be noted, in connection with the number of deaths among the Koryak children, that the records were taken by me just after an epidemic of measles, which had proved very fatal to children of all ages. The mortality of children is the same among the Reindeer as among the Maritime Koryak. Dividing the above number of children into two groups, according to their origin, I obtained the same coefficient of mortality in both groups. Apparently the difference in the mode of life of these two groups has no effect on the mortality in childhood.

842 In order to arrive at some conclusion concerning the fecundity of women, I singled out from the above number of women all those over thirty-nine years of age. Koryak women grow old at an early age, and forty years in most cases may be considered as the age-limit for procreation. Thus I found

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[1] Still-births and miscarriages are not included here.

[2] See Part I, p. 101.

842 that twenty-two women of from forty years of age and over had 120 children, — one had 1 child; five had 3 children each; four had 4 each; three had 5 each; two had 6 each; one had 7; three had 8 each; one had 9; one had 10; and one had 11. If we assume that all these women are unable to bear any more children (which evidently cannot be said with certainty), we shall then have an average of 5.5 births of living children to every woman, a considerable coefficient of female fecundity.

Of the total number of women whose measurements were taken, 13 per cent had never borne children. However, a part of these women were the wives of bigamists both wives of whom were infecund, and in such cases the husband may have been the cause of the sterility.

145 805 The accounts given by some travellers, of the extreme age reached by the Koryak, are much exaggerated. We could ascertain the age of the Koryak only approximately, by judging from their appearance, for they themselves do not know their age.

When conversing with old people, we tried to call up some event of their childhood, or of some other period of their life, which had left an impression on their memory. For instance, we tried to ascertain who was the chief of the district at the time of a person's marriage. In most cases the recollection of a Koryak regarding the events in his life is extremely confused.

162 145 In making our records we found, out of 284 men, only 13 whom we judged to be more than fifty-five years of age, and but one very old man, a Reindeer Koryak. He was not less than seventy years old, according to recollections of his children, and he may have been older. He was no longer able to drive reindeer, and was brought to us by one of his grandsons. Old women are met with even less frequently than old men.

161 On the basis of the above data, it is difficult to give a definite answer to the question whether the tribe is increasing in numbers or not. I shall touch upon this point in Chapter III; but, speaking generally, the Koryak population at present is increasing in the intervals between epidemics and [164] famines. Epidemics especially carry off the increase of many years. Some Koryak settlements, those which have been or are at present subjected to the process of Russianization, are perceptibly decreasing in numbers.

There is no reason to suppose that the Reindeer Koryak — perhaps with a few exceptions — are decreasing in numbers. They come less in contact with the Russians and with civilization in general than do the Maritime Koryak; they are better provided with means of subsistence, and have therefore preserved to a greater degree their primitive energy, so indispensable in a struggle with the adverse conditions of arctic life. There is no doubt that the Koryak were not very numerous in the past. That which is now accomplished by diseases imported by the Russians was effected in olden times by wars and famines.

The Koryak tribe, taken as a whole, is at present, after the Chukchee, 164
the healthiest of all the tribes of northeastern Siberia. Of the influence of civilization upon them, I shall speak in the last chapter.

THE SENSES. — The Koryak discriminate between people of their own 151
tribe and those of another by their smell. Thus, for instance, they cannot stand the smell of a Russian house or of a Tungus tent. And I can say for myself, that, after an intercourse of many years with various Siberian tribes, I was able to recognize the characteristic smell of a Yukaghir, a Tungus, or a Yakut.

Their vision is very keen. They are able to distinguish objects, and recognize persons, at a distance at which I can see nothing. Near-sightedness is rare among them; and one would hardly find among them an instance of looking through half-closed eyes, so characteristic of near-sighted people. I did, however, meet with two or three cases of near-sightedness. Such persons felt helpless, and did not go out hunting, nor did they drive the first sledge of a train.

The Koryak dislike salty and bitter things. While the Yukaghir, Yakut, 151
and Tungus frequently came to us for salt, the Koryak seemed to feel no
need for it. Those people to whom I gave mustard to taste expectorated 262
for quite a while.

They are very fond of hard biscuit; but many of them prefer the fresh, slightly sour rye bread baked by the Russians of that locality, and which I carried with me in a frozen state in bags. Before meal-time they put the bread before the fire to thaw it out. The sour and pungent taste of putrid fish and decomposing meat seems to tickle the Koryak palate.

They are very fond of sweet things, and sugar is in the greatest demand among articles of exchange. They compare the taste of sugar to that of reindeer-fat, or to the taste of the marrow of the reindeer leg-bones.

The Koryak like fat in all forms; as, for instance, fish-oil, reindeer-fat, the blubber of sea-animals, and the fat of other animals, but they cannot consume
it in such quantities as the Yakut consume melted butter. Excessive use of 136
the blubber of the spotted-seal (*Phoca ochotensis*) produces vomiting; and many of them cannot bear the smell of the blubber of the male of the ringed-seal.

The Koryak distinguish the following colors, — black and dark blue 151
(called by one name, nu´uqen), white (ne´lhaqen), red (naye´čeqen), green, light
blue, and coffee-color (nota´lhayeqen), and yellow (malh´čeqen). When they 828
are shown (for instance, on printed calico) the various colors intermediary between those enumerated, they class them among one or another of the above. Red is regarded as the most beautiful color. Faces with ruddy cheeks are considered handsome. Soft light-brown hair and brown eyes are valued as marks of feminine beauty. Dark eyes and coarse black hair in a woman are looked upon as signs of ill-nature.

515 CLEANLINESS. — The Koryak can by no means be classed among cleanly people. With extremely rare exceptions, resulting from the civilizing influence of the Russians, they do not wash. The faces of children, as well as those of old people, are covered with a layer of dirt and soot mixed with fat, so that it is difficult to determine the natural color of their skin. Only the girls and young women washed their faces before coming to us to be measured. Mucus from the nostrils is almost always a decoration of the children, and the older people are frequently not far behind them in this respect.

262 515 [763] The kettles in which the food is cooked are full of reindeer and dog hair, which fall from the clothes and fill the air of the Koryak house. The Koryak kill lice, which are regarded by them as properly belonging to a healthy man, with their teeth. There is a prevailing belief among them, as well as among the Yukaghir, that when a man is deserted by lice he will soon die. They eat also the large larvæ which develop from the eggs deposited by the reindeer-flies in the hair of the reindeer. No matter how putrid food may be, the Koryak have no aversion to it, and they will even drink the urine of persons intoxicated with fly-agaric.

164 DISEASES. — Among non-contagious diseases, the most frequent are derangements of the digestive organs, caused by irregular nutrition and the use of putrid fish and meat. Complaints of pain in the stomach are frequent, and the Maritime branch of the tribe especially suffer from the tape-worm. Tetter, scabies, and other skin-diseases, are very common, owing to their filthy habits.

[732] Diseases of the eyes — such as inflammation of the lids, or an affection of the cornea — are widely spread. This is to be attributed to the action of smoke in the underground houses of the Maritime Koryak, and to the reflected light of the snow in the spring. People suffering from conjunctivitis and cataract are frequently met with; but I saw only three cases of blindness during my travels, and the three so affected were people of middle age. From the Report of 1884, by Dr. Uspenski, the district physician who visited some Koryak settlements and camps, there were found, in 70 houses visited, 14 persons suffering from cataract,[1] which is a large percentage.

158 The Koryak are not subject to nervous diseases to the same extent as other arctic tribes, though some are afflicted with symptoms of the two forms of nervousness so frequently met with in the Arctic region. These two forms are widely prevalent among the Yukaghir, Tungus, Yakut, and also among the Russian immigrants. They are generally known by the Yakut names of meryak and menerik; but there are specific names in all the languages of the arctic tribes, not only for these two diseases, but for their various symptoms as well.[2] However, it is probable that these two forms of nervous suffering are symptomatic manifestations of arctic hysteria.

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[1] Taken from the Government Archives of Gishiginsk.

[2] A more detailed description of these diseases will be given in my work on the Yukaghir.

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Meryak is a form of hysterical fit, with some peculiarities. Severe cases of it result in epileptic and cataleptic fits. Mild cases of menerik are indicated by extreme excitability, a shuddering at the least unexpected noise, accompanied by indecent exclamations, such as the mention of male and female sexual organs, or by making remarks referring to them. In severe cases, the persons affected lose their will-power, and are easily controlled by outside influence: in fact, they may be said to be hypnotized without being in the state of sleep. Such subjects will repeat the words and actions of another, and will do whatever they are ordered to. In this condition they are able to repeat speeches made in a foreign language, or perform difficult, dangerous, or indecent things.

A sick old woman, for instance, is able to dance until utterly exhausted, being induced to do so by the mere sight of dancing young people; or to jump across a gorge or into a river, or throw herself into the fire, on the order of a joker; and if not stopped in time, she may be seriously injured or killed. Young profligates make sport of the modesty of women so affected, causing them to do various indecent things, or abusing them. Women particularly are subject to both forms of arctic hysteria; those of middle age suffering from menerik, and young women and girls from meryak.

In rare cases, men also suffer from nervous attacks, shamans in particular. I had several opportunities to observe the various symptoms of arctic hysteria among the tribes enumerated; but I had no opportunity to witness any cases of meryak among the Koryak. I was told that nervous attacks accompanied by spasms and catalepsy are frequent among women, particularly among those of the Reindeer Koryak.

The Koryak replied to my inquiries about menerik, that some time ago this disease was more widely spread than now, and that at present there are women suffering from a disease called in Koryak me'nkeiti ("to startle"), which is manifested by a quick susceptibility to fright. Subsequently I had the good fortune to observe two cases of menerik in a mild form. The first case was that of a young girl in Kuel. When my cup fell on the floor, she started, and exclaimed, "Pakuka!" ("vulva!")[1] Such exclamations are so closely connected with the fright, that they themselves are a symptom of the disease.

I saw two really insane people. One was quiet, rather feeble-minded; (758)
but the other, in the Kamenskoye settlement, was violent, and he was often kept chained. Once he took by force the food from my cossack and interpreter. On another occasion he stole a hatchet from me, and hid it. After that, the Koryak took him to another settlement.

People addicted to the use of fly-agaric can be detected by their appear-

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[1] In tale No. 80 (p. 247) Kilu', Big-Raven's niece, frightened by Grebe-Man, started, and exclaimed, "Tośakana'pal!" ("The penis hangs!") "Upakana'pal!" ("The vulva hangs!") From this we see that this symptom of arctic hysteria has long been known to the Koryak.

158 ance. Even when they are in a normal condition, a twitching of the face is observable, and they have a haggard look and an uneven gait.

164 Contagious and epidemic diseases find fertile ground among the Koryak as among other Siberian tribes. Even measles, which in civilized countries is generally confined to children, and is comparatively harmless, carries off large numbers of grown people among the Koryak.

Small-pox and measles appeared among the Koryak after they came in contact with the Russians. Small-pox is said to have appeared for the first time in the Okhotsk-Kamchatka territory about 1767. Since then it has been epidemic in that region several times. The contagion spread from Yakutsk or the Kolyma River; but, since intercourse between the bulk of the Koryak tribe and the Russians was not frequent until recently, small-pox did not rage in the interior of the Koryak territory to the extent that it did among other tribes. The last epidemic of small-pox occurred in 1895. It came from the Kolyma side, and claimed numerous victims among the Chukchee of the northern tundra; but the Koryak were affected very little by it.

Epidemics of measles are hardly less fatal. The last one was brought to the Koryak from Kamchatka in 1899. In some cases the havoc wrought by it was so great as to carry off a third of the population. Among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, for instance, 97 persons, according to my record of families, died of it.[1] While the census figures of 1897 show that there were in all only 297 persons on the Taigonos Peninsula before the epidemic, the enumeration made by me after the epidemic gives 318 persons there.[2]

164 Like the Chukchee, the Koryak call syphilis the Chuvantzy or Yukaghir
disease (atal or etel va´ırgin[3]), evidently because it was through these tribes
177 that the infection was brought from the Russians. The Paren people call it
also tagı´ta. In our travels among the Reindeer Koryak, as well as through

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[1] To give an idea of the ravages of measles among the Koryak in 1900, I will cite here what I heard from a young Koryak employed as a herdsman by a wealthy widow, the sister of the Taigonos elder.

"Our tent stood alone on the shore of the Avekova River. There were ten of us. We all took sick, and could hardly drag ourselves about. Soon one after another died. Another herdsman and myself, both ill, drove the dead to be burned. Finally this herdsman, too, died. There were now three of us, — our mistress, another woman, and myself. Soon the other woman died. Alone I drove her a little way from our tent; but I had no strength to burn her, for I could not pick up the wood. I put the dead woman on the snow, killed the reindeer on which I had brought her, and placed him alongside of her. Then I plucked some alder-tree branches, covered the dead woman and the reindeer with them, and pressed them down from the top with the sledge.

"An awful storm was raging at the time. When I returned home, I found the tent had fallen down, and that my mistress was lying under the uprooted stakes of the framework. All alone, she had been unable to withstand the strong wind, and fasten down the falling tent. I drew her from under the tent, and with difficulty we pitched it again the best we could. Thus only two of us recovered. After that, I wandered about for several days to collect the herd, which had scattered in all directions."

In the summer of 1901 I sent this herdsman with my cossack to find the skull of the woman that had not been burned, but they could not discover it. Very likely the bears had carried off the corpse.

[2] For the difference between the figures 297 and 318 see Chapter III.

[3] By the name atal, or etel, as the Paren people pronounce it, the Koryak call the Chuvantzy as well as the Yukaghir.

the settlements of the Maritime Koryak, we often came across syphilitic 164
patients; but all the cases were either in the tertiary stage or were instances
of hereditary syphilis. From the Report of 1884, by the district physician 177
Uspenski, I have taken the following interesting data: —

Syphilis developed, particularly during the seventies of the last century, in the Gishiga district. The Government then established a special hospital for syphilitics in Gishiginsk, where the Koryak went readily to be treated. In 1880 this hospital was closed, and syphilis spread more virulently.

Dr. Uspenski, on his inspection tour of 1884 over the Koryak settlements of the western shores of Penshina Bay, found in 91 houses 42 persons suffering from syphilis; among the Taigonos Koryak, 19 infected in 9 camps; and among the Reindeer Koryak of Opuka on the Palpal, 16 in 10 camps. Among the Alutor Koryak he did not find a single case: so that little nook on the Pacific had not been touched by the disease.

The idea is prevalent among the Russians, for some reason or other, that the presence of syphilis among the Koryak is due to the sailors of American whaling-vessels. This was the opinion of the chief of the Gishiga district[1] and of Dr. Uspenski in the above-mentioned report. In support of this opinion, Dr. Uspenski pointed out that, while he found among the Koryak near Gishiga numerous cases of syphilis in its contagious stage, on a wholesale examination of the cossacks and their families of Gishiga he discovered that five persons out of a hundred showed traces of former venereal disease, but not one of its contagious form.

Dr. Slunin also says that some settlements along the Okhotsk Sea, as Yamsk (Russianized Koryak) and Arman (Tungus), which were often visited by American whalers, have a bad reputation.[2] George Kennan also is of the opinion that the American whalers have imported syphilis to the Koryak of Penshina Bay.[3] However, I do not believe that the Koryak are exceptional among the Siberian tribes. All the tribes of northeastern Siberia, the Chukchee and Kamchadal among them, contracted syphilis from the Russians long before the appearance of American whalers in Bering and Okhotsk Seas. It is known, for instance, that among the Kamchadal syphilis was particularly widespread after the arrival (in 1799) of an infantry regiment under the command of Major-General Somoff at Petropavlovsk.[4]

There is another interesting feature in connection with the appearance of syphilis among the Koryak. As we shall see later, in the chapter treating

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[1] See Government Archives of the Gishiga District, 1884, Case 1094.

[2] Slunin, I, p. 522.

[3] Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia (London, 1870), p. 233.

[4] After the first visits to Petropavlovsk by foreign vessels, — namely, by the English expedition under Captain Cook, who had been killed not long before the visit, and by the expedition of the French navigator La Pérouse, — the Russian Government thought it necessary to put the port of Petropavlovsk under military administration.

164 177 of family relations, the sexual relations of the Koryak, compared with those of their neighbors, are remarkably pure for a primitive tribe. This should make the possibility of infection through sexual intercourse rare. It is likely that the contagion spread simply through contact, in consequence of their lack of aversion to things eaten by others and of the excessive filth obtaining among them.

Leprosy, so widely spread among the Yakut, is not found at all among the Koryak. Slunin says that the Kamchadal also are exempt from it.[1] The Yakut, also Russian immigrants, half-blood descendants of Kamchadal and Russians or Yakut, and to some extent the Tungus, are subject to this disease. Personally I did not meet with a single instance of a Tungus affected by leprosy.

From time to time a contagious disease similar to grippe in its prolonged and severe form, accompanied with many complications, spreads among the Koryak, and each time it claims a few score victims. This disease was introduced by the Russians. At the time of my arrival at the Russian town of Gishiginsk (August, 1900), almost its entire Russian population, the cossacks included, were down with the grippe.

757 The remedies used by the Kamchadal are not used by the Koryak. In case of sickness they have recourse to shamanism, family charms, and incantations. They readily apply for help to a Russian physician or to travellers, whom they regard as shamans, and take their medicine gladly. Wounds heal with remarkable rapidity after they have been dressed, and antiseptics have been applied to them. The Koryak usually leave their wounds open, for they have not the necessary material with which to dress them. Hare's hair is frequently applied by them to a wound; but the hairs stick to it, and dirt accumulates, and it is surprising how the wounds heal at all under such conditions. By applying the proper dressing, we often succeeded in healing in a few days ulcers, cuts, and wounds from which they had been suffering for months.

181 MENTAL TRAITS. — There is quite a disparity of opinion among travellers in reference to the psychological and moral traits of the Koryak.

114 Krasheninnikoff says, "They are all exceedingly rude, irascible, ill-disposed, spiteful, and unmerciful;"[2] but in another place he says, "The Koryak are truthful, diligent, and endowed with a sense of shame."[3] On the same page he says that the Maritime Koryak are more courageous than their Reindeer brothers.

Dittmar says that the Koryak are "good-natured, honest, strictly truthful, and do not know deceit. But should any one offend their sense of honor, or insult them, their anger is lasting, and they seek to avenge themselves."[4]

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[1] Slunin, I, p. 529.
[2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.
[3] Ibid., II, p. 203.
[4] Dittmar, Die Koriaken, pp. 26, 27.

With reference to the Paren and Kamenskoye people, Dittmar says in another 181
place that they are "of a restless, warlike nature, or, rather, they have the 114
nature of robbers, which has made for them a number of enemies,"[1] and that the wandering Koryak visit them only in case of dire necessity. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are, according to Dittmar,[2] such an honest, straight-forward people, that he expresses a wish that the demoralizing influence of civilization should not touch their pure patriarchal life.

Maydell, on the contrary, considers the Koryak a wily people, who have caused a good deal of harm to the Russians by their pretended submission and treacherous revolts.[3]

Slunin says of the Maritime Koryak, that they are "more advanced, more receptive, have better morals (?), and are more sociable in their manners,"[4] than the Reindeer Koryak, but are not very hospitable; while hospitality, and readiness to come to the assistance of the needy, constitute, on the contrary, a distinctive trait of the nomadic Koryak.

Kennan[5] also praises the Reindeer Koryak for their honesty and hospitality, while the picture he draws of the Maritime Koryak is anything but attractive. "They are," says Kennan, "cruel and brutal in disposition, insolent to everybody, revengeful, dishonest, and untruthful. The settled Koraks of Penzhinsk Gulf are unquestionably the worst, ugliest, most brutal and degraded natives in all northeastern Siberia; more trouble than all the other inhabitants of Siberia and Kamchatka together."

Personally I believe that the principal traits of character of the Maritime 181
and Reindeer Koryak are much alike. They are proud, independent, inclined
to brag; their passions are easily aroused; they take offence readily, and try 152
to avenge themselves by any possible means. They are hospitable and sociable with people in whom they have confidence, but do not conceal their dislike for those who are unfriendly to them, or who, for some reason or
another, did not gain their favor. They do not fear death, and they cannot [761]
be frightened by anything. For reasons such as the death of a relative,
quarrels, or wrath, suicide has frequently been committed among them, as [762]
well as among the Chukchee, even recently.

In former times, owing to these traits of character, feuds, or misunder- [721]
standings among the Koryak, or between them and other tribes, ended in mutual slaughter. At present, their manners are somewhat gentler, but in dealing with them one must always take into consideration their obstinacy, austerity, and dauntlessness.

Together with the Chukchee, the Koryak are the only Siberian tribe 177
whose attitude toward the Russian authorities is that of almost perfect independence. However, the Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district, and

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[1] Dittmar, Die Koräken, p. 12.

[2] Ibid., p. 34.

[3] Maydell, I, pp. 567–573.

[4] Slunin, I, p. 392.

[5] Kennan, pp. 197, 203, 209.

177 particularly the Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka who have embraced Christianity, are exceptions to this rule. They have the same pitiful and humble appearance as the Kamchadal, Yukaghir, and Tungus, and carry out submissively each and every order of the cossacks and the Russians in general. Evidently the process of Russianization, combined with two centuries of oppression by the Russian authorities, has brought about this change in the primitive character of this branch of the Koryak.

727 During the time of the subjection of the Koryak, full-grown men in the villages or camps, unable to withstand longer the besieging Russians, often killed their dogs or reindeer, their women and children, and finally themselves, if they could not escape by flight. Such a state of things discouraged even the conquerors. Similar instances of wild self-destruction while battling for their freedom occurred later on as well, when the Russians were suppressing
669 the Koryak rebellions. These rebellions were caused by the levying of the fur-tribute (yassak), or by the demand of the Russians for hostages. These demands the Koryak refused to grant, though other Siberian tribes, with the exception of the Chukchee, complied with them.

[181] Strictly speaking, the Koryak were not on the whole opposed to the fur-tribute, which they considered an offering to the Czar; but the extortionate demands made by the cossacks and officials for furs and services for themselves were contrary to the Koryak sense of justice and his love of freedom. The rebellious spirit of the Koryak was not crushed with the suppression of the revolts.[1]

609 An old man from the Kamenskoye village told me that he could remember seeing, when he was a child, Russian merchants accompanied by cossacks come to trade, and that, fearing an attack, they stopped outside the village. It was only when the Koryak came out to them unarmed that trade began. Even very recently the chief of the Gishiga district travelled through the Koryak villages and camps under the protection of an armed body-guard.

651 In the sixties of the last century the chief of the Gishiga district, Volkov, ordered a drunken Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to be beaten with rods when he came to Gishiginsk. The relatives of the man determined to flog the Russian chief in Kamenskoye, where he was expected to arrive as usual for collecting tribute of furs. When Volkov heard of this, he sent two cossacks for the tribute, instead of going himself. As soon as they arrived in the settlement, they were stretched out and flogged, and then sent back to Volkov to tell him that now he might come, since the indignity to their relative was avenged.[2]

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[1] For a more detailed account of the relations between the Russians and the Koryak, see the historical sketch in Chapter XIV.

[2] From the Report of Ratkevich, the successor of Volkov, chief of the Gishiga district, to the Governor of the Maritime Province, Dec. 31, 1886, No. 424 (Government Archives of Gishiga).

The same official, Volkov, was for a long time unable to collect the 579
fur-tribute from the Koryak of Shestakovo village. When some of these 651
Koryak came to Gishiginsk with furs to sell to the merchants, Volkov ordered the furs to be confiscated. The Koryak went away empty-handed. When, after that, Volkov passed the village of Shestakovo, the Koryak surrounded the underground house where he stopped and tried to beat him. The chief drew his sabre, and with its flat side struck over the back a Koryak who was trying to get at him. Then all the Koryak fell upon the chief, but they were held back by his body-guard of five cossacks. The cossacks, in the Koryak language (which the chief did not understand), begged the Koryak not to ruin them by acts of violence on the chief. The Koryak yielded to the entreaties of the cossacks on the promise of a present of powder, and after the Koryak who had been struck by the chief had been allowed to pass his hand over the back of the chief's coat (without his knowledge of it), thus simulating a return stroke.[1]

In the Report cited above there are other facts of a similar nature. For instance, District Chief Mazurkevich, when visiting the village of Kamenskoye in 1872, provoked by the insolence of the Koryak I'velqut, struck him in the chest to drive him away. I'velqut attacked the chief, but was caught by the latter's body-guard, and driven out of the underground house. In a few minutes the house was surrounded; and the cossacks of the guard, seeing that they were unable to shield Mazurkevich from harm, offered themselves as a propitiation for the insult. The Koryak were satisfied with this substitution, and gave the cossacks a thrashing.

To give an idea of the Koryak customs and manners, I will cite here 437
some incidents of my personal intercourse with them. In the fall of 1900 177
some Koryak from Kuel took my companions, myself, and my luggage, in two skin boats, from the mouth of the Paren River to their settlement. I asked them what they wanted in payment for their trouble. They held a consultation among themselves, and asked for twenty bricks of tea. It must be borne in mind that they were then out of tea. In summer they do not come in contact with the Russian merchants, and their supply laid in during spring is quickly consumed. If by chance a Russian merchant were to come among them in the fall, he would charge from two to three rubles for a brick of tea.

Now, the distance by sea from the mouth of the Paren River to Kuel is about twelve miles. According to local conditions, the price set by the Koryak was too high, and I asked them if they did not think it was too much. The elder of the Kuel settlement, old Euvı'npet, replied angrily and impatiently, "If thou findest that it is too much, then we do not want any

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[1] Told by a cossack who participated in the quarrel.

437 177 pay I had not expected that my question would offend them. In my intercourse for a number of years with other Siberian tribes, I had not only always come to an understanding with them about the pay for their services, but in most cases had set it myself. In cases where I offered less than was asked for, they never took offence.

Among those tribes there is no definite scale of prices for services in general, and obviously not for those for which I was the first to apply to them. Sometimes a native would ask of me at random the first thing that he saw in my tent, or in the house where I stopped, without taking its value into consideration. For instance, a girl from the Itkana settlement asked me, by the advice of her uncle, in return for permission to make a cast of her face, for a copper pot which I subsequently exchanged for a small skin boat.

After my experience with Euvi'npet, I did not haggle with the Koryak again when I had not come to a previous understanding with them. I often gave them more than they asked for, since they would ask for a trifle, when it happened to strike their fancy, in payment for quite laborious work. In the end, the Koryak left the settlement of the reward to me.

123 609 I had another unpleasant experience among the Reindeer Koryak during the fair on the Palpal Mountains in March, 1901. Owing to the epidemic of measles that had been raging a short time before my arrival, I was not welcomed very cordially. By order of the old men, no one wished to be measured. A few men only, who acted independently and did not care for public opinion, consented to be measured two or three days after my arrival.

The women were angry when I applied to them for anything. They wished to get our presents, but they were afraid to disobey the old men. One young woman, tempted by the presents, began to dictate a tale to me. With her and my interpreter, I sat on a sledge outside. While she was dictating, an old woman came up to her and said something. Thereupon the young woman showed signs of impatience, and talked reluctantly. When I asked her to explain one place which I did not understand, she suddenly flung the presents at the interpreter and ran away into the common tent.[1]

Another woman, whom I asked to sell me the embroidered trousers for men which she was drying, replied angrily and with irony, "Go, go farther! Look for cutting-boards!" She was hinting at the fact that I had previously made an unsuccessful attempt to buy, from some women, cutting-boards with figures engraved upon them. However, the husband of the woman brought to me on the following day those very trousers.

It should be kept in mind, in connection with these remarks, that the Koryak look upon every traveller as an official of high rank. If I could have remained longer with the Palpal people, I have no doubt that our relations would have undergone a complete change. Unfortunately the fair lasted but a few days, and my plans were such that after the fair I had to go to the Taigonos Peninsula. 609 123

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[1] See Part I, p. 77.

The discrepancy in the accounts given by various travellers of the characteristics of the Reindeer and Maritime Koryak can, it seems to me, be explained by the fact that the Reindeer people, being nomadic, could always get away from unwelcome visitors, and the Russians did not know where to find the camps which they desired to visit; while the Maritime Koryak, being established in certain places, could not escape undesirable visits, and were compelled to offer resistance when they did not wish to yield to the demands of the Russians. 177 648

One demand of the cossacks always irritates the Koryak, and that is the exaction of conveyance without charge. The Koryak, as a rule, have few driving-dogs, and, moreover, food must be taken along for the dogs, even if there is not enough left for the people. In this respect the Reindeer Koryak are more favorably situated. It is a trifle for a wealthy reindeer-owner to give a few reindeer for driving. He does not suffer any privation by rendering such service, and therefore is not irritated by demands of this sort.

The same is true regarding their hospitality. The Maritime Koryak are as hospitable as those of the Reindeer branch, but they have nothing acceptable to offer to a white person. He will not eat seal-meat with blubber. Not even all cossacks can eat the food of the Koryak, who feel insulted if any one shows aversion to it. Besides, the Maritime Koryak themselves often suffer from a scarcity of food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are in a position to offer reindeer-meat to the white man. 609 177

The Maritime Koryak, for instance, never offered me food, unless I myself asked them for dried fish, while they always treated my people with food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the contrary, always treated us to boiled reindeer-tongues, a delicacy kept for guests of honor.

On the whole, I retain a good impression of the Koryak. They are hard to get along with if one does not know their ways. They are churlish, rude, and quarrelsome, if displeased; but they do not flatter, are truthful, straightforward, and, when in good-humor, good-natured and jocose. 181

Mr. Kennan's remarks about the Kamentsi may be explained by the fact that the agents of the Russian-American Company, in whose employ he was, either paid the Koryak, under the patronage of the Russian authorities, very poorly or not at all for their services, or treated them arrogantly, as they did the meek and humble Kamchadal. This is the only way in which I can reconcile the relations between the Maritime Koryak and the employees of the Telegraph Company as described by Mr. Kennan. Some old Russians in Gishiginsk told me that the agents of the company paid by slips or receipts, the money for which has not yet been collected. 177 114

577 114 685 Krasheninnikoff's opinion, that theft is regarded by the Koryak as laudable,[1] is utterly unjust. In formér times it was considered right to plunder enemies; but this was a form of spoil, and not theft. Their language has a word for stealing (tı-to'latıñ, "I steal"); but cases of theft are rare. If one is convicted of stealing, the owner takes away the stolen things, and just laughs at the thief.[2]

685 During the whole of my sojourn among the Koryak I lost nothing from my belongings. My boxes and bags, packed full of provisions, and goods for exchange and presents, — all of considerable value, and sealed only with a sealing-wax seal, — were frequently left by me outside, or in the care of a Koryak, to be taken to some other place in my absence; and never a thing was lost. On the contrary, on the two occasions on which I did lose things in the Gishiga district, the theft was committed by Russian drivers.

577 The orders that I gave to the Koryak for models, or for the acquisition of articles for my collection, were carried out by them honestly and promptly. On one occasion only did a trader — a Koryak from the Mikino settlement, who had gone to the Opuka River for purposes of trade — send me fewer things than I ordered from him. In this case, his son, when I told him that according to my calculations his father was in debt to me, straightened out the difference by giving me a rug of reindeer-skins.

I will touch here on the sympathy of the Reindeer Koryak for human suffering. They are always ready to assist the starving — no matter who they may be, Maritime Koryak or Russians — by bringing them reindeer. The poor inhabitants of the Russian settlements, when their fish-supplies are exhausted toward spring, go to the Reindeer camps, and the Koryak slaughter reindeer for them, either for a trifling remuneration or on trust. The Russian drivers who, in the spring of 1900, took me and my belongings on seven dog-sledges to the Reindeer Koryak of the Topolovka River, left that place with their sledges loaded with slaughtered reindeer.

153 The mind of the Koryak, we may say, works as slowly as does his clumsy body, and gets tired as quickly. Very few of the women were able to dictate to me two tales in succession. Usually, after having told one tale, they would ask to be relieved, for they were tired. In taking my notes, I was obliged to stop frequently, for I could see that my interpreter was tired, and unable to follow my questions with proper attention.

517 The Koryak are very fond of knowledge. They followed with great interest the descriptions of the life of the people in other countries. Every novelty excites and attracts them; but their attention is not lasting. Our phonograph made the most striking impression wherever we went. Often a

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 220.

[2] From the myths we can also see that the Koryak do not regard theft as a virtue. Eme'mqut's wife, Ermine-Woman, being accused of stealing, was driven out of Big-Raven's house (Part I, p. 222).

11 hundred persons would crowd into the house where we put up our phonograph, and gather around it in a ring. Some of the lads watched the phonograph in action with an interest as intense as if they were about to penetrate the mystery of the box which could utter words and sounds. 517

The grown-up people explained it very simply, thus: "A living being, capable of imitating humans, is sitting in the box." They used to call it the "old man." Naturally, they were especially pleased to hear the box repeat Koryak tales and songs. Of the musical records they liked particularly the reproduction of the xylophone and of negro melodies. They preferred solo to orchestral records. The Koryak are easily excited by their own primitive music and songs. They appreciate a good voice and skill in beating the drum. They will sit and listen for hours to singing accompanied by the drum.

1 Numeration and Measures. — The Koryak system of numeration, like that of the Chukchee, has two bases, — five, the number of fingers on one hand; and twenty, the number of fingers and toes combined, or simply the man. They Koryak are not expert in the use of numbers. The majority of them, even at the present time, use their hands and feet as helps in computing even small numbers; but even so, they count better than the Chukchee. I saw Reindeer Koryak with several hundred reindeer who knew their number exactly. The traders from among the Maritime Koryak can not only reckon mentally small numbers (not above a hundred) without the help of fingers or sticks, but even have a curious way of keeping their accounts.[1] While I was among the Chukchee, I saw traders who were absolutely unable to count. 802

In the Kolyma district, not far from the Indigirka River, I once met a wealthy Chukchee returning from the Russian settlement called the Russian Estuary. He was in the habit of exchanging reindeer-meat and tea with the hunters of the tundra for their arctic foxes, and selling them to the Russian merchant from whom he was returning when I met him. Before retiring to bed, he took out of a leather bag bricks of tea, and arranged them in a row, in pairs. Then he took from another smaller bag little willow sticks, and placed a stick on each pair of the bricks of tea. The number of the sticks corresponded to the number of the fox-skins he had had. In this manmer he checked off the exchange he had effected, and he usually received two bricks of tea for each arctic fox. This time a few pairs of bricks were left uncovered by the sticks. The Chukchee decided that the merchant had made a mistake. Subsequently, when I met the Russian merchant, it turned out differently.

The Chukchee brought a few bundles of fox-skins, and, throwing them to the merchant, said, "Give me tea for this." The merchant counted up the skins, and gave him tea at the rate of eighty kopecks per brick, while before

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[1] See Chapter XI, Figs. 248–250.

802 he had charged one ruble per brick. At that time, tea was cheaper than usual; but the Chukchee was utterly unable to understand the merchant's calculations.

[822] The Koryak have no standard for the expression of relations of space. The distance between certain points is computed in terms of time. Thus, for instance, the distance between Paren and Gishiga (about 100 miles, according to the estimate of Russians) is spoken of as a trip, on good driving-dogs, lasting two days, or requiring one stop for the night. The conception of distance is in this case only a relative one. A camp of Reindeer Koryak which is moving rather slowly requires six or seven days for this trip. Neither have the Koryak a scale of lineal measures. They use the finger-reach as a unit, but only for measuring thongs.

805 Seasons. — The year is divided into twelve lunar months (ya'ʌḷñın, "the moon"). The first month begins at the time of the winter solstice, and corresponds to our month of December. The Koryak are very little troubled by the fact that in the interval between two winter solstices an extra new moon may occur. Some months have different names in different places; but the names of the months most commonly used are as follows: —

1. Čaq-iᵖ'vih-ya'aḷñın ("cold winds' month") or Iᵖviw-ya'aḷñın ("snow-storms' month").
2. Ya'yawuča-ya'aḷñın ("[growing] of the reindeer's spinal sinew month").
3. Tenmıtaloo'-ya'aḷñın ("false-making-udder month") or Qoya'-looča-ya'aḷñın ("reindeer-udder month"). Mr. Bogoras[1] cites for the third and fourth Koryak months names signifying "false reindeer-birth month" and "genuine reindeer-birth month." The first name apparently corresponds to the name of the month signifying "false-udder month."
4. Qoya'-wya-ya'aḷñın ("reindeer-does' calving month"). This month is called "calving month" by the Chukchee also.
5. Imıl-ya'aḷñın ("water month").
6. Ano'-ya'aḷñın ("first summer month").
7. Ara'-ya'aḷñın ("second summer month").
8. Čeipi-ya'aḷñın ("reddening [of leaves] month").
9. Yıña-kyčñ-ya'aḷñın ("pairing season of the reindeer-bucks month") or Em-ıčvi-ya'aḷñın ("empty [bare] twigs' month").
10. He'tıhe-ya'aḷñın ("autumn's month").
11. Kite'p-aiña-ya'aḷñın ("rutting-season of mountain-sheep month").
12. Ḷıgun'-ḷeut-ya'aḷñın ("itself head month," "month of the head itself").

These names of the months are used not only by the Reindeer, but by the Maritime Koryak as well, though the latter, however, do not know them quite as well. No matter how many times I inquired of the Maritime Koryak the names of the months, they invariably got mixed up.

197 Language. — Mr. Bogoras' linguistical researches have proved that the languages of the Chukchee, Koryak, and Kamchadal, are but branches of one linguistic family.

The Koryak language may be subdivided into four main dialects, —

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 51.

that of the Koryak of northern Kamchatka, of the Reindeer and Kamenskoye-Paren Koryak, Alutor Koryak, and the Kerek. Moreover, every group of Reindeer Koryak, and almost every village of Maritime people, have their own provincialisms, with a few insignificant phonetical and lexical peculiarities. Thus, for instance, there are phonetical and lexical differences even between the dialects of the Kamenskoye and Paren villages, which are so short a distance from each other. 197

Thus, in the Paren dialect, *a* of the Kamenskoye dialect is changed to *e;* and the same word may have a different meaning in each of the dialects, or different words may be used to express one and the same conception. For instance, a´pa in the Kamenskoye dialect means "grandfather," and in the Paren dialect, "father." In the Kamenskoye dialect, "mother" is expressed by a´n·a, and in the Paren dialect, by a´mma.

Dittmar[1] divides the Koryak language into five dialects, — that of the 101
Reindeer Koryak, the Kamenskoye, the Ukinskoye, the Pallanskoye, and the 114
Alutor. On the basis of the difference in the dialects pointed out by him, he divides the Koryak into five branches, — the Reindeer, Kamenskoye and Paren people (under which name he includes the inhabitants of eight villages between the Kamenskoye and Paren), Pallantsi (the inhabitants of seven settlements between Pustoretsk and Vayampolka), Ukintsi (the inhabitants of six settlements along the Pacific shore between Oserna and Karagha), and the Alutor people (the inhabitants of nine settlements north of Karagha). Passing over the fact that several settlements and entire groups of Koryak are not included in the branches of the Koryak enumerated above, as we shall see in Chapter III, the very basis of this division is wrong.

Almost all the Koryak have preserved their native tongue. They learn 191
a foreign language with difficulty; and in their intercourse with other tribes, it is not they who take up the new tongue, but the foreigner, who is usually forced to learn the Koryak language. Thus, the Kamchadal, Tungus, and Russians, when living with the Koryak, have to learn to speak in the Koryak language. Even the Christianized Maritime Koryak of the northern part of Kamchatka, with but few exceptions, have not learned to speak Russian; and none of the Reindeer Koryak know the Russian language.

Of the Maritime Koryak, only two hundred (or 2.6 per cent) regard the Russian language as their mother-tongue. These are the inhabitants of the Nayakhan settlement in the Gishiga district, and the Koryak of the Okhotsk district (see Chapter III). The latter are intermixed to such an extent with other tribes (Tungus, Yakut, and Russians) that they can hardly be considered as genuine Koryak.

An insignificant number of Reindeer Koryak, wandering with the Tungus

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[1] Dittmar, Die Koräken, p. 47.

191 in the Gishiga district near the sources of the Gishiga and Varkhalam Rivers, have acquired the Tungus language. According to the census of 1897, they are 73 in number (41 men). Mr. Patkanov[1] polls them erroneously in the Petropavlovsk district. This process of "Tungusianizing" a small part of the Koryak has been going on for the last ten or twenty years, owing to their intermarrying with the Tungus. On the other hand, the census mentions 17 Tungus who wander with the Koryak, and who have acquired Koryak as their native language.

186 192 Not only are the Koryak disinclined to learn foreign tongues, but, rather than adopt Russian names, they prefer to make their own words for objects imported by the Russians, or for those things of which they have learned but recently. The Koryak names are usually characteristic of the person or object, and frequently are aptly chosen. For instance, the chief of the district is called by the Koryak Ta'xa-a'yim ("fur-tribute chief"). The Paren people called me Li'mñıla'yim ("tales chief"), because I recorded the tales; and the Taigonos people called me Lon-te'nme-a'yim ("face-measuring chief").

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[1] Patkanov, p. 21.

III. — HABITAT AND VILLAGES.

131 Wandering-Places of the Reindeer Koryak. — At the present time, Reindeer Koryak are found mainly in two of the four districts into which, for administrative purposes, the Russians have divided the northeastern part of the Maritime Province; namely, in the Gishiga and Kamchatka districts. Only five families were found in the Anadyr district, while in the Okhotsk district but a few men were left.

233 The greater part of the Reindeer Koryak roam over the Gishiga district. They keep to the interior of the country, and frequent mainly elevated, treeless tundras covered with lichen. During severe frosts they come down to the valleys, where the trees offer protection from the winds, and supply fuel for their fires. In summer the Reindeer Koryak ascend with their herds to the summits or high mountain slopes. The winds that blow freely there, the low temperature, and the never-melting snow of the gorges and ravines, free those locations from mosquitoes, which in summer are so abundant in low and woody places. For the same reason the Chukchee of the extreme north drive their herds in summer to the open tundras of the cold shores of the Arctic Ocean.

621 The Reindeer Koryak usually wander in groups consisting of a few families. There are no definite boundaries between the wandering-places of the various groups. It sometimes happens that separate families wander far from their native places, leaving the groups to which they originally belonged for one reason or another; as, for instance, on account of quarrels, lack of pastures in the old places for their reindeer, or the establishment through marriage of new family ties. I met families on the Palpal Mountains whose native place was on the Taigonos Peninsula, while, on the other hand, among the Taigonos Koryak there are people who have come from the Far East. According to Patkanov's statement, some members of the Opuka Reindeer Koryak are found on the Gishiga River, and a few families of the Gishiga Reindeer Koryak wander on the Palpal Mountains. On the whole, every group has its own wandering-places, though the limits are not well defined. Within this region, single families, or small groups of families, have their chosen places where they spend certain seasons of the year.

651 619 Thus the Reindeer Koryak form territorial groups. For purposes of taxation the majority of these groups are called "clans" (Роды) by the Russian Administration, and the tribute levied on them was formerly paid off in furs only, but at present they are at liberty to pay either in money or in furs. Elders are appointed for each of these clans. The Koryak themselves do

651 619 not know the names of the clans. On a part of the Reindeer Koryak, as we shall see later on, no tribute has been levied as yet, and they have not been given any clan-name.

659 114 The number of Koryak, Reindeer as well as Maritime, may be gathered from old official data, from those of the 1897 census, and from data collected by Mr. Bogoras and myself. The old official data — reprinted from year to year in the government reports, almost without change — relate to those groups only which were assessed for tribute, and the numbers there given are less than the actual numbers.

The statistics of the census of 1897 are more reliable.[1] This census was supposed to be taken on the same day over the entire empire; but in the sparsely settled districts of Siberia the enumerators spent several weeks covering each territory. Some of the remote places — for instance, the northern part of the Palpal, or the centre of the Parapol Dol — were never visited by enumerators, but they obtained their information second-hand. Nevertheless, the data of the census of 1897 are very nearly correct. The census bulletins of 1897 relating to northern Siberia have been worked up at the Central Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior in St. Petersburg by S. K. Patkanov, the first editor of that Bureau; but the results have not been published as yet. Mr. Patkanov,[2] however, has published a brief summary, based on the census, of the statistical and geographical data of the palæasiatic tribes, among which are the Koryak. I shall quote further from these data under the name of Patkanov. Mr. Patkanov also had the kindness, at my request, to send me from his material more detailed statistical data on the Koryak, of which also I shall make use.

The data collected by Mr. Bogoras and myself refer merely to those places which we visited personally, and will serve in verifying statistics relating to certain groups only.

We must distinguish the following groups of Reindeer Koryak.

184 *Gishiga District.* — 1. The Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula (Taigono'-
162 talu, i. e., "the people of Taigonos"). They spend the winter seasons along
the valleys of the rivers Topolovka (Maka'lʌᵋnu-ve'yem[3]), Kilimadja (Kılı'-
233 mačwon-ve'yem), Matuga (Ma'tukan-ve'yem), Chaibuga (Poye'm-yaᵋn-ve'yem),
and Avekova (ıḷă'taña-ve'yem[4]). Three or four families only roam in winter
361 along the valley of the Gishiga River (Wui'vo-ve'yem[5]). In summer they
ascend the mountains where these rivers have their sources. For the purpose

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[1] This census was the first general enumeration of the people of the Russian Empire, not for purposes of taxation, but for statistical purposes only.

[2] See Part I, list of authorities quoted, p. 10.

[3] "River of the poplar people," from ma'kan ("poplar"); the Russian word "topol" (тополь) also means "poplar." The banks of this river abound in poplar-groves.

[4] ıḷă'taña means "eye-woman."

[5] Wu'ivo formerly meant a fortified settlement, later on it was applied to Russian fortresses and also to Russian houses. Wu'ivon is now the Koryak name of the town of Gishiginsk.

of fishing, and hunting sea-mammals, a few families only, or members of 361
families, remain during summer, without reindeer, at the mouths of these rivers. 184
Officially these Koryak are called the "Taigonos Clan" (Тайгоносскій родъ).

According to old official statistics (a census taken in 1882 by the chief 162
of the district), there were in this clan sixty-nine families (121 men and 130 233
women, making a total of 251 persons);[1] according to Patkanov (1897), the number of Taigonos Koryak was 381 persons (202 men, 179 women); while according to my own enumeration (1901), there were seventy-three families (168 men, 150 women, or 318 persons in all). The difference between Patkanov's figures and mine may be accounted for by the fact that, according to information gathered by myself, 97 of the Taigonos clan died of measles in 1900. Adding 97 to 318 would give 415; but at the time of my enumeration about 20 persons from other clans were included. The remaining difference may be ascribed to the natural increase from 1897 to 1900.

2. The three "clans," called by the Administration the First, Second, and Third Gishiga Clans (Первый, Второй, и Третій Гижигинскій родъ). Although they wander in different places, they keep within the limits of a certain area; namely, north of Gishiga and Penshina Bays, between the Penshina and Varkhalam Rivers, and partly on the Parapol tundra to the south of Penshina River. The families of these clans often intermingle; but, as a rule, the First Gishiga Clan wanders principally between the Varkhalam and Paren Rivers and their valleys; the Second, along the Tılqai and Mikina Rivers; and the Third, along the Oklan, a tributary of the Penshina River, and the tundra between the Penshina River and the village of Pustoretsk (Ewle'wun). During the winter some families of the First Gishiga Clan wander with the Tungus up the Varkhalam, Gishiga, and Paren Rivers, across the Stanovoi Ridge, and go as far as the Omolon and Korkodon, tributaries of the Kolyma River.

According to old official statistics, these clans consisted of 423 persons (152 of the First Clan, 167 of the Second, and 104 of the Third). Patkanov's figures show 531 persons (280 men and 251 women).[2] I succeeded in 1901 in enumerating the group of the Second Gishiga Clan only, which roamed along the Tılqai River, consisting of twelve families (or 63 persons) living in five tents. In these five tents 11 persons died of measles in 1900.

3. The Opuka Clan (Опукскій родъ), wandering in the northeastern part of the district, in the northern part of the Parapol tundra, and partly on the Palpal Ridge. According to the old figures there were 206 of them, while according to Patkanov there were 431 persons;[3] but it seems to me that this

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[1] According to the census of 1850, the Taigonos clan consisted of 235 persons (104 men, 131 women).

[2] According to Mr. Patkanov's written information, there were in the First Gishiga Clan 115 persons (70 men, 45 women); in the Second, 279 persons (140 men, 139 women); in the Third, 137 persons (70 men, 67 women); but in Mr. Patkanov's published work (see p. 20) the total number for the three Gishiga Clans shows 590 persons.

[3] See Patkanov, p. 20. In his written information Mr. Patkanov gives the total number of this clan as 396 persons (222 men, 174 women).

184 figure is below their actual number. On the Palpal Ridge the Reindeer
162 Koryak move from place to place together with the Chukchee, and many
of them do not pay any tribute.

233 4. The group of the Gishiga district, wandering chiefly upon the Parapol
361 Dol (Парапольскій Долъ), between the rivers Talovka, Lesna, and Vivnik.
This group is not recognized at all in the old official reports. According to information gathered by me at second-hand, there are over sixty families in it. Patkanov says (p. 20) that, with reference to 566 Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga district, there is no indication in the census as to the clan to which they belong; but he does not say in what locality these 566 persons are entered. It is likely that these may be the Koryak of the group here mentioned.[1]

In this connection it should be mentioned, that, according to data gathered by me from the Gishiga archives, there was up to 1850 a Vetvei-Alutor clan of Reindeer Koryak assessed with fur-tribute (yasak); but since that year no tribute has been returned from them. In 1859, at the time of the tenth census "revision" (ревизская сказка), the Russian census taken for fiscal purposes, for purposes of assessment), no trace of this clan could be found, and at present it is not mentioned anywhere.[2] In the archives of 1873 I again came across an inquiry, by the provincial Administration, about this clan of the Reindeer Koryak. In reply to this inquiry, the chief of the Gishiga district reported that the Koryak of this clan had gone to the Reindeer Koryak, near Tighil, of the Petropavlovsk district. The chief of the Petropavlovsk district, in his turn, reported that the clan in question had moved back to the Gishiga district. Since then no mention of this clan has been made in the archives.

Besides the Reindeer Koryak proper of the Gishiga district, enumerated in the above four divisions, there are small detachments of Koryak, who, though wandering with reindeer, do not constitute independent reindeer groups. The families of these detachments are connected by family ties with the inhabitants of one or another of the villages of the Maritime Koryak near which they wander and with which they form an administrative unit. Frequently one part of the family lives in the settlement, while another part wanders with the herd; or a family wandering with reindeer will have in its herd reindeer belonging to relatives living permanently in a settlement. We find this class of Reindeer people in northern Kamchatka and along the shores of Bering Sea. Mr. Patkanov informs me, however, that, according to the census of 1897, 31 Reindeer people (16 men, 15 women) who wander in the valley

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[1] According to written statements of Mr. Patkanov, the total number of Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga district which do not belong to any officially recognized clan is 590 persons (324 men, 266 women). They wander in different localities of the northeastern part of the district.

[2] Mr. Patkanov mentions in his written information a Vetvei clan (Ветвейскій родъ) consisting of 21 persons (8 men, 13 women), but its wandering-place is designated as unknown.

of Avekova River belong to the Maritime Koryak of the Second Paren clan, 184
and 14 Reindeer people (9 men, 5 women) of Parapol Dol are of the First
162 Kamenski clan. I myself have not heard that the Paren people have relatives 162
among the Reindeer Koryak; but I know three Koryak in the Kamenskoye 361
settlement, who, being traders, have purchased reindeer. However, they
themselves do not take them out to pasture, but leave them in the care of 233
permanent Reindeer Koryak.

The total number of Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga district, united by ties of kinship with the villages of the Maritime Koryak, or originating from them, and considered as belonging to those settlements, consists, according to Patkanov's information, of 461 persons (236 men, 225 women). Detailed numbers of the groups of these Reindeer Koryak will be given in enumerating the villages and clans of the Maritime Koryak of the Gishiga district.

Thus we see that the data relating to the numbers of the Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga district are both incomplete and contradictory; but it may be said in general that 2389,[1] the total figure of Patkanov for the number of the Reindeer Koryak in the Gishiga district, is approximately correct.

Petropavlovsk District. — The Reindeer Koryak of the Petropavlovsk 361
district wander over the mountains, from the boundaries of the district, almost
to the 55th degree north latitude. They may be divided into two groups. 184

1. The first group, consisting, according to official statistics, of two clans: 162
the First Nomadic Clan (Первый кочевой родъ) of 272 persons; the Second
Nomadic Clan (Второй кочевой родъ) of 284 persons. This makes a total of 131
556 persons. According to Patkanov, the first clan consists of 444 persons, and the second of 312 persons, or 756 persons all together.

2. The second group, to which belong 528 Reindeer Koryak enumerated in the census of 1897. These include, according to Patkanov,[2] Reindeer people belonging to the settlements of the Maritime Koryak, and Reindeer Koryak proper who moved thither from the Gishiga district. No detailed information as to the respective numbers of each separate group is given, but it is pointed out that the latter are the more numerous.

In all probability, the Reindeer Koryak proper, or a part of them, who had wandered thither from the Gishiga district, constitute the clan of the Gishiga district, which, as we saw, seems to have disappeared in 1850. As to the Reindeer Koryak of the Petropavlovsk district classed by the Administration as belonging to the settlements of the Maritime Koryak, we find, according to Mr. Bogoras, that there are 61 nomad Koryak belonging to the Lesnovskoye settlement. The total number of Reindeer Koryak in the Petropavlovsk district is, according to the last census, 1284 persons.[3]

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[1] See Patkanov, p. 17.

[2] See Patkanov, p. 20.

[3] See Patkanov, p. 18.

184 162 361 *Anadyr and Okhotsk Districts.* — According to the last census, there were found in the Anadyr district five tents of Reindeer Koryak, or 75 persons (33 men, 42 women), wandering, together with the Chukchee, in the southern part of the Anadyr district, on the northern slope of the Palpal Ridge. In the Okhotsk district 13 persons were found, apparently a camp of Koryak wandering together with the Tungus.

162 177 191 SETTLEMENTS OF THE MARITIME KORYAK. *Okhotsk District.* — In the Okhotsk district, Maritime Koryak are found in two settlements only, — in the villages of Yamsk and Tumansk. They are Christians, and have become Russianized. They have forgotten the Koryak language, and speak Russian as well as Tungus. Physically they represent a blood mixture of Russians, Tungus, and Yakut. According to official data there are 205 Koryak in the village of Yamsk, and 26 Koryak in the village of Tumansk, or 66 per cent of the total number of inhabitants of those two villages. All together, there are 231 Maritime Koryak in the Okhotsk district.

162 177 *Gishiga District.* — The settlements of the Maritime Koryak of the Gishiga district are situated along the shores of the Okhotsk and Bering Seas. I begin with the villages on the Okhotsk Sea.

197 184 361 1. The settlement Nayakhan (Koryak E'gıval, "West") is at the mouth of the Nayakhan River, in Gishiga Bay. Officially the clan is called the "Germanda Clan" (Германдейскій родъ), from the Germanda River (Koryak Lıgı'ĕmanā[1]), on the banks of which the Koryak used to live. These Koryak, like those of the Okhotsk district, have become Russianized. They are of the Orthodox faith, and some of them are related to Russians. Although the Koryak language is still in use, it is spoken imperfectly, and not by all. Like the Koryak of the Okhotsk district, they have formed a peculiar dialect of the Russian language. They also speak the Tungus language, as they often come in contact with the Tungus, who in summer come to the Nayakhan settlement to attend the fair. The Nayakhan Koryak, like those of the Okhotsk district, live in log-cabins built after the Russian fashion. Their summer settlement is at the very mouth of the river; in winter they locate about four miles up the river.

The statistics of 1850 show that in the Germanda Clan there were twenty families, or 125 persons (65 men, 60 women); according to Patkanov (1897), there were only 42 persons (27 men, 15 women); while my figures (1901) show that there were eight families, or 35 persons (21 men, 14 women). Apparently the clan is becoming extinct. Nayakhan is at present the only Koryak settlement in Gishiga Bay.[2]

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[1] From Lı'gun, "stone-birch." Birch-trees, apparently, are found along the banks of this river.

[2] Until recently there was another small settlement of Maritime Koryak near the mouth of the Avekova River, but no permanent houses are to be found there any longer. In summer some families of Reindeer Koryak and Tungus fish there. In the town of Gishiginsk proper there were, according to the 1897 census, 17 Koryak.

2–4. The first Koryak settlements on the western shore of Penshina Bay are found on Cape Itkana, where there are three settlements, — Little Itkana (Neni'yigičun), Middle Itkana (Osgi'nčo), and Big Itkana (ıtkanu). Little Itkana is situated thirteen miles and a half from Middle Itkana, and the latter thirty miles from Big Itkana. I mention these settlements together, as they constitute officially the single "Itkana Clan" (Итканскій родъ). Besides, families often move from one settlement to another. During my winter sojourn there, all the inhabitants of Middle Itkana moved over to their relatives in Big Itkana. Three families who lived permanently in Middle Itkana were afraid, after the epidemic of measles in 1900, to stay at the settlement in such small numbers. 361 162

According to statistics of 1886, the three settlements consisted of eighteen families, or 157 persons (63 men, 94 women); according to Patkanov (1897), there were 155 persons (65 men, 90 women); while, according to my own figures (1901), there were fifteen families, or 117 persons (59 men, 58 women). Besides these 117 Itkana people, there lived among them, in the winter of / 1901, 11 Koryak from Paren. In 1900 they lost 32 persons (7 men, 25 women) from measles. Of the above total figure of 1901, 93 persons lived in Big Itkana, and 35 in Little Itkana. [161] If the enumeration of 1886 and of the census are correct, then the people of Itkana are decreasing in number but I should state here that the Itkana people, from their size, constitution, and appearance, gave me the impression of being physically the best representatives among the Koryak that I saw.

5–8. Four settlements — Paren (Po'itın), Kuel, Khaimchiki, and Tılgovo — form one group of Maritime Koryak, known under the name of "Paren people" (Паренцы). Officially they form at present three clans, — First, Second, and Third Paren Clans (Первый, Второй, и Третій Паренскій родъ). In the 1897 census they were divided into two clans, — First and Second;[1] but in 1900 I found among them three elders (two in Kuel and one in Paren) who collected tribute.

Of the above four settlements, Paren and Tılqovo are winter settlements; Khaimchiki, a summer settlement; and Kuel, a permanent village.

Paren (Po'itın), the larger winter settlement, is situated on the bank of the Paren River (Po'itu-ve'yem), about thirteen miles from its mouth. In summer most of the inhabitants live near the mouth of the river, in the summer settlement Khaimchiki; but a part of them stay in Kuel.

Kuel, near the mouth of a small river of the same name, is situated on the seashore, about ten miles north of Paren.

Tılqovo had in 1900–01 one house, where a family from Kuel lived during the winter. Some winters there are two houses here. It is on the Tılqai River, a little over fourteen miles from the sea.

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[1] According to Patkanov's written information.

361 According to official statistics (1850), there were fifty-four families, or 300 persons (156 men, 144 women), in the Paren clans. Patkanov's enumeration (1897) is 247 persons (110 men, 137 women);[1] and, according to my own census (1901), 199 persons lived in their own settlements, 11 lived with the Itkana people, and they lost 24 in the measles epidemic of 1900. From these data we may draw the conclusion that the Paren people are also decreasing in number.
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9–16. The so-called "Kamenski people" (Каменцы) live in the following settlements: Mikino (Me′s·-ken), Shestakovo (Le′n̄leñčan), Yagach, Levatı, Yarnochek, Kamenskoye (Va′ikenan), Talovka (Xes·-xe′n), and Ma′meč (Russian Мамечи). They are divided officially into three clans, — First, Second, and Third Kamenskoye Clans (Первый, Второй и Третій Каменскій родъ). The Third Kamenskoye Clan is in some official documents called the "Yagach Clan" (Ягачинскій родъ), and is so registered in the census of 1897. Outside of the settlements enumerated above, three families of Kamentsi live in the Rekinniki settlement.

According to official data of 1850, the Kamentsi numbered 437 persons (242 men, 195 women), or sixty-seven families; the census of 1897 gives 431 persons (202 men, 229 women); and from my own data (1901) there were 317 persons (153 men, 164 women). According to information gathered by myself, 65 persons died of measles in 1900.

All these settlements are situated on the seashore. Shestakovo, Kamenskoye, and Talovka are at the mouths of the rivers Shestakovka (Egač), Penshina (Ma′gıtkın-ve′yem), and Talovka (Xes·-xe-ve′yem). All these settlements of the Kamenski people are permanent; that is, they live there summer and winter.

166 Migration from one settlement to another occurs quite frequently, on account of change of season, requirements of the hunt, or for family reasons,
361 so that the population of the settlements is changeable. Moreover, some families of the Kamentsi have, during the summer hunting-season, summer underground houses on the seashore, outside of their permanent dwelling-places; but they have no particular names. The Kamenskoye settlement is always the most populous. To give an idea of the relative number of inhabitants in the settlements of the Kamentsi, I will give the number of people in each at the time of my census-taking.

361 Mikino had 28 inhabitants; Shestakovo, 18; Yagach,[2] 21; Yarnochek,
162 22; Levatı, 24; Kamenskoye, 162; Talovka, 42; Ma′meč, 25; Rekinniki, 15.[3]

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[1] Not including the 31 nomadic people (see p. 434).

[2] The village Yagach (Koryak Ega′č) is also the name of the river on which Shestakovo lies. The route between Shestakovo and Kamenskoye, leading over the Kamenski Ridge, turns away from the seashore. The villages Yagach, Yarnochek, and Levatı are situated on the bold rocky shore between the mouths of Shestakovka (Ega′č) and Penshina Rivers, and therefore are not visited by travellers.

[3] See Fig. 251.

All the Kamentsi are Pagans. In the Kamenskoye settlement there are two persons who are nominally considered Christians, and in Ma'meč and Rekinniki there are three Christian families. 361 162

The official clans are distributed as follows: —

The First Kamenskoye Clan (191 persons, census of 1897; and 139 persons of my census) live in the settlements Kamenskoye, Talovka, Ma'meč, and Rekinniki. The Second Kamenskoye Clan (81 persons, census of 1897; and 69 persons of my census) live in the settlements Kamenskoye and Talovka.

The Third Kamenskoye or Egač Clan (154 persons, census of 1897; and 109 persons of my census) live in the settlements Kamenskoye, Levatı, Yarnochek, Egač, Shestakovo, and Mikino.

The rest of the clans in the Gishiga district, on Penshina Bay, are —

17, 18. The inhabitants of the villages of Pustoretsk (Ewle'wun) and Rekinniki (Rekınnok), with the exception of 15 Kamentsi living at Rekinniki, as pointed out above, constitute officially the Pustoretsk clan (Пусторѣцкій родъ). According to the report of the chief of the Gishiga district of 1867,[1] there were 110 persons (62 men, 48 women) in this clan. According to the census of 1897,[2] the clan of Pustoretsk consisted of 99 sedentary persons (50 men, 49 women) living in the villages of Rekinniki and Pustoretsk, and of 63 persons (29 men, 34 women) wandering with reindeer over the tundra in the vicinity of the villages here named. The enumeration of Bogoras (1901) shows for the village of Rekinniki 87 inhabitants (including 15 persons belonging to the Kamentsi), for the village of Pustoretsk 54 persons, and 25 Reindeer people belonging to the village of Rekinniki. The majority of Koryak of this clan have embraced Christianity.

19. Podkaguirnoye (Pitka'hen) village, whose inhabitants constitute officially a separate Podkaguir clan (Подкагирскій родъ), numbered, according to the report of 1867 before mentioned, 65 persons (35 men, 30 women); the census of 1897 shows 51 persons (28 men, 23 women), 34 of whom live in the village, and 17 wander with reindeer. According to Mr. Bogoras (1901), there were only 25 persons in the village. Apparently this clan is on the decline. Unfortunately I have no information as to the number of people who died during the epidemic of measles in 1900.

In enumerating the settlements of Maritime Koryak of the Gishiga district along the shores of Bering Sea, I shall start from the most northern settlement of the Kerek, and proceed southward.

The official border-line between the Gishiga and Anadyr districts passes through the Kerek territory. Before the visit of the Jesup Expedition, not a

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[1] In the year 1867 the Administration of the Koryak of the clans Pustoretsk, Podkaguirsk, and of the villages of the Alutor Koryak, was transferred from the chief of the Petropavlovsk district to that of the Gishiga district. Therefore I could not find in the archives of Gishiga earlier data concerning those clans.

[2] Patkanov's written information.

162 single white person had traversed the entire Kerek territory. From the south the Russians communicated with the Kerek of the villages Kavačat and Ilpi.

361 Ankudinov, the assistant of the chief of the Anadyr district, was the first one to reach (1897) the first Kerek settlements in the north, going from the mouth of the Anadyr River; but Mr. Bogoras was the first (1901) to pass with dog-sledges along the seashore, and visit all the Kerek settlements.

A part of the southern Kerek have been assessed for tribute only recently, but official data concerning them are very much confused. The same may be said with reference to the settlements and numbers of the Opuka and Poqa'č Koryak, the nearest neighbors of the Kerek. I shall therefore at first proceed with the data relating to the settlements of the Kerek as well as to those of the Opuka, Poqač, and Qa'yılın Koryak, from north to south, according to the data collected by Mr. Bogoras.

Kerek Villages. 20–32. Hačhatahın and Ke'ñiun have one house each with 25 inhabitants. Vatı'rkan has three underground houses with about 50 persons. The settlements Annon, MalAn, Yagnon, and UkılAn, have one house each with 25 inhabitants. Ilpi (on the mouth of the river of the same name) has three houses with 50 persons approximately. The settlements Mečivnen, Tapan, Vaimentahın, and Tapatahın have one house each, containing about 25 persons. Kavačat has 21 inhabitants. According to these data, the total number of Kerek is 371 persons.

The settlements of the Opuka and Poqač Maritime Koryak, according to Mr. Bogoras, are the following.

33, 34. The Opuka Koryak live in two villages on the Opuka River, — Čımi'tqa with five underground houses; and Opuka, near the mouth of the river, with four houses. The inhabitants number about 90.

35. The Poqa'č Koryak live along the Poqač River. Their underground houses, nine in number, are scattered along the river, and their population is about 90.

36. Khailino (Russian Хаилино, Koryak Qa'yılın) is situated on the upper course of the Vivnık River. According to the data of Mr. Bogoras (1901), there were in Khailino seven underground houses; but he counted the inhabitants of five of them only, in which he found 67 persons. From the statistical report for 1898 of the governor of the Maritime Province we also see that the Khailino settlement had seven underground houses with 93 inhabitants. Thus the figure of 1898 may agree with that of Mr. Bogoras.

The number of the Kerek, together with the number of the Opuka, Poqa'č, and Khailino Koryak, shows, according to the enumeration of Mr. Bogoras,[1] a total of 644 persons. I take this total in order to be able to compare the data of Mr. Bogoras with those of the census of 1897.

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[1] For the village of Qa'yılın only, I take the figure 93 of the report of the governor.

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Under the name of "Kerek" are quoted in the census of 1897 only the inhabitants of the five northern Kerek villages, apparently numbered by Ankudinov, mentioned above. There were twenty-four families, or 102 persons (52 men, 50 women).[1] They are placed in the territory of the Anadyr district. The inhabitants of the Kerek village Ilpi (Russian Khatyrka, Хатырка)[2] are counted as belonging to the Khatyrka clan of Koryak, and the inhabitants of the Kerek village Kavačat on Cape Anannon as belonging to the Kovacha Clan of Koryak. All other Kerek villages visited by Mr. Bogoras were not enumerated by the census of 1897.

Thus we have in the northeastern part of the Gishiga district, according to the census of 1897, three "clans" of Maritime Koryak, in which, as we have seen, was included also a part of the Kerek. These three clans are[3] —

The Khatyrka Clan (Хатырскій родъ), showing 66 persons (35 men, 31 women) living in the villages of Khatyrk (Ilpi) and Kovacha (Ковача, evidently the Kerek Kavačat) on the river Opuka,[4] — 44 persons in the former village, and 22 in the latter.

The Kovacha Clan (Ковачинскій родъ), showing 104 persons (54 men, 50 women) living in the villages of Kovacha[4] (apparently the Kerek Kava'čat) and Khatyrka (Ilpi), — 91 persons in the former village, and 13 in the latter.

The Pokhacha Clan (Похачинскій родъ), showing 178 persons (90 men, 88 women), — living in the villages of Pokhacha (evidently Paqač of the Koryak) on the river Pokhacha (Poqač), 71 persons; of Pokhacha[5] on the river Opuka, 47 persons; of Khailino (Qa'yılın), 60 persons. Thus, according to the census of 1897, the total number of inhabitants of the five northern Kerek villages — of the villages of Ilpi (Khatyrka) and Kava'čat (which are placed by Mr. Bogoras also among the Kerek settlements), and of the Opuka, Paqač, and Qa'yılın Koryak — is 450 persons. If we add to this figure the number of inhabitants of the Kerek settlements (evidently the settlements Yagnon, UkılΛn, Mečivnen, Tapan, Vaimentahın, and Tapatahın), not numbered by the census of 1897, but visited by Mr. Bogoras, namely 150 persons, we receive the total of 600 persons, which total is lower than the figure 644 of the Bogoras census mentioned above. In view of the fact that the census of 1897 was made before the last epidemic of measles (1900) ravaged the country, we way draw the conclusion that the official data concerning the Kerek and the Koryak of Opuka, Poqač, and Qa'yılın, are incomplete. Besides, the official designation of the settlements is confused.

The so-called Alutor Koryak (in Russian Olutortsi, Олюторцы) inhabit the

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[1] See Patkanov, p. 18.

[2] For the name "Khatyrka" see Part I, explanatory note to the map.

[3] According to written information of Mr. Patkanov.

[4] According to Mr. Bogoras, the Kerek village Kavačat does not lie on the Opuka River (see map, Part I). In the census of 1897 two villages named Kovacha are enumerated.

[5] According to Mr. Bogoras, there is no such village on the Opuka River. The Opuka village at the mouth of the river is evidently the one meant. It may also be noted here that the village Čimi'tqa, on the Opuka River, indicated by Mr. Bogoras, is not mentioned in the census of 1897.

361 162 villages (37–42) of Alut (Russian Olutorsk, Олюторскъ), ıḷir (Russian Kultusno or Kultusnoye, Култусное), Tıḷḷıran (Russian Tilechiki, Тилечики), Vetvey (Ветвей), Vivnık (Вывнуки), Kičhın (Russian Kichiga, Кичига), and Tımḷatı (Тымлаты). To the group of Alutor Koryak belong also a certain number of people who wander with reindeer.

The data on the Alutor Koryak at my disposal belong to two lines of information. The census of 1897 enumerates them by clans, according to written information of Mr. Patkanov, and Mr. Bogoras by villages.

According to the census of 1897, we have the following clans: —

Alutor Clan (Олюторскій родъ), which includes 117 sedentary persons (61 men, 56 women) and 81 nomads (43 men, 38 women), a total of 198 persons. Of the sedentary people, 101 (52 men, 49 women) lived in the Alut village, and 16 (9 men, 7 women) in the Kičhın village.

Kultusno Clan (Култусный родъ), which consists of 202 sedentary persons (96 men, 106 women) and 149 nomads (73 men, 76 women), a total of 351 persons. The sedentary people lived in the villages of Vivnık and Tıḷḷıran. No separate numbers are given.

Tıḷḷıran or Tilechinski Clan (Тилечинскій родъ), which comprises 84 sedentary persons (46 men, 38 women) and 8 nomads (3 men, 5 women), a total of 92 persons. Of the sedentary people, 61 (31 men, 30 women) lived in the Tıḷḷıran village, and 23 (15 men, 8 women) in Vivnık.

Vivnık Clan (Вывнукскій родъ), consisting of 96 sedentary people (54 men, 42 women) and 14 nomads (10 men, 4 women), a total of 110 persons. Of the sedentary people, 79 (44 men, 35 women) lived in Vivnık village, and 17 (10 men, 7 women) in the Kičhın village.

Kičhın Clan (Кичигинскій родъ), which consists of 95 sedentary persons (56 men, 39 women) and 63 nomads (34 men, 29 women), a total of 158 persons. Of the sedentary people, 86 (50 men, 36 women) lived in Kičhın, and 9 (6 men, 3 women) in Tıḷḷıran.

The whole number of the five clans of the Alutor Koryak, according to the census of 1897, shows 909 persons (476 men, 433 women).

In the manuscript notes of Mr. Patkanov the villages of Vetvey and Tımḷatı are not mentioned at all.

The census of Mr. Bogoras, of the Alutor Koryak, was made by villages. For purposes of comparison I will quote also available older official data.

37. The village Alut, according to the census of 1859, had 147 inhabitants (79 men, 68 women); according to the report of the governor (1898), 101 persons (52 men, 49 women), with eleven underground houses. The data of Mr. Bogoras, however (1901), show only 80 persons with seven underground houses. This decrease is apparently to be ascribed to mortality from disease. The inhabitants of Alut have recently been converted to the Greek Orthodox faith. 197]

38. Kultusnoye (ɪḷir), by the census of 1859, had 222 persons (119 men, 162
103 women). According to the report of the governor of the Maritime
Province (1898), there were twelve underground houses with 144 inhabitants 361
(66 men, 78 women). In the data of Mr. Bogoras (1901), only eleven underground houses are indicated, and three camps, or 25 nomads, belonging to the ɪḷir village.

39. Tɪḷḷıran or Tilechiki had 57 inhabitants (30 men, 27 women) according to the data of 1859, 98 (51 men, 47 women) according to the report of the governor of 1898, and only 42 persons according to Mr. Bogoras (1901).

40. Vetvey had 20 inhabitants (11 men, 9 women) according to the data of 1859, 10 (6 men, 4 women) according to those of 1898. In the data of Mr. Bogoras (1901) only three underground houses are indicated.

41. Vivnık had 88 inhabitants (53 men, 35 women) according to the data of 1859, 102 (59 men, 43 women) according to the report of the governor (1898), with eight underground houses, while according to Mr. Bogoras (1901), there were only four underground houses with one camp of nomadic people belonging to this village.

42. Kičhın consisted, according to the data of 1859, of 145 persons (81 men, 64 women); according to the report of the governor of the Maritime Province (1898), of 170 persons (95 men, 75 women) with fifteen underground houses; and, according to Mr. Bogoras (1901), of 113 sedentary persons with 12 camps or 120 persons of nomadic people belonging to the village.

43. Tımḷatı is not mentioned in the census of 1859. According to the governor's report (1898), this village had 48 persons, while Mr. Bogoras found seven underground houses there, but he does not indicate the number of people.

In comparing the different data concerning the Alutor Koryak, we may draw the conclusion that the data of Mr. Bogoras are incomplete, and therefore we cannot say in how far the number of the Alutor Koryak has diminished since the census of 1897 and older data.

Petropavlovsk District. — The Maritime Koryak of this district are 621
Russianized, like the Kamchadal. The official reports do not divide them now into clans, as they do arbitrarily with the Koryak of other districts. Even the groups of Reindeer Koryak of the Petropavlovsk district are at present often designated in official reports as 'nomadic communities' (кочевое общество), and not as clans (родъ). The census of 1897 indicates every settlement of the Maritime Koryak of the Petropavlovsk district as a 'village community' (сельское общество) by itself, in the Russian sense of this word. Thus, concerning the sedentary Koryak of the Petropavlovsk district, we have to do only with an enumeration of villages, and not of clans. The villages Nos. 44–49 are on Bering Sea, and Nos. 50–54 on the Sea of Okhotsk.

44. Karagha (Koryak Qare'ñın). According to the statistical report of 361
the governor of the Maritime province (1898), this village had 168 inhabitants 162

361 162 (87 men, 81 women) with twenty houses. Patkanov (census of 1897) informs me that there are only 103 persons (56 men, 47 women). It is difficult to explain the difference between these figures.

45. Dranka. Here are found, according to Patkanov (census of 1897), 82 persons (36 men, 46 women); the governor's report (1898) gives 86 persons (38 men, 48 women) with thirteen houses.

46. Ivashka. Here, according to both sources named, were 37 persons (19 men, 18 women) with six houses.

47. Khalula or Khalulinskoye. Here, according to both sources, were 21 persons (11 men, 10 women) with three houses.

48. Uka. According to both sources, 10 persons (5 men, 5 women) with three houses were found here.

49. Osernoye or Oserna. According to the census of 1897, 46 persons (25 men, 21 women) lived here, while the governor's report gives 43 inhabitants (23 men, 20 women) living in six houses.

Mr. Bogoras does not furnish any information with reference to the above six villages. The inhabitants of the villages 44-49 are also known under the name of "Uka people" or Ukintsi (Укинцы).

50. Voyampolka. According to the census of 1897 and the governor's report of 1898, there were 127 inhabitants (63 men, 64 women) with seventeen houses, while according to Mr. Bogoras (1901) there were only 93 persons (50 men, 43 women).

51. Kakhtana. Here were found, according to the census of 1897 and the governor's figures of 1898, 235 inhabitants (115 men, 120 women); but Mr. Bogoras found only 163 persons (84 men, 79 women). During the epidemic of measles in 1900, they lost, according to Mr. Bogoras, 36 persons.

52. Pallan. This settlement had, according to the census of 1897, 203 persons (100 men, 103 women); the governor's report of 1898 gives 226 inhabitants (112 men, 114 women); while Mr. Bogoras (1901) found here only 132 Koryak (63 men, 69 women) and 20 Russians. In 1900, 35 persons died here of measles.

53. Kinkil. According to both the census of 1897 and the governor's report for 1898, 133 persons (67 men, 66 women) were found here; but Mr. Bogoras found only 89 (50 men, 39 women). In 1900, 42 persons died here of measles.

54. Lesna or Lesnovskoye. By both the census of 1897 and the governor's report (1898) there were 180 inhabitants here (86 men, 94 women) with nineteen houses; but Mr. Bogoras (1901) found only 146 persons (71 men, 75 women). In this settlement 70 persons died of measles in 1900.

361 162 619 The inhabitants of the last five villages are known under the name of the "Pallan people" or Pallantsi (Палланцы). Their total number, according to the census of 1897, shows 878 persons, while Mr. Bogoras (1901) found only

621, but he gives the number of persons who died of measles in 1900 as 361
183. If we add this figure to the 621 living persons, we find a total of 804,
which is less than the figure of the census of 1897. Evidently the Pallantsi 162
are decreasing in numbers. According to Mr. Bogoras, 61 nomadic people
(31 men, 30 women) belong to the community of Lesna village, and I cannot 619
say whether this group of nomads is included in the number of Reindeer
people of the Petropavlovsk district of the census of 1897 given above.

Estimate of the Number of Koryak. — It is difficult to give the exact 162
number of Koryak at present, on the basis of the above figures, which are taken from various sources. The figures from the last census, however, which follow below, are approximately correct. If a part of the Kerek, and small groups of Reindeer Koryak, not assessed for payment of tribute, are not included in the census figures, this deficiency, no doubt, will be more than covered by the numbers that died in the epidemic of 1900, since the mortality at that time in settlements and camps was from ten to thirty-three per cent. Thus the data of the census, even taking into consideration the increase of population in the last seven years, will be somewhat higher than the actual number of members of the Koryak tribe. We have compiled the following table on the basis of the census figures.

Districts.	Reindeer Koryak.			Maritime Koryak.			Grand Total.
	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.	
Gishiga	1289	1100	2389	1000	1045	2045	4434
Petropavlovsk . . .	642	642	1284	687	704	1391	2675
Okhotsk	—	—	—	126	118	244	244
Anadyr	33	42	75	52	50	102	177[1]
Total.	1964	1784	3748	1865	1917	3782	7530

The greatest number of Koryak, 59 per cent, falls to the Gishiga district. The total numbers of Reindeer and Maritime Koryak are about equal, — 3748 and 3782. The number of women is less among the Reindeer Koryak than it is among the Maritime division. The number of women among the former is less than that of the men, — 90.8 women to 100 men. The number of women among the latter exceeds that of the men, — 102.6 women to 100 men. The difference in the number of women in these two groups may be

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[1] I do not include here the 13 Reindeer Koryak scattered over the Okhotsk district, since I believe that this group is either a part of the Gishiga Reindeer Koryak, or that they are the group of Reindeer Koryak who have been assimilated by the Tungus, and are considered officially as belonging to the Koryak of the Yamsk settlement. On the Korkodon River I once met with a Koryak family from the Okhotsk district who could not speak the Koryak language, but who spoke the Tungus, as well as the Russian language.

162 explained by the fact that the life of a Reindeer Koryak woman is much harder than that of her Maritime sister. The hard work incident upon their wandering and the pitching of tents, which duty devolves upon the women, and the constant struggle with cold and inclement weather, are unknown in the life of the Maritime Koryak women.

161 Without available correct data as to the numbers of Koryak in earlier times, it is hard to say whether, as a tribe, they are on the increase or not. If we take the figures of 1852 given by Dittmar,[1] — 235 Kamentsi and Paren people,[2] 872 Pallan people, 413 Ookintsi, and 1750 Reindeer Koryak assessed for fur-tribute, making a total of 3270 persons, — we see plainly that they do not represent even half of the present number of Koryak. Dittmar himself estimates the number of Reindeer Koryak not assessed at about 1000. He does not indicate the number of the Alutor people, although he mentions them. Furthermore, he does not even mention the Kerek, the Itkana people, and the Russianized Koryak west of the Gishiga district.

Personally I am inclined to believe that the number of Maritime Koryak is at present smaller than that of the not remote period of 1852. Such a conclusion with reference to some groups may be drawn from the data quoted by me in enumerating clans and settlements. Besides, I saw, between the mouths of the Gishiga and Nayakhan Rivers, traces of old dwellings of a few rather large settlements whose inhabitants had disappeared completely; and I was told that such ruins are found in other places on the shores of Okhotsk and Bering Seas.

As will be seen from the last chapter, the number of Maritime Koryak killed in wars with the Russians was considerable; and since peaceful relations with the Russians have been established, frequent epidemics and famines have deprived the Koryak of a part of their population. The decline is particularly noticeable among the Russianized settlements; for instance, Nayakhan.

The Reindeer Koryak who have not been in such close contact with the Russians have preserved their primitive vigor to a greater degree. Disease may carry off the increase of more favorable years. Of course, we cannot say that the number of Reindeer Koryak is greater at present than it was in preceding periods: but the fact that they are nearly equal in number to the Maritime Koryak indicates that conditions are now more favorable among the former than among the latter, since in olden times, I believe, the Maritime population was greater than that of the Reindeer division.

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[1] Die Koräken, pp. 8, 12, 14, 28.

[2] With reference to the subdivision of the Koryak into groups, by Dittmar, see above, p. 429.

IV. — HABITATIONS.

The Reindeer as well as the Maritime Koryak call their dwellings yaya'ñı 342
or ḷı'ge-yan[1] ("genuine house"). The Maritime Koryak call the tents of the
Reindeer Koryak ča'učewyan ("Reindeer people's house"), while the latter call 174
the dwellings of the Maritime Koryak wa'ḷxai ("jaw-bone [of a whale] house").
This name is of great interest. From it the conclusion may be drawn that
in olden times the Maritime Koryak used for the construction of their underground houses bone of whale,[2] which is still used by the Eskimo.

Remains of underground dwellings the framework of which was of bone of whale were seen by Wrangell and Nordenskiöld along the shores of the Arctic. Mr. Bogoras saw ruins of such houses in the villages of the Maritime Chukchee and Asiatic Eskimo on Bering Sea. These houses are called by the natives wa'ḷkar, which also means "jaw-bone house."[3]

REINDEER KORYAK. — The dwelling of the Reindeer Koryak consists of 342
an outside tent and an inner sleeping-tent. The frame of the outer tent is
built after the type of the movable dwellings of the nomad Mongol and 171
Turkish tribes of Asia; such as the cattle-breeding Kirghiz and Kalmuk,[4] who cover the frame of their tent with a felt covering, and the reindeer-breeding Tungus,[5] who use birch-bark or reindeer-hide for the same purpose.

The characteristic feature of this type of dwelling is its construction in two parts; the lower part being cylindrical, and the upper part or roof conical, in shape. The Koryak reindeer-skin tent, however, is clumsier and heavier than the felt habitation (kibitka) of the Kirghiz, and the leather or birch-bark dwelling of the Tungus. The lower part of the outer tent of the Reindeer Koryak does not form as regular a circle as do the lower parts of the tents of the above-mentioned tribes. Still it is more symmetrical than that of the Reindeer Chukchee, which, on the whole, it resembles.[6]

The frame of the outer tent (yaya'ñı) of the Reindeer Koryak consists, 342
first of all, of three foundation-posts (Fig. 59), or ye'ḷxel, arranged in the form of a tripod, and tied together at the top by means of strong thongs.

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[1] In the Chukchee language ḷı'ǝ-ran

[2] I found no ribs or jaw-bones of whales in the framework of the excavated ancient underground house of the Koryak in Gishiga Bay, while bones of whales were scattered all round the pits of the old dwellings.

[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 180.

[4] For a detailed description of the dwellings of the Turkish and Mongol tribes see the interesting paper of N. Charusin, The History of the Development of the Dwellings of the Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Turkish and Mongol Tribes of Russia (Ethnographic Survey, Journal of the Ethnographic Section of the Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural History, Anthropology, and Ethnography [Moscow, 1896], Vol. XXVIII, No. 1).

[5] A detailed description of the different types of Tungus habitations will be given in my work on the Yukaghir.

[6] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 169.

342 The height of these poles, upon which depends the height of the dwelling, varies from 3.5 metres to 5 metres, according to its size. Around this tripod are placed, at a distance apart of from one to two metres, strong stakes (*b*), in sets of two or three, from 1.3 to 1.5 metres in height.[1] The upper ends of these stakes are tied together with thongs passing through holes. To the tops of these poles are tied the ends of horizontal wooden bars, or wă′yeye′ɬxalu (*c*). These cross-bars with their supports constitute the lower, circular part of the frame. However, as I pointed out above, the lower part of the frame does not form a regular circle, as the cross-bars are too heavy and long. When uncovered, they look more like beams forming the sides of a polygon; but the heavy reindeer-skin cover of the frame conceals to a great extent the angles formed by these cross-bars.[2]

The conical part of the frame is composed of slanting poles, or yevi′ne (*d*), extending from the middle of the cross-bars (*c*) and from the tops of the tripods (*b*) towards the top of the foundation-posts. By means of thongs both ends of these poles are securely fastened to the corresponding parts of the frame. The following parts also belong to the frame.

Poles (*e*), the lower ends of which are driven into the ground, and to whose upper ends are fastened curved pieces (*f*) which serve to prop up the cover. The ends of these curved pieces are tied to the roof-poles by means of thongs. The number of these stretchers (*e*, *f*) depends upon the size of the tent. In a medium-sized tent there are from three to four.

Poles (*g*) with their cross-bar (*h*), which serve for suspending the kettle over the hearth.[1]

Stakes (*i* and *k*), which are usually placed before the entrance of the winter tent to protect it from snow-drifts. These stakes serve as the frame of a small entrance-room, which is covered with reindeer-skins; but such entrance-rooms do not occur often.

The frame of the Koryak tent is very substantial, and capable of withstanding the strongest wind. The thongs which connect the wooden parts make the tent flexible and elastic. During a heavy snow-storm the tent creaks and shakes like a ship at sea; but when the storm is over, it settles back as firm as ever, unless the wind should have broken the lashings. In a frost following thaws, the thongs become hard, and are liable to break. The tent-cover (xeče′getǒl), if it is well secured to the frame, in its turn keeps the frame firm, and protects the poles and stakes from the wind.

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[1] Fig. 59 represents a model of a small tent, with a single inner tent. In place of the central tripod, we find here a separate kettle-stand (*g*). All large tents have the central tripod described above. It serves at the same time as a kettle-stand.

[2] The lower part of the tent of the Tungus and of the Kirghiz is, on the contrary, of a more regular cylindrical form. In the Tungus tent the cross-bars consist of round thin and short sticks, and in the Kirghiz tent the crossbars are curved.

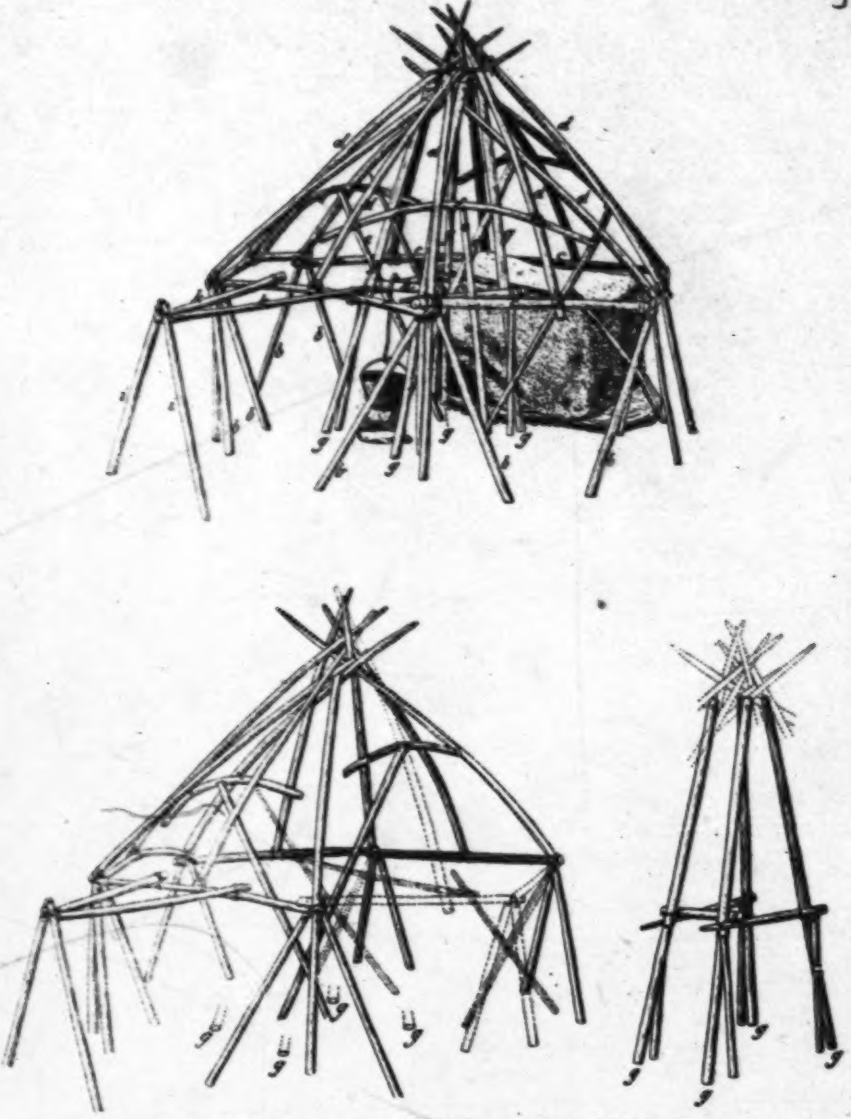

Fig. 50. Complete Framework, Outer Framework, and Kettle-Stand of Model of Tent.

342 The cover consists of reindeer-skins sewed together, with the hair side out (Plate xix, Fig. 1). Worn-out skins which have previously served for the inner tent are used for making this cover. In order to lessen its weight when moving from place to place, the hair is clipped close with a sharp knife. It is made in two or more pieces. The upper part of the cover, where the smoke accumulates, is made of much-worn skins sewed together. The lower parts, consisting usually of two pieces, are attached to it. The ends of the cover overlap on the entrance side of the tent. Inside, the parts of the cover are fastened firmly together and to the stakes and poles with thongs. The lower ends of the cover are tucked under, and weighted down inside the tent with stones and heavy bags filled with clothes, or with loaded sledges. Outside, around the cylindrical and conical parts, as well as up and down, the cover is fastened with thongs the ends of which are attached to loaded sledges surrounding the tent and to stakes driven into the ground or the snow. Water is poured over the snow around these stakes, which freezes and thus makes the snow a solid, resisting mass of ice. Light driving-sledges, when not in use, are tied to the roof of the house, thus fastening the cover to the frame.

342 513 171 The Koryak outer tents are usually more spacious than those of the Chukchee. Several Koryak families live in one tent. The sleeping-tents are placed all around the inner space of the tent, with the exception of the entrance side.

The Chukchee have usually only one sleeping-tent, near the wall opposite the entrance, for unrelated families do not live in the same tent. For this reason the sides of the tent are drawn closer together. The front part with the entrance looks as though it were truncated; and the back part, which contains the inner tent, is extended backward. The diameter of a large Koryak tent is from eight to nine metres. The middle space is so taken up with poles and stakes that it reminds one of the scaffolding of a building in course of construction. The hearth is not placed in the centre of the tent, as with the Tungus, but is on the middle of a line drawn from the front wall of the sleeping-tent in the rear to the entrance. The opening for the smoke (see Plate xix, Fig. 1) is therefore rather in the direction of the slope of the roof on the side of the entrance. The back part is covered to the tops of the poles.

While, in other Asiatic movable tents of the type here described, the inner tent serves as a bedroom only, among the Koryak and Chukchee it serves as a living-room also, particularly in winter. The inner tent (yoyo'ñı) is in the form of a rectangular box placed upside down. It is made of the dressed hairy skin of full-grown reindeer killed in the fall, with the hair side in, and is sewed with sinew-thread (see Fig. 59).

I did not see among the Reindeer Koryak such spacious inner tents as

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XIX.

342

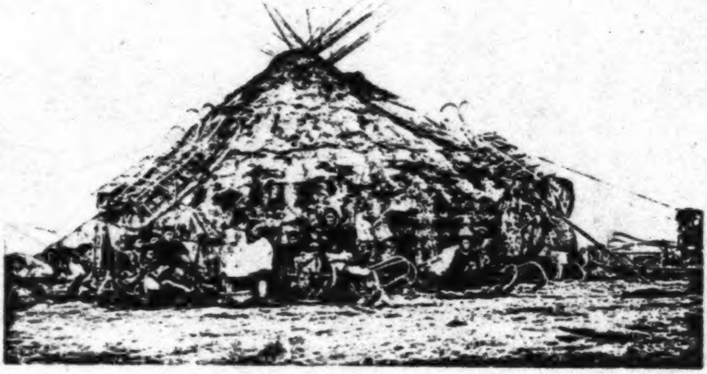

FIG. 1. TENT OF REINDEER KORYAK.

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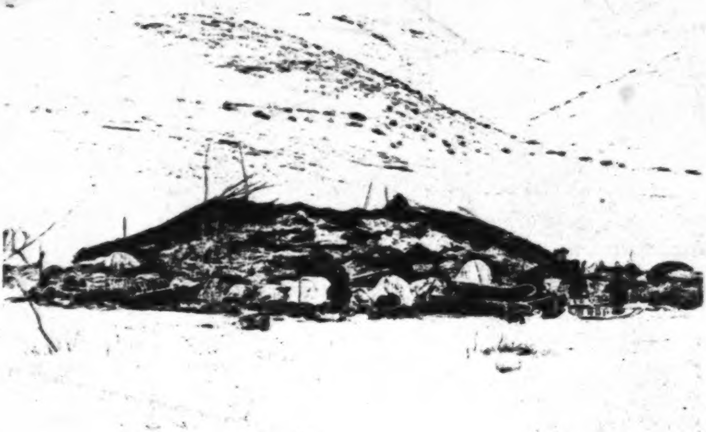

FIG. 2. LARGE TENT USED DURING A FAIR.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 450]

342 513 171 I saw among the rich Reindeer Chukchee of the Kolyma River, in which it was possible to stand up comfortably. The height of the Koryak inner tent varies from 1.3 to 1.5 metres; its length, from 2 to 4 metres; and its width, from 1.3 to 2 metres. To the upper edges of the longer walls, thongs are fastened, by means of which the rear part of the tent is attached to the cross-bar of the frame of the outer tent. The front part, facing the hearth, is tied to a stake (Fig. 59) resting on the cross-bars attached to the frame of the tent.

The floor of the sleeping-room is strewn with willow-branches covered with reindeer-skins. The lower parts of the cover on the rear and side walls of the inner tent are tucked inside, and the bedding is placed upon them; while the cover of the front wall is tucked under only when the inmates go to bed.[1] I shall dwell here only on the difference between the Koryak and the Chukchee in the use of the inner tent.

356 The Koryak seldom break up their inner tent in order to beat it on the snow and dry it. They dry it during the day by lifting up the front part of the cover. Thus the dampness collected from the exhalations of the sleepers during the night, and lodged in the hair of the skins, and the vapors rising from the tea and warm food, mixed with dirt and fat, are only partially dissipated during the day. For this reason the inner tents of the Koryak are dirtier than are those of the Chukchee.

512 342 In the evening the inner tent is closed, the lamp is lighted, and the family drink tea and take supper. At this time the skin dwelling gets heated to such a degree that the men strip off their coats and remain half naked.[2] During the night the fur sleeping-tent gets cooled off, so that the temperature inside is but three or four degrees higher than that prevailing outside.

342 571 A Koryak tent seldom has less than three or four inner sleeping-tents. The master, the families of his relatives and of his herdsmen, live in the same tent; and often members of the same tribe, not related, but wandering together, live in one tent.

During the fair on the Palpal (see Plate XIX, Fig. 2) the Reindeer Koryak put up one common tent with two hearths placed like the foci of an ellipse, and with a passageway, on the two sides of which were sixteen inner tents (eight on each side). Over a hundred persons occupied this tent, the longer diameter of which exceeded twenty metres in length. Kennan[3] mentions a large tent of Reindeer Koryak in northern Kamchatka in which he counted twenty-six inner tents. I had no chance to see tents accommodating so many, except the one at the fair. The large tent of the Taigonos elder (see Plate XIX,

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[1] For a detailed description of this dwelling, see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 169.

[2] It is curious to note, that, while the Chukchee women take off their clothing down to the waist-line, even in the presence of strangers, the Koryak women are too modest to do so in the presence of company.

[3] See Kennan, p. 197.

342 Fig. 2) had six sleeping-tents for thirty people. Among them were eleven
571 persons not related to him, — herdsmen and their families.

The difference between the summer and winter tents is in the quality of
342 the cover. For winter it is made of better and heavier skins. All holes and openings in it are sewed up and covered over, and the snow is piled up all around the tent. The inner tent for summer is made of old skins with the hair clipped short. Among some Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsuia I saw inner tents made of dressed reindeer-skins, like those of the Tungus.

To my mind, the Koryak tent with its inner sleeping-place appears to be a compromise between the tent of the Asiatic nomads and the snow-house of the Eskimo. The inner tent is illuminated and partly heated by a lamp
354 fed with reindeer-fat, like the oil-lamp of the Eskimo house; while the hearth of the outer tent is intended for cooking mainly.

Except on particular occasions, when Reindeer Koryak assemble in num-
621 bers, either for purposes of trade or for the celebration of festivals, a camp (ya´mkən, "people," the Koryak term for a camp of Reindeer people) is seldom composed of more than three tents. At least, I have never seen any more populous camps. A camp (see Plate XXI, Fig. 2) is usually composed of families, or groups of families, connected by ties of kinship (by blood or by marriage); or of a wealthy reindeer-owner and the families of his herdsmen; or of families not at all related to one another, but who, for the convenience of common pasture-grounds and the supervision of the herd, have combined their small herds.

621 The camp does not move from place to place as frequently as the Arctic nomads are supposed to do. There are four main removals during the year.
221 Towards winter, in October, they put up their tents in the river-valleys, under the protection of high banks, among poplar and aspen groves. In spring, at the end of March, before the fawning-period begins, they descend into the open tundras of the lower courses of rivers, which are covered with lichen. In summer, in the month of July, they ascend the mountains to be near the river-sources. In the fall, at the time of the fawn festival, they return from the ridges to the elevated tundras of the watersheds and the river-valleys.

Other removals depend upen special causes; for instance, the exhaustion of pasturage, the prevalence of an epidemic among the people, or of some disease that attacks the reindeer; and sometimes the removal is for purposes of trade.

722 In olden times, according to tales of the Koryak, when an attack by a hostile neighbor was anticipated, and also during the wars with the Russians, the camps were surrounded by sledges, and the reindeer were driven inside of this fortified camp.

Maritime Koryak. — Like the tent of the Reindeer people, the dwelling of the Maritime Koryak is called, besides lı´ge-yan ("genuine house"), also yəyáñi.

000 yaya'ña. It is an underground, or rather semi-underground, solidly built,
342 permanent dwelling-place. It is of wood, mainly of poplar or aspen, which
grows to a considerable height even along the lower courses of the rivers of
313 the Koryak territory. The Koryak float the timber down in summer to the mouths of the rivers; and sometimes they use driftwood. Driftwood carried down by the current from the river-heads may be found mountain-high in the bays and at the mouths of the rivers.

342 The dwellings vary in size according to the number of inhabitants. Small
houses occupied by a family of from five to eight persons may be found
371 frequently. From excavations undertaken by me on the sites of ancient
174 settlements in Gishiga Bay, it appears that in olden times the underground houses were more spacious than those of the present time. Families separated more rarely, and all relatives used to live together. The average number of occupants of one house at present is from six to thirteen. Out of 110 underground houses on the shores of Penshina Bay, of which I took a census, in only one (in the Paren settlement) did I find twenty-one persons, and they comprised two families. According to tales of olden times, there were formerly underground houses occupied by as many as forty persons. Among the Kerek we still find twenty-five persons in one house.[1] A house in Mikino (Plate XX) inhabited by fifteen people was found to be 15 metres long (not including the entrance-room), 12 metres wide, and 7 metres high. Such a house is somewhat larger than the average present-day underground house; and those but half as large, or even smaller, may often be found.

342 In order to build an underground house, a circular hole from 1 to 1.5 metres deep is dug, in which the walls are put up in the form of an octagon. The octagon is not equilateral. The sides *a* (Fig. 60) are longer than *b*; and the sides *c* are half as long as *b*. Eight poles (*P*) about as long as the height of a man are driven into the ground at the eight corners. Between the poles two vertical rows of split logs, or large poles, or round stakes, are driven into the ground, and the spaces between them are filled in with dry grass. The tops of the eight outside corner poles (*P*) are notched, and

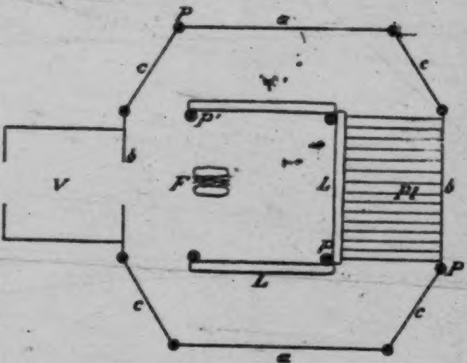

Fig. 60. Plan of Underground House.

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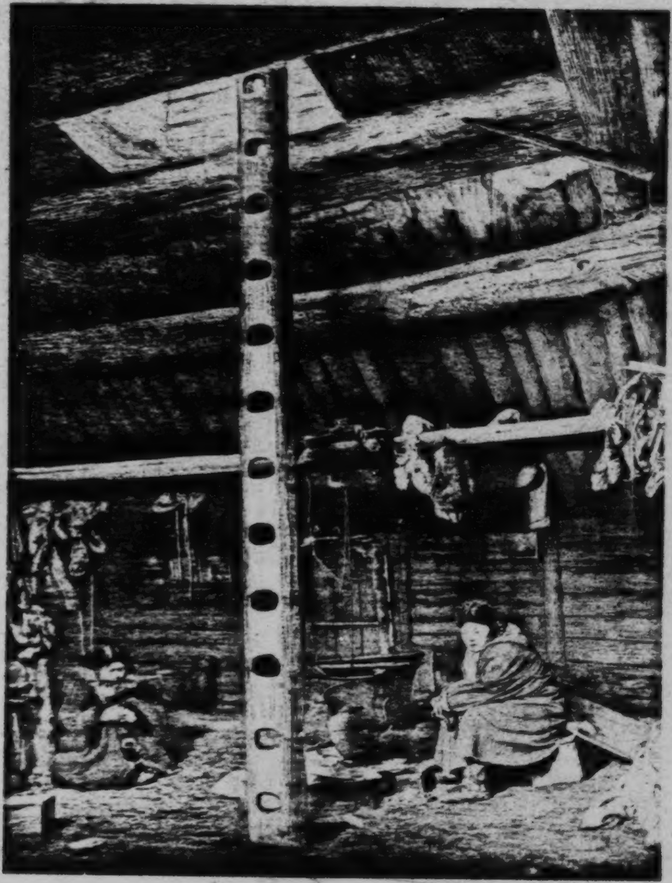
[1] See p. 440



INTERIOR OF SUBTERRANEAN HOUSE.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 453]

into the notches wooden cross-beams are placed. Each pole holds the ends of two cross-beams. The upper ends of the inner vertical poles forming the walls are fitted into grooves in the cross-beams. In some houses, one row of the wall-boards, either the inner or the outer one, is set horizontally, and fits into grooves in the corner poles. When the vertical walls are thus prepared, they are covered to the top with earth taken from the hole (see Fig. 61, *s*).

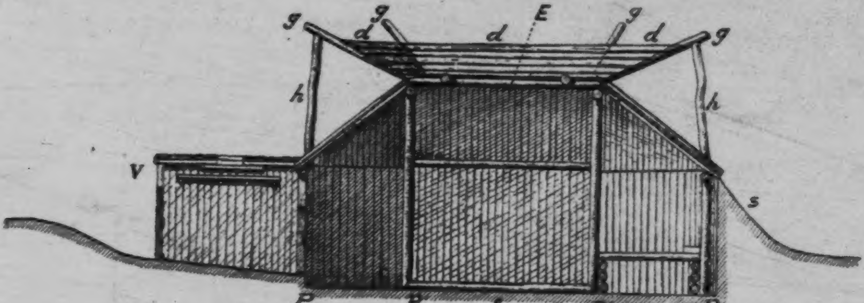


Fig. 61. Cross-Section of Underground House.

Four main posts (*P′*) are driven into the ground in the middle space enclosed by the walls (Figs. 60 and 61). These posts support the roof of the house, and form a square. In large houses the diameter of these posts is more than 30 cm., while their height is from 5 to 7 metres and over. Into the notches on the top of these posts two beams are placed, across the grooved ends of which two other cross-beams are fitted and lashed. These four cross-beams together form a square frame. One pair of such beams resting on the posts may be seen in Fig. 61. From these beams, slanting down to the top-beams of the walls *a* and *b* (Fig. 60), poles of poplar or aspen logs split in two are placed, thus forming four sides of the roof. The triangles between the cross-beams *c* and the inner posts *P′* (Fig. 60) are covered with stakes of varying sizes, the lower ends of which rest on the beams *c*, and the upper ends on the extreme side-logs of the rectangular slopes.

All the crevices between the poles are carefully filled up with dry grass and loose earth, and on top is placed a row of cleft logs. In this manner the slanting roof of the house is formed. From each corner of the square frame formed by the four main inner beams, two posts rise obliquely (see Figs. 61 and 62 *g*). Their lower grooved ends rest on the beams on each side of the corner posts. They diverge widely, and their upper sides rest on posts (*h*) which are grooved at the top for this purpose. These posts, called tivo′-aivq′gıl, are driven into the ground outside of the house. Logs (*d*)

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are placed on the poles *g* (see Figs. 61, 62). This structure (see Plate XXII, Fig. 2), consisting of three parts *g*, *h*, *d* (Fig. 61), has the appearance of a funnel, or of an umbrella turned upside down, and placed over the square frame on top of the roof. This funnel is called, in the Koryak language, ti′votıl, and is built for the purpose of protecting the upper entrance to the underground house from the drifting snow piled up by the raging winter storms. The snow driven by the gale from any point of the compass whatsoever strikes against the lower part of the funnel, and is scattered in all directions.

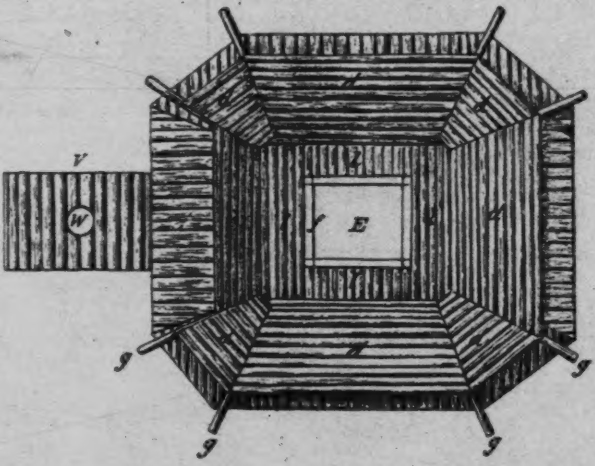

Fig. 62. Roof-Plan of Underground House.

Inside of the funnel is the square upper roof with the square winter entrance in the middle (see Fig. 62). The upper roof (Fig. 62, *l*) consists of logs covering the frame made of the four top beams, and forms the bottom of the walls of the funnel. In the middle of the roof a square well-shaped opening, each side of which is about 1 metre long, is made. This is the winter entrance (čina′ugiččıın), through which, by descending a ladder (yičigit), people enter the house (Figs. 61, 62, *E*). This opening serves at the same time as a smoke-hole. The poles of the flat roof are double, like those of the slanting roof, and the open spaces and crevices between them are filled with dry grass and earth.

One side of the funnel, which is above the roof of the narrow passage serving as an entrance-room (Fig. 62, *V*), is narrower and lower than the others. A ladder is placed against it for the purpose of getting up from the roof of the entrance-room to the upper roof of the house (see Part I, Plate VIII, Fig. 1; see also Plate XXIII, Fig. 2). The entrance-room is a narrow covered passage leading into the house. It is also excavated. Four short straight posts are driven into the ground, with stakes placed between them, forming two side-walls. A low door is made in the front wall. The wall of the house serves as the rear wall of the ante-room. A small door is placed in that wall also. Both doors turn on wooden hinges. Cross-beams are

342 placed upon the posts of the ante-room, and on top of them are horizontal poles forming the roof, which is covered with earth. The two side-walls of the entrance-room are covered outside with earth up to the top (see Part I, Plate VIII), so that the roof of the ante-room is accessible without a ladder. The height of the passage is hardly that of an average man. I had to stoop considerably to pass through the ante-room into the house. The door leading from outside into the entrance-room, and that leading from the entrance-room into the house (see Fig. 61), are each only a little over 1 metre in height, so that one has to stoop very much to enter the passage and the house.

The dirt floor of the entrance-room slopes slightly down toward the door leading into the house. At the entrance from the ante-room into the house there is a threshold. The dirt floor of the house is on a somewhat lower level than that of the ante-room. The entrance-room, or passage, is called ya′xel.

The door leading from the entrance-room to the house is in use only during the fishing and sealing season, — from the early part of May till the end of October.[1] In October, when the skin boat is taken out of the water and put away for the winter, the entrance to the passage is closed up. It is first covered with grass, then earth is put over it, and pressed down with heavy logs (see Fig. 182 and Plate XXIII, Fig. 2). The custom of shutting off the door for the winter might be very simply explained as due to the wish to avoid the unpleasant necessity of constantly clearing the entrance from snow-drifts.

In the Kamenskoye settlement my wife and I occupied a small Russian log-cabin belonging to a cossack who was absent at that time, and we had ample opportunity of experiencing the inconveniences of this type of dwelling in that climate. Every wind, violent or not, would cover our house with snow to the top, and we were fastened in until my men (a cossack and an interpreter), who slept in a neighboring Koryak house, came, together with Koryaks, and cleared away the snow from our door.

784 But the Koryak attach a religious importance to the custom of closing up the lower entrance during winter. It is sinful, they say, to go into the
342 house through that entrance in winter-time. However, none of the Koryak were able to explain the meaning of this taboo, and but one offered a plausible explanation.

Just as the entrance to the tent of the Reindeer Koryak faces the side where the sun rises, so does the lower entrance to the house of the Maritime Koryak face the sea. In summer the door of the lower entrance is open in order to give free access to the sea-mammals, as though they were visitors; but if, without any cause, the door should be left open in winter, when all hunting for sea-mammals is at an end, then the animals would avoid that 784 house the next summer, and the occupants would be unsuccessful in their 342 hunt. The lower doors of the houses which are occupied only during winter are, for the same reason, not opened at all.

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[1] Schrenck's (II., p. 25) statement founded upon verbal information given by Baron Maydell, that the Koryak enter the underground house through the entrance-room only once during the year, is inexact. Baron Maydell was apparently misinformed (see Part I, p. 14).

When the lower door is walled up, a ladder is placed vertically on the 342 floor of the house, rising toward the side *f* (Fig. 62) of the entrance-place in the roof (see Plate xx). The ladder is made from half of a split poplar-tree. 417 On the side where it was cleft, that is, on the back of the ladder, the wood is hollowed out like a trough, that it may be easily grasped with the hands. Instead of steps, holes are cut through at distances of from 30 cm. to 40 cm. apart. These holes are like flattened disks in form. They are large enough for the small feet of the Koryak, particularly those of the women, and children's feet would enter up to the instep; but my feet, in shaggy winter stockings and boots, could hardly get through them. On ladders with small holes I had to get up by the tips of my toes only. Once, as I remember, the fur toe of my boot slipped off the step, and I should have fallen down into the house from a height of five metres, had I not clutched the ladder with my hands, and in this manner slid down. Once my cossack, carrying in one hand a bowl of flour for dinner, was going down into the house. In changing the bowl from one hand to the other, he let go of the ladder, and, losing his balance, fell into the house flat on his back.

Occasionally a Koryak falls from the ladder; but as a rule they run up the ladder carrying heavy loads in one hand, their children on their backs, or with heavy buckets of water, or with pails filled with hot soup for the dogs. It is particularly interesting to see how skilfully they strike the holes, coming down without even looking at their feet. Children three and four years old climb up the ladder as quickly as squirrels, and slide down on their hands to save time. Such a way of sliding down is not quite safe, as I found out for myself. The ladder is planed smooth, so that the hands shall not get hurt by splinters. In course of time it becomes covered with a layer of fat mixed with soot, which makes it look as though it were covered with a dark, glossy varnish. The edges are so slippery on this account that it is quite impossible to hold fast to the ladder with the hands, particularly if they are mittened. If one foot slips out of a hole before the other has had time to get into the next, a fall is likely to follow. In such case, one should by no means let go of the ladder, or he will surely land in the house on his back.

In houses occupied all the year round the ladder is removed in summer, [788 and put away on the floor of the house, near the wall, until the next autumn. When the ladder is put up, it is anointed with fat, and charmed, in order that it may not admit any evil spirits into the house. As we have seen before,[1] the ladder is one of the family guardians, and its top is carved in

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[1] Part I, p. 43.

342 the form of a human face. The top of the ladder rises about 1.3 metres above
417 the opening, so that it can be grasped with the hands when one begins to descend. The ladder is fastened with thongs to the entrance-hole (Fig. 62, *f*), lest it should shake or fall backward; and it is placed nearer to the left-hand corner, when facing the side *f*. This is done to prevent articles or heavy loads carried in the right hand from striking against the right side of the frame of the entrance-opening. The vertical position of the ladder is accounted for in the same way; namely, that buckets, loads, or children carried on the back may not strike the rear side of the frame of the opening. Very heavy or bulky articles are lifted up, or let down, into the house, by means of thongs.

354 The hearth usually consists of two oblong stones placed on the dirt floor at a distance of about 50 cm. from each other (see Fig. 60, *F*). The fire
342 is made of wood in the space between them. The hearth is about 50 cm. from the ladder, toward the entrance-room. Whether going in or out of the house, a person always faces the fire. The smoke escapes through the entrance-opening in the roof. Cinders and hot air also rise from the hearth, and escape along the ladder through the opening. The upper part of the ladder becomes so hot while there is a fire, that it burns the hands.

At first we had a very hard time getting down into the house while the fire was burning. As soon as we put our feet upon the ladder, the smoke blinded our eyes, and the heat nearly took away our breath; but after getting over the first trying moments, and as soon as we had descended a little, we felt relieved. The Koryak, however, do not experience any discomfort from having the opening serve the double purpose of a means of exit for people and of escape for smoke.

The arrangement for a draught is as follows. The door leading from the house to the entrance-room, even in winter, is left open, for the entrance-room serves also as a cold-storage place. Seals killed late in fall are put away there, and also blubber, berries picked for winter use, frozen fish, and other provisions. Shelves (see Fig. 61) are arranged there for this purpose. Owing to the exigencies of the climate, a part of the provisions has to be kept near at hand; for during violent winds it is difficult, especially for women, to get out to the store-houses, which are built on poles. A round opening sufficiently large for a man to get through is left on the roof of the entrance-room (see Fig. 62, *W*). This opening is called na′učñın. Women and children often get in and out of the house through this opening, in order to avoid going up and down the ladder. The men consider it incompatible with their dignity to enter the house through this opening. In olden times, men "transformed" into women (kavau[1]) used to go in and out through this opening. Provisions, dogs' harness, and other articles, are lowered down through it. Besides, it serves as a draught-hole.

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[1] See Part I, p. 53.

342 354 [137]

When the fire is not burning in the house, the entrance-room door is closed and the opening on its roof is stopped up by a plug plaited of the stems of *Elymus mollis*. When the fire is started, the plug is removed from outside, placed upon the roof of the entrance-room, and the door leading from the latter into the house is opened. Thus a current of cold air forces the smoke upward into the roof-hole; but, since the opening is not directly over the hearth, the smoke strikes the ceiling, and spreads over the upper part of the house. When sitting on the floor, it is possible to remain in an atmosphere which is not charged with smoke. For instance, I could easily take notes when sitting on a log; but when I stood erect, taking anthropometrical measurements, while the fire was burning, my eyes would begin to water. During very violent or irregular winds, a return-draught or a changing draught is formed, and the house becomes completely filled with smoke.

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In the fall the Koryak chop driftwood into thin billets, and put them upon the roof around the funnel, except on that side by which the people ascend to the roof. This is done in order to have handy a supply of wood during severe snow-storms, which often rage for several days in succession, when it is utterly impossible to get out of the house. Of course, in good weather the supply of wood is sometimes renewed in winter. The wood is split into small bits to secure a fire quickly.

When the fire is first started and the entrance-room door is opened for the draught, the cold air strikes the feet, and the house is quite cold; but after the wood has burned out and the draught is shut off, the house begins to grow warm. It gets very warm when only red coals are left on the hearth and the smoke-opening is covered up. The temperature sometimes reaches 20° Centigrade. When the entrance-opening is covered up, the heat remains for a considerable time. During the night the house gets very cold, and the temperature in the morning is often below zero. Thus the temperature drops between the times when the fire is made. To save fuel, the fire is not made often, only two or three times during the day. It is made invariably in the morning directly after getting up, and in the evening, before going to bed, — at the time of the two main meals. During the day, fire is sometimes made in order to prepare tea, or if company should come.

The Maritime Koryak dwelling, compared with the tent of the Reindeer Koryak, provides the people with good shelter from frosts and winds. I think, therefore, that this type of Arctic dwelling is more ancient than the tent, which must have appeared in the far northeast of Asia together with the domesticated reindeer.

The cover used for shutting the roof-hole is made of boards tied to two cross-pieces by means of thongs drawn through holes. The cover is somewhat wider than the square opening of the entrance. A half-circular section is cut out at the side for the ladder to pass through, and thus the entire opening

342 is covered up. During the day, however, the entrance is seldom closed, since people are constantly coming and going. In the evening, after all are in
354 bed, the entrance is always covered up. The one who closes it gets up the ladder, and with his hand pushes out the cover from below over the opening. Of course, crevices enough remain for ventilation.

The cover of the entrance-opening also serves to regulate the draught while the fire is burning. It is placed vertically, near the entrance to face the wind, in order to prevent it from blowing into the entrance. The grass plug on the roof of the entrance-room is also utilized for regulating the draught. It is placed at the edge, in a direction opposite that of the wind, which, after striking against the plug, gets into the opening. Of course, all these arrangements are of no avail when strong winds are blowing.

352 The inner arrangement of the underground house is as follows. On the side opposite the door leading to the entrance-room, behind the posts, is a platform, from 30 cm. to 60 cm. high, made of boards (see Figs. 60 and 61). This place (ayo′-ai) serves as a seat and as a bedroom for visitors. It is covered with seal and reindeer skins. Upon it, near the walls, are stored away household articles that are in frequent use. The right and left sides of the house are called yelñı-xal. On the right side lives the master; on the left, his brothers, relatives, and neighbors. The places behind the posts are called yoyo′ñı.[1] They serve for bedrooms, and have a dirt floor like the centre of the house. These places are separated from the middle of the room by means of logs (Fig. 60, *L*). The floor is strewn with willow-branches covered over with dry grass (grass mats are used in northern Kamchatka), and then with seal and reindeer skins. Sleeping-tents are pitched over these skins.

342 These tents are of the same shape as the inner tents of the Reindeer Koryak, but, instead of being made of heavy reindeer-skins, they are made of old skins which have served for bedding before; or they are made of old fur clothing. The hair of the skins is closely clipped with a knife. These tents serve as bedrooms only, and are let down at night. In the daytime the front side of the tent is raised, and fastened on top with thongs. The children are kept on the skins under the raised tents, and the women also
[313] sit there with their work (see Plate XXXVI). The men sit, during the day, on logs in front of the tents, unless they are lounging in bed. They sleep in the tents with their heads toward the middle of the house. Bags filled with clothing, scraps of skin, nets, and other household articles, serve as pillows, while the bolster is supplied by the log.

To give better support to the main roof-beams in large houses, three additional posts are driven in between the central posts (Fig. 61, P′), except on the side opposite the door.

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[1] By this name the sleeping-tents or the inner tents of the Reindeer Koryak dwelling are also called.

Near the four main central posts (*P'*) stakes of the height of a man are 342
driven into the ground. On their upper ends, which are fastened with thongs
to the main posts, cross-pieces are put, upon which clothes, shoes, and other 352
household goods are hung. There is no such cross-piece on the side where the hearth is; but above the hearth, across the entire width of the house, several stout timbers are placed, their ends being tied with thongs to the upper cross-beams. These form a grating, upon which clothes, shoes, and wood are put to dry. To these poles, hooks of wood, iron, or reindeer-antler, are attached, from which pots and kettles are suspended over the fire (see Fig. 61 and Plate xx).

The corners of the house, the spaces between the sleeping-places, and the place for visitors, are ordinarily used for storage purposes. Nets, dogs' harness, hunting-implements, snowshoes, tools, and other things, are hung up
there. A large iron pot for water, dishes, tea-kettles, wooden and leather [415]
pails, and chamber-vessels (see Plate xx) are kept on the side of the door leading to the entrance-room.

If, as appears to me, the tent of the Reindeer Koryak is built after the 342
type of the dwelling of the Asiatic nomads, but adapted to the needs of the 171
arctic climate, so the underground house of the Maritime Koryak represents a type of palæ-Asiatic-American dwelling. We do not find such a dwelling among the Turkish-Mongolian tribes. All so-called palæ-Asiatic tribes formerly had, or now have, underground houses similar to the house of the Koryak type. The ancient Kamchadal dwelling as described by Steller[1] differed from the present-day house of the Maritime Koryak only by the absence of the umbrella-shaped storm-roof, by having no entrance-room, and by having notches instead of holes in its ladder.

The Kerek do not build storm-roofs, because of their lack of the required timber.[2] I also found on the Tılqai River[3] one Koryak house without a funnel. It stood in a forest where the winds were not so violent. According to the Koryak belief, the houses of evil spirits (kalau) have no storm-roofs. We may rightly suppose that this peculiar part of the construction, which we find only among the Koryak, is not characteristic of the general type of this dwelling.

The dwelling of the Kamchadal has no entrance-room, for the underground house serves them as a winter dwelling only; but among the Koryak the entrance through the ante-room is also closed up for the winter. In the Kamchadal dwelling, an underground passage leading out from the hearth[4] takes the place of the ante-room of the Koryak. Women, children, and men transformed[5] into women, used to go in and out through this passage. It served as a storehouse; and it had a grass plug, which was taken out while the fire was burning, to secure a draught. In summer the Kamchadal used to live in conical huts placed upon platforms raised on tall posts. As we shall see below, the Koryak also put up such structures on piles for their storehouses.

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[1] Steller, p. 212.

[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol VII of this series, p. 183.

[3] See p. 437.

[4] See the cut in Steller, p. 212; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 40.

[5] See Part 1, p. 52.

Sternberg states that the Gilyak adopted the Manchurian type of winter house, which is above ground, only in places near the Amur River.[1] In other places they preserved their semi-subterranean dwelling of the Koryak type. Schrenck gives a detailed description and a cut of that dwelling.[2] The smoke-hole on the roof of the Gilyak house does not serve at present as an entrance, and they have no ladder; but Sternberg surmises that in former times the smoke-hole in the roof also served as an entrance, as with the Kamchadal and Koryak. Even now this opening is used as a door on certain occasions. At the bear festival the Gilyak descend into the house, carrying the skin and flesh of the killed bear, by means of a pole inserted for the purpose through the smoke-hole. At the close of the festival all the ritual accessories, as well as the bones of the bear, are removed from the house through the same smoke-hole.[3] Now the Gilyak enter the house through a narrow passage which slopes down to the door, similar to the Koryak entrance-room. The door faces the side most protected from the prevailing winds. The floor of the house is lower than that of the passage. The hearth is placed in the middle of the house, under the opening in the roof.

The underground house was in common use among the Ainu people as well. We find in Schrenck[4] the description of a modern underground dwelling of the Ainu in the southern part of Saghalin Island. It is entered through a side-door. The roof extends far enough over the entrance to form in front of it a covered landing-place or ante-room, with steps leading inside. The hearth is nearer the door; but in dwellings of smaller size it is also placed in the middle. Large houses possess two hearths at the corners, on the side of the door, with an opening in the roof over each hearth for the exit of the smoke. Not infrequently a channel runs from the hearth itself to the passage, for increasing the draught of the fire. Grimm[5] describes a modern Ainu dwelling on the island of Shikotan. The hearth is in the right-hand corner of the earth hut on the side of the door, while the above-ground summer hut forms a passage to the winter pit-dwelling.

The important questions relating to the remains of ancient subterranean dwellings found on the islands of Yezo and Saghalin will be discussed in Chapter X, in the section on ancient pottery of the Koryak. 342 171

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[1] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Survey [Moscow, 1904], No. 1, p. 18).

[2] See cut in Schrenck, II, p. 12.

[3] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Survey [Moscow, 1904], No. 1, p. 6).

[4] Schrenck, II, p. 23.

[5] H. Grimm, Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Koropokguru von Yeso und Bemerkungen über Shikotan Aino (Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio, [1889-92, Band V, pp. 369—373).

I stated before that Koryak underground houses no longer exist in Gishiga Bay; but remains of such ancient dwellings may be seen on the shores and islands of Gishiga Bay and the Okhotsk Sea as far as the village of Yamsk, and possibly still farther south.

A link between these remains and those of former Gilyak-Ainu earth dwellings and their present underground houses seems to be found in the ruins of such dwellings on the banks of the lower course of the Amur River and at its mouth,[1] which may also be ascribed to the ancient Gilyak.

Returning to the Arctic palæ-Asiatics, we find that the ancient Yukaghir had underground houses.[2] We shall discuss these dwellings in greater detail in the work devoted to the Yukaghir.

The Chukchee, even the Maritime branch of the tribe, now make their houses of reindeer-skins;[3] but along the Arctic shore, from Cape Erri (or Shelagski) to Bering Strait,[4] and along the Chukchee shore of Bering Sea, south of East Cape (or Chukotsky),[5] remains of underground dwellings are found. The frames of these houses were mainly of bone of whale, because timber was not available.

Wrangell, having heard from the Chukchee that these dwellings formerly belonged to the Onkilon, assumed that they were left by the Eskimo who had lived on the Asiatic shore of the Arctic, but who subsequently wandered off to America. It has been shown before (p. 407) that Onkilon is a wrongly recorded Chukchee-Koryak word, Añqalaᵉn ("maritime dweller"). Even now the Koryak and the Chukchee apply this name to every maritime inhabitant. This name, however, does not throw any light on the tribal relationship of the dwellers. 342 114

From the resemblance between the remains of subterranean dwellings on the Asiatic shores of the Polar Sea and those found on the islands and the northern shores of America, Markham[6] has formed the theory that the Eskimo emigrated into Greenland from Asia, the groundlessness of which theory has been proved by Professor Boas.[7]

Schrenck[8] has suggested that the remains of underground houses along

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[1] For the pits of ancient dwellings on the Amur River see B. Laufer, Die angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sachalin (Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Jena, Vol. V, pp. 321—330).

[2] See Hedenstrom in the Siberian Messenger, p. 105, and in Fragments about Siberia, p. 97; Wrangell, I, p. 7, II, p. 57; Müller, Sammlung, Russ. Gesch., III, p. 46; Pallas, Neue Nord. Beitr., I, pp. 234, 235.

[3] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 178.

[4] Wrangell, II, pp. 220, 221; Nordenskiöld, I, pp. 405–406, 456.

[5] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 180.

[6] R. Markham, On the Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux (The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society [London, 1865], Vol. XXXV, p. 87).

[7] See Boas, Ueber die ehemalige Verbreitung der Eskimos im arktisch-amerikanischen Archipel (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, 1883, Vol. XVIII, p. 118).

[8] Schrenck, II, p. 28.

342 171 the shores of the Arctic Ocean were the ancient dwellings of the ancestors of the present Chukchee, in which they lived before they adopted the tent made of skins. On the shore of the Chukchee Peninsula in Bering Sea, Mr. Bogoras[1] saw remains of underground dwellings in the settlements of the Maritime Chukchee, as well as in those of the Asiatic Eskimo.

342 171 According to the description of Mr. Bogoras,[2] this underground dwelling, called by the Chukchee "jaw-bone house" (wa'lkar), had also two entrances; but, contrary to the Koryak underground house, the upper entrance at the upper part of the wall was used in summer, and in winter a long and narrow underground passage which in summer was filled up with water. The level of the floor of the inner room was above that of the underground passage, so that the water could not injure the living-room.

In houses of the Koryak, Kamchadal, Gilyak, and Ainu, on the other hand, the floor of the inner room, as mentioned before, is lower than that of the ante-room or the draught-passage. The underground houses of the Kamchadal were full of water in summer; and this explains, according to Steller and Krasheninnikoff,[3] why they lived in summer in houses built on piles. Like the Eskimo snow-house, the "jaw-bone house" of the Chukchee was heated and lighted by means of an oil-lamp. The opening in the roof, which was covered with the shoulder-blade of a whale, served only to admit light.

Turning to the American side, we see from the descriptions of Russian and other travellers, such as Sarytcheff,[4] Sauer,[5] Langsdorff,[6] and Veniaminov,[7] that an underground house similar to that of the Kamchadal served as the ancient dwelling of the Aleut. The frame was built of driftwood or whale-ribs. The opening in the roof served as smoke-hole, window, and entrance to the house, which was heated by a hearth fire, and the people descended to it by means of a notched log. Outside of the main living-room, or the middle of the house, were other smaller side-rooms with narrow passages leading outside, the latter being very much like the Kamchadal draught-channel.

From the Kadyak Islands along the American shores of Bering Sea and the Polar Ocean, as far as Greenland, we meet with remains of underground dwellings. The type of these dwellings shows some variations.

To judge from the descriptions of former travellers, underground houses of the Aleut type were met among the Eskimo in the southern part of Alaska; with this difference, however, that along with smaller underground dwellings, subterranean public houses (kashim) were found, which were designed for festivals, entertainments, or steam-baths. In some places remains of similar underground houses of the Gilyak type were found.

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 180.
[2] Ibid., pp. 181, 182.
[3] Steller, p. 212; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 40.
[4] Sarytcheff, Travels in the Northeastern Part of Siberia, St. Petersburg (Russian edition), II, pp. 14, 157.
[5] Billing's Reise (Berlin, 1802), p. 294.
[6] Langsdorff, Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803–07 (Frankfurt a. M.), II, pp. 30, 56.
[7] Veniaminov, Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District (Russian edition), II, pp. 204–211.

On Bering Strait the Eskimo were found to possess underground houses[1] of the wa'lkar type of the Chukchee Peninsula, described above. On the shores of the Arctic Ocean we find again small earth huts of the Kamchadal type, with entrance through the smoke-hole, but with a frame made of the bones of whales. Farther east we find stones also used as building-material for the walls of the earth hut, with a roof made of bone of whale. The stone walls frequently penetrate but very slightly into the ground, or are erected on the surface of the soil, being fenced up with an earth rampart.[2]

On the shores of the Arctic Ocean the subterranean winter houses have been almost superseded by snow dwellings.

Remains of underground houses, or tales about them, have been found among many Indian tribes of northwestern America, and among some of them underground dwellings are found even now.

One tale of the Bella Coola, a coast tribe of British Columbia which belongs to the Salish stock, points to their former possession of subterranean dwellings.[3] We also find a reference to the underground house, exit from which is made through the smoke-hole, in one myth of another tribe of the Salish stock, the Quinault Indians, who dwell on the coast of Washington.[4]

Among the Ts'ᴇts'ā'ut, an Athapascan coast tribe, the house is made of bark, and, though constructed above ground, it is arranged for the winter to live in as in a Koryak underground house. When snow falls very deep, the door is blocked up, and the exit is effected through the roof.[5]

The custom of building underground or semi-subterranean houses prevailed in former times, or is still observed among the inland tribes of the Salish stock. All such houses were or are still used as dwellings only during the winter.[6] The smoke-hole in the middle of the roof is used as an entrance, through which one descends into the house by a notched log. As with the Koryak and Kamchadal, the hearth is on the floor at the bottom of the ladder. The roof is constructed of poles or timber. Most of these dwellings are circular in shape, though some are square.[7] The pit is dug out from four to five metres in diameter, and a metre and a half deep. The roof is covered with grass, and the whole is covered up with earth, so that from a distance the underground house looks like a mound. These underground dwell-

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[1] See Murdoch, p. 72; Nelson, p. 242.

[2] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 539; Turner, p. 228.

[3] See Boas, Bella Coola Indians, p. 79.

[4] See Farrand, Quinault Indians, p. 94.

[5] See Tenth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, p. 561).

[6] See Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, pp. 633, 635).

[7] Teit, The Lillooet Indians (Vol. II of this series, p. 212).

342 171 ings have no side-entrance, entrance-room, underground passage, or draught-channel, like the underground houses of the palæ-Asiatics, Aleut, and Eskimo.

Until quite recently underground winter dwellings were found among the Shuswap,[1] the Thompson River Indians,[2] the Lillooet,[3] on the lower course of the Fraser River.[4] Remains of ancient underground houses have been found among the Chilcotin,[5] in the Thompson River region,[6] at Nicola Lake (Athapascan), and in other places in the interior of British Columbia.

Farther to the south we find underground houses of the Salish type among the Indians on the Klamath Lakes, Oregon, and in northern California among the Hupa[7] and Maidu.[8] It is interesting to note that the Indian coast tribes, like the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, whose myths bear the greatest resemblance to those of the inhabitants of the underground houses on the Asiatic side of the Pacific, now live in large wooden houses. The house, however, has a smoke-hole similar to that of the underground house; and in olden times the centre of the house was excavated.[9]

From this short review of different types of underground or semi-subterranean dwellings on both sides of the North Pacific, we may draw the conclusion that the underground houses of the palæ-Asiatic tribes bear more similarity to those of the Aleut and Alaskan Eskimo than to the underground dwellings of the Northwestern Indians.

It is difficult to admit the theory of independent invention for the construction of the underground house over this whole area. It seems to me that imitation played its part here, while the climatic conditions contributed to the spread of underground dwellings.

342 The Koryak underground house serves for a winter as well as for a summer dwelling. As I said above, there are settlements in which people live only during winter, and others which are inhabited only in summer. The houses of the summer and winter settlements are built alike. The use of a dwelling for summer or for winter depends upon its being near the seashore or up the river. The houses occupied only during summer are called ale′-yan ("summer house"), and winter dwellings are called la′xlañ-yan ("winter house").

343 The Maritime Koryak build their storehouses on platforms raised on poles from four to six metres above the ground, so that dogs, bears, or other beasts shall not steal their provisions. To build a storehouse (Plate XXI,

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[1] See Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, etc., p. 635.

[2] Teit, Vol. I of this series, p. 193 and Figs. 135, 136.

[3] Teit, The Lillooet Indians, p. 212.

[4] Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 633.

[5] Twelfth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 646.

[6] Smith, Vol. I of this series, pp. 140, 414.

[7] See description by Schurz, Urgeschichte der Kultur, 1900, pp. 422-423.

[8] Dixon, The Northern Maidu (Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVII, pp. 168 et seq.)

[9] Boas, Tribes of the North Pacific Coast (Annual Archæological Report, 1905, Toronto, p. 236).

34.3 Fig. 1), three stakes are driven at each corner of an elongated rectangle. These stakes meet at the top, thus forming tripods. Two long cross-beams, the long sides of the platform, are placed on top of these tripods, and are supported in two or three places by additional posts. Across these long beams, and tied to them with thongs, four or five cross-pieces are laid at equal distances from one another. These are supported in the middle by posts on which rests the platform, which is made of long stakes or of split logs. The storehouse is placed in the middle of such a platform. It is in the form of a gable-roof. Two logs or rafters, the upper ends of which are so tied together as to form an acute angle, are placed three or four metres distant from two other logs tied in like manner. The two angles are connected by a ridge-pole. From the ridge down, on each side, poles are placed. All the spaces between the poles are carefully filled with hay. To give greater firmness to the sloping sides of the storehouse, heavy logs are leaned against them, reaching up to the ridge. The two ends are formed by stakes put in a somewhat slanting position. Into one of the sloping sides facing the ladder, a frame is put, in which a door swings on wooden hinges. The platform around the storehouse is fenced in. For this purpose, long stakes (four or six on each side) are driven into the ground around the longer sides of the platform. These stakes are as high as the ridge of the storehouse. To keep them from moving, they are fastened in notches in the cross-beams of the platform. Through holes in the upper part of the stakes, above the platform, rails are put, which form the fence. The part of the platform where the ladder is placed is not fenced in. The fence around the platform is for the safety of women and children. Fish, nets, skins, and other household articles, are often hung on it. The ladder for getting to the platform is like the one used for entering the house; but it is put in a slanting position, so that it is easier to get up to the platform than to get out of the house. When leaving the winter house for a summer village, or *vice versâ*, the storehouse ladder is removed and put on the platform.

417 Poles are often fastened under the platform for hanging up clothes; and during the summer rains, fish are hung there to dry.

361 The settlements of Maritime Koryak (nı´mnım, nʌ´mnʌm, nᴇ´mnᴇm, or ne´mnem) often consist of but one house, as the settlements on the Tılqai
621 River, or those on the Poqač River, or those of the Kerek; but sometimes they form villages of considerable size. For instance, in Kamenskoye there are about thirty houses inhabited during winter. From a distance this settlement, with its storm-roofs and its many storehouses scattered on all sides, gives one the impression of a large though singular town. In the settlement Kuel there are from thirteen to fifteen inhabited houses in the summer, and seven or eight in winter. The peculiar impression made by these villages is shown in the view of Kuel given on Plate XXIII, Fig. 2.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXIII.

361

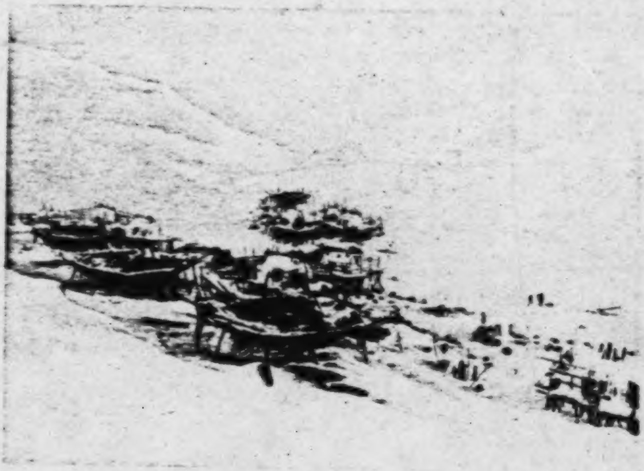

Fig. 1. View of Big Itkana.

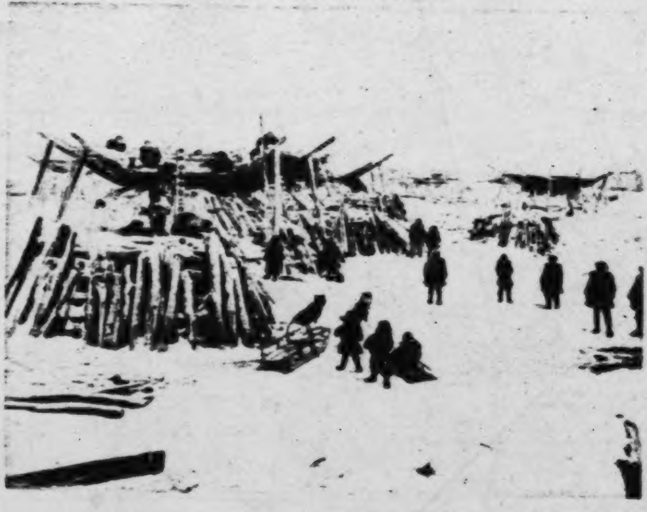

Fig. 2. View of Kuel.

The Koryak

[Facing p. 467: A]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXII.

361

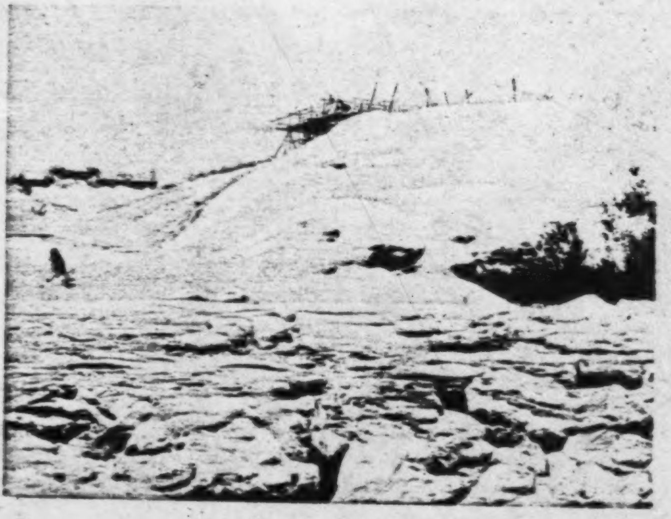

FIG. 1. KAMENSKOYE SEEN FROM THE SEA.

362

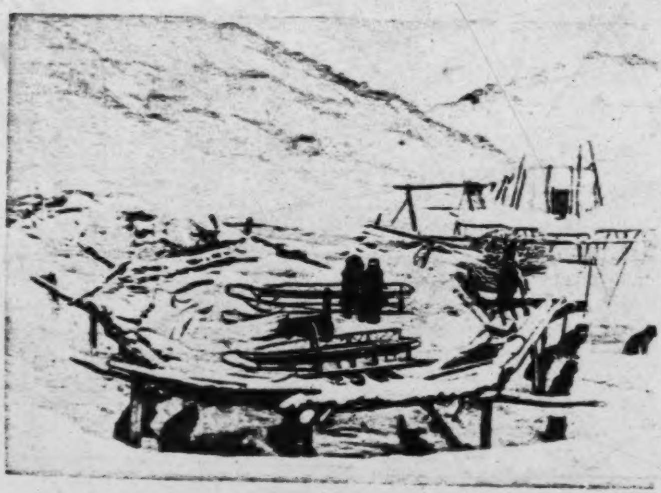

FIG. 2. VIEW OF STORM-ROOF.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 467: B]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXI.

3.43

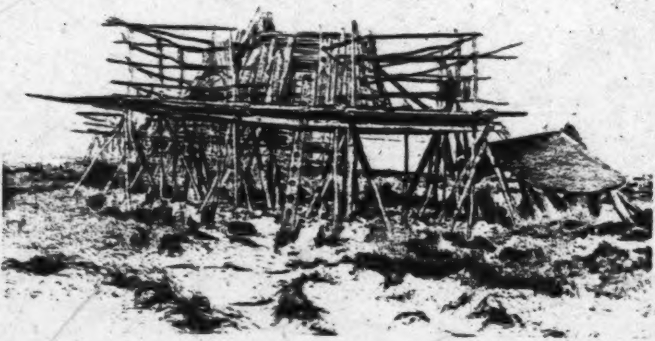

FIG. 1. STOREHOUSE.

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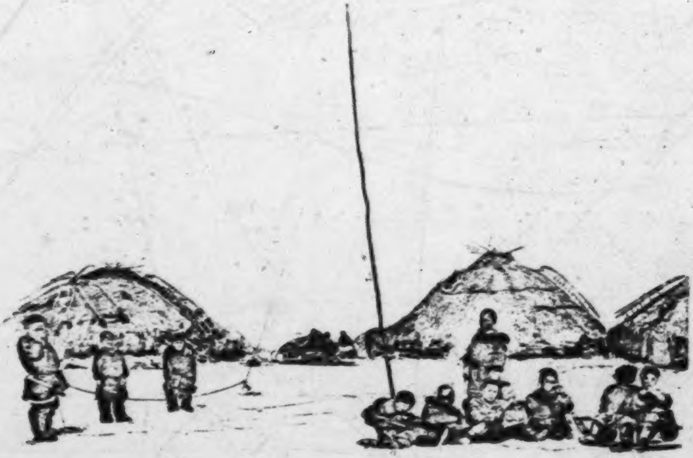

FIG. 2. TENTS AND POLE-GAME.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 467: C]

361 In the above enumeration of settlements it is indicated which are occupied only in winter, and which only in summer. With few exceptions, the settlements of Maritime Koryak are situated near the mouth of a river or brook, in order to have a supply of fresh water. The majority of the settlements are situated on the rocky coasts of the seashore.

Plate XXII, Fig. 1, represents the steep rocks at the mouth of Penshina River, behind which the Kamenskoye settlement is concealed; while Plate XXIII, Fig. 1, represents part of Big Itkana.

342 177 The Maritime Koryak of the Nayakhan settlement and the Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district have completely abandoned their underground dwellings, and live in log-cabins like those of the Russians. The flat roof of these houses is made of logs covered with earth, which lets in the summer rain. Inside is a fireplace or a chimney like that of the Yakut, made of beaten clay.

342 The Koryak of northern Kamchatka who have embraced the Christian faith have abandoned their former dwellings under the pressure of the Russian Administration. Some of them live in log-cabins like those described above, and others live in houses of the Yakut type, which have been introduced into Kamchatka by the Russians. This structure consists of a flat roof with four slanting walls, and reminds one of a truncated pyramid. The walls are coated with clay to keep in the heat. Instead of the Yakut fireplace in the right-hand corner of the house, with a chimney for the escape of smoke, we find a hearth in the middle of the house and a smoke-hole in the roof.

Owing to the lack of timber, the Kerek build their semi-underground houses without the storm-roof. Since the smoke-hole does not serve as a means of exit, they have no ladder with holes. The frame of the house, placed in a pit, consists of crooked stakes covered with earth. The inside is covered all around with pieces of skin. In winter, to secure more heat, the dwellings are covered with a thick layer of snow. The entrance to the house, in summer as well as in winter, leads through a long, narrow hall. The inner arrangement of the house is similar to that of other Koryak underground dwellings.[1]

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee (Vol. VII of this series, p. 183).

V. — REINDEER-BREEDING.

THE BEGINNING OF REINDEER-BREEDING. — The domestication of wild reindeer is probably of less ancient origin than that of other draught-animals. This is shown by the fact that the domestic reindeer still differ but little from the wild variety. In the prehistoric period the reindeer lived much farther to the south than they do at present. Numerous remains of this species have been found in the palæolithic stations in Switzerland and in France. But the ancient inhabitants of Europe confined themselves to hunting reindeer without making any effort to tame them. As with the passing of the glacial period the climate became milder, the reindeer abandoned central Europe, retreating gradually northward. In Asia, however, the reindeer still occurs as far south as the Amur River, the southern extremity of Saghalin Island,[1] and on the Sayansk Mountains. The wild reindeer are still met with in certain localities in the mountains of Kuznetsk-Alatau Ridge.[2]

Professor Keller, relying on the statement of Professor Frijs of Christiania, that the Lapps of northern Scandinavia were engaged in fishing and hunting as late as the ninth century, and cared for reindeer only as game, admits the possibility that the beginning of the taming of the reindeer does not date farther back than a thousand years;[3] but a period comparatively so short is hardly sufficient for the completion of the difficult undertaking of taming a wild animal.

The process of domesticating wild animals is a gradual one, passing through different stages of taming, and the reindeer are not yet wholly domesticated. The taming of the reindeer presented special difficulties, owing to their low intelligence. Even the most tame and docile reindeer do not recognize their master, and turn off the road if not directed, or unless tied to the sledge ahead of them in the train. Among the reindeer-breeders of northern Europe and Asia, from the Lapps to the Chukchee,[4] we still find

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[1] See P. L. Smidt, The Island of Saghalin (Magazin des Russischen Reiches, [St. Petersburg, April, 1905], p. 155).

[2] They are found there only on the high summits, and by their presence prove that at one time the region passed through the glacial period, at the expiration of which the reindeer retired to the summits. This was pointed out by Prince Peter Kropotkin and Dimitri Klementz. The traces of glaciers in the river-systems of the Kuznetsk-Alatau region were made a subject of study by I. Tolmachev. According to the verbal statement of Mr. Klementz, Alatau hunters regard the reindeer as a special variety of the wild goat (*Capra*), and call it by the Turanian name Ax-kix, which means "white wild goat" (ax, "white"; kix, "wild goat").

[3] C. Keller, Naturgeschichte der Haustiere (Berlin, 1905), p. 200; Frijs, Wanderungen in den drei Lappländern (Globus, 1872, Vol. XXII, p. 2).

[4] The following tribes are at present engaged in reindeer-breeding, — the Lapps (Scandinavian and Russian), the Zyryans, the Samoyeds, the Ostyak, the Dolgan, the Karagos, the Soyot on the Yenisei, the northern Yakut, the Yukaghir, the Tungus tribes, the Koryak, and the Chukchee. In 1770 the domesticated Scandinavian

233 174 different stages of domestication of that animal. The domestic reindeer of the Chukchee and the Koryak are only slightly tamed, and may be regarded as in a primitive stage of domestication. Left to themselves, they readily return to the wild state. On the other hand, we know of no other instances of the domestication of wild reindeer. Thus, the traveller Maak relates an instance in which all attempts to tame captured wild fawns ended in failure.[1] The same is reported by Sieroszevsky,[2] although the offspring of domestic does and wild bucks become tame when reared in a domesticated herd. However, though they are much better runners and much stronger than the offspring of domesticated bucks, they develop an abnormal stubbornness.

It is difficult to solve the question whether reindeer-breeding originated in one place, from which it spread in various directions, or whether different tribes of the northern part of the Old World succeeded independently in the difficult task of domesticating the wild reindeer.

233 174 114 I. Lippert supports the hypothesis that the German Scandinavians were pioneers in domesticating the northern reindeer, and later imparted their knowledge to the Lapps, from whom the domestic reindeer spread farther east.[3] On the other hand, E. Hahn locates the origin of reindeer-breeding in northeastern Asia,[4] whence, in his opinion, it spread westward.

The latter hypothesis does not seem to me very plausible, because in northeastern Asia, among the Chukchee and the Koryak, reindeer-breeding is even now in a more primitive state than it is in the west. Besides, if northeastern Asia were the birthplace of the domestication of the reindeer, it would be difficult to explain why it spread to the west only, while the Eskimo and the Indians of the extreme north of America remained outside the sphere of influence of this civilizing factor. Both species of the American *Rangifer tarandus* — the barren-ground caribou and the woodland caribou — still remain in a wild state. The Government of the United States, desirous of introducing reindeer-breeding into Alaska, had to import domesticated reindeer from the Old World. If we are to assume that reindeer-breeding had its inception in but one place, Lippert's hypothesis would be the more probable.

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reindeer were introduced into Iceland, and of late years attempts have been made to introduce reindeer-breeding into Alaska. In Iceland the attempt failed completely. The imported reindeer soon returned to the wild state, and now they are hunted only (see Fr. Ekhard, Islands Natur und Volkskunde [Copenhagen, 1813], p. 90). The importation of reindeer into Alaska was begun by the United States Government in 1890. In 1903, when the importation had ceased, the herds in Alaska contained 6114 head. In 1905 they increased to 10,241 head. It is difficult to predict whether or not reindeer-breeding will ultimately prove successful (see G. B. Gordon, Notes on the Western Eskimo [Transactions Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906, Vol. II, Part I, p. 73]).

[1] Maak, The District of Viluisk, III, Ethnographical part, p. 154.

[2] Sieroszevsky, p. 149.

[3] I. Lippert, Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit, 1886—87, I, p. 541. That the Lapps have learned to tame the reindeer from the Scandinavians is asserted by Professor Frijs in the paper mentioned before (Globus, XXII, 1872, p. 2).

[4] E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 263, 265.

The best-trained race of reindeer is that owned by the Lapps, who make use of the watch-dog for guarding their herds. The Lapps, moreover, lay in stores of reindeer-moss,[1] so that the reindeer are better cared for by them than by other reindeer-breeders. All this points to the fact that reindeer-breeding in the extreme west of the Old World is of more ancient origin, since, in the domestication of animals, the more advanced the system, the longer is the period required to develop it. 233 174

Schrenck considers the Tungus as primarily a reindeer people, and he advances the hypothesis that they transmitted reindeer-breeding both to the East and to the West, to the Samoyeds and Lapps inclusive.[2] He thinks[3] that the Koryak and the Chukchee may have obtained domesticated reindeer from the Tungus, who came to the polar region from the south. 114 233 174

Bogoras admits the possibility of an influence of Tungus reindeer-breeding in inducing the Koryak and the Chukchee to breed domestic reindeer of their own; but he thinks that they may have tamed wild reindeer which they had found in their own territory, without actually obtaining domesticated animals from the Tungus. "This would seem the more plausible," says Bogoras, "since their reindeer is quite different from that of the Tungus."[4] In support of this hypothesis, the fact could be cited, that, while the Tungus are principally reindeer-riders, the Koryak and the Chukchee use their reindeer harnessed to sledges.

Whatever the origin of reindeer-breeding among the Koryak and the Chukchee may have been, there is no doubt that its development was stimulated by hunting-expeditions into the interior of the country on the part of the maritime inhabitants. In those years when they had no luck in fishing, hunting-expeditions in search of land-animals were more frequently undertaken, and lasted longer. This was necessary for the support of the population. At the same time, a protracted stay of individual hunters, and sometimes of entire hunting-parties, in the interior of the country, led to the taming of wild reindeer or to the acquisition of domesticated reindeer from neighboring tribes. The acquisition of domesticated reindeer or the taming of wild ones insured the people against starvation in case of failure in fishing, and against accidents in hunting land-animals. It also made it possible for certain parts of the tribe to remain entirely in the interior of the country; and it facilitated, moreover, migration from place to place. 174 233

The domesticated reindeer not only began to furnish food and clothing, but rendered possible the transportation of tents, household goods, and supplies. In the interior of the country the reindeer proved a more convenient

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[1] Schrenck (II, p. 180) once met two reindeer-sledges of Saghalin-Orok loaded with lichens.
[2] Schrenck, II, p. 178.
[3] Ibid., II, p. 176.
[4] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 71.

174 draught-animal than the dog. The reindeer found its own food, while the
233 dog required supplies of fish, which could not be had in the interior of the country, especially in the mountains. On the other hand, the reindeer compelled its tamers to begin a nomadic life in search of pastures; and in this manner the more or less settled inhabitants of the maritime and river regions became nomads. This process controverts somewhat the accepted scheme of the development of civilization, in which a settled state is usually considered to denote a higher stage of culture than a nomadic state; while here the nomadic state appears as a later step in the development of Koryak culture.

181 The taming of the reindeer is undoubtedly a civilizing factor of high order. Still, under given conditions of Koryak life, reindeer-breeding represents primarily *material* progress. The reindeer-breeder is more secure and wealthier than the maritime inhabitant, but, on the other hand, he is coarser. Constant worry connected with the care of his herd, the struggle with nature, and the moving from place to place, claim all the time of the reindeer-breeder, and stunt his mental development. On the contrary, the comparatively warm home of the settled Koryak, and his leisure in winter, stimulate habits of reflection, and develop his mind and his powers of observation. The different forms of primitive art, as we shall see later, are found developed principally among the sedentary Koryak.

233 It is strange that some travellers have thought that the sedentary Chuk-
114 chee and Koryak were the descendants of Reindeer nomads who had lost their herds through epidemics or wars. Thus, Krasheninnikoff, Ermann,
174 Dittmar, Kennan, and Slunin say of the sedentary Koryak, that they were formerly reindeer-breeders, but that in the wars with the Chukchee — or through epidemics, as Slunin says — they lost their reindeer;[1] while Sarytcheff, Wrangell, and Schrenck say of the Maritime Chukchee, that they were formerly reindeer-breeders, but, having lost their reindeer through epidemics, left the interior of the country for the coast to engage in hunting sea-animals.[2]

174 As a matter of fact, several groups of sedentary Koryak, such as the Opuka Koryak, are claimed to have been reindeer-breeders; but, as a rule,
233 reindeer-breeding appears as a higher economic type in the development of material culture than do fishing and hunting. There is no doubt that the remote ancestors of the Reindeer Koryak of to-day were a maritime people, and began to leave the shores for the interior of the country, only after the development of reindeer-breeding. The custom of carrying burdens and children on their backs by means of head-bands, which is still prevalent among the women (see Plate XXXV, Fig. 2, and Plate XXXVI) is a survival of the

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[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 204; Ermann, Reise um die Erde (Berlin, 1838), p. 423; Dittmar, Die Koräken, pp. 7, 36; Kennan, p. 159; Slunin, I, p. 354. The same is maintained by Professor D. Anuchin (Russian Encyclopaedia of Brockhaus and Efron, Vol. XXVII, p. 151).

[2] See Sarytcheff, Voyage, II, p. 105; Wrangell, II, p. 222; Schrenck, II, p. 25, Note 4.

time when, in wandering from one place to another, they had to carry their 233
possessions, like the American Indians, on their own persons. 174

The fact that, of the three related tribes, — the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal, — the last-mentioned has not developed reindeer-breeding, shows to what extent expeditions into the interior were responsible for the domestication of the reindeer. The land of the Kamchadal consists of a rather narrow peninsula with a long stretch of coast-line, adapted for maritime and river settlements. Hunting-expeditions in search of wild reindeer and mountain-sheep in the mountains of the central Kamchatka range did not take the hunters far away from their settlements. Besides, fish are more abundant in the Kamchatka rivers than in those of the Koryak country, and the food-supply obtained from the sea by the Kamchadal was more regular than that of their northern neighbors. In my opinion, this accounts for the fact that we find no domesticated reindeer among the Kamchadal.

In the Koryak territory the extent of coast-line, in comparison with that 184
of the interior country, is still considerable; but among the Chukchee the
interior is extensive as compared to the length of coast-line. Hence I believe 233
the relative as well as the absolute number of Reindeer people is greater among the Chukchee than among the Koryak. According to the census of 1897,[1] 75.6 per cent (9,208 persons) of the total number of Chukchee are reindeer-breeders; while the reindeer-breeders constitute only about 50 per cent of the Koryak (3,748 persons). Bogoras received the impression that in the last few decades reindeer-breeding among the Chukchee has been on the increase.[2] This opinion is supported, among others, by the fact that, during the sixties of the last century, part of the Chukchee reindeer-breeders who before had been wandering in the territory east of the Kolyma River asked permission of the Russian Government to pass over to the western side. They felt crowded in the east. In a few years they spread in the west from the Kolyma to the Indighirka River.

The same cannot be said of the Koryak. Their reindeer-breeding 233
industry, we have reason to suppose, has increased in the north of the 178
Kamchatka Peninsula in the Parapol Dol. Some groups of the Reindeer Koryak, such as the Koryak wandering along the rivers Oklan and Tılqai, who were formerly wealthy reindeer-breeders, have now become impoverished; while part of the Koryak on the rivers Opuka and Khatırka, who were formerly reindeer-breeders, are now settled. It is true that we also see the reverse process. Some groups of sedentary Koryak have taken to wandering with their reindeer; but that is true only of those Koryak groups[3] which consist of mixed families, nomads and settlers, and which do not possess large herds. The owners of large herds, numbering, perhaps, thousands of heads,

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[1] See Patkanov, pp. 19, 27.

[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 72.

[3] See p. 434.

178 are found only among the genuine Reindeer nomads of the Taigonos Penin-
233 sula, the Palpal Ridge, and in the Parapol Dol. It is quite possible, as I
said before, that the proportion of Reindeer Koryak has now increased, but
that is because a considerable part of the settlements has disappeared as a
result of wars and of a high rate of mortality.

114 To answer the question which of the two tribes, the Chukchee or the
233 Koryak, engaged in reindeer-breeding first, is no less difficult to answer. If
Schrenck's hypothesis, that these two tribes had obtained the domesticated
174 reindeer from the Tungus, is correct, it would necessarily follow that the
nearest neighbors of the Tungus, the Koryak, would be the first to acquire
them. But that is just what cannot be maintained.

233 If we turn to the myths, we shall see that they throw little light on this
question. The Chukchee myths represent the Koryak as a people engaged
174 exclusively in reindeer-breeding, and the Koryak myths maintain the same
thing of the Chukchee. This mutual characterization of the two peoples by their myths reflects the surroundings amidst which they came in conflict at a period when reindeer-breeding had already begun. During that period, wars were waged, principally between the Reindeer Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak. If, according to Russian annals, the Reindeer Chukchee not only waged war on the Maritime Koryak of Bering Sea, but also penetrated to the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, there is no indication, on the other hand, that the Reindeer Koryak ever attacked the Maritime Chukchee. The northeastern branch of the Maritime Koryak, the Kerek, may, of course, in times past, have had intercourse with the Maritime Chukchee near the mouth of the Anadyr River; but the Maritime Chukchee on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, and the Maritime Koryak of the Sea of Okhotsk, not only could not have met, but they had as vague an idea of each other as they have to day. The remote maritime people of the north are known among the Maritime Koryak under the name of "Aiwan;" but that is the name under which the Asiatic Eskimo are known on the Chukchee Peninsula.

The myths give no tangible data as to the origin of reindeer-breeding. The appearance of domesticated reindeer is represented in legends rather as an act of special creation. Sometimes they are lowered down from heaven by the Supreme Deity, and sometimes the heroes put life into the wooden figures of reindeer. Most frequently we find, in the myths, tales relating how Big-Raven, or his son Eme'mqut, would pull poles out from the ground, and how reindeer would come out of the holes. According to this account, domesticated reindeer, previous to their appearance on earth, had lived, by the will of the culture-heroes, in the underground world. On the whole, Koryak myths give no hint regarding the process of domestication of the wild reindeer.

The Koryak, like other reindeer-breeders of northern Siberia, have special

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names for the wild (o'lgolu) and the domesticated (qoya'ñı) reindeer,[1] as if the origin of the domesticated reindeer from the wild had entirely disappeared from the memory of the reindeer-breeders. Thus, it is interesting to note that the stories of the reindeer produced by heroes from holes in the ground are related by the Eskimo and the Indians in connection with the caribou;[2] while the Koryak tell the same tales about the domesticated reindeer.

It is likewise of interest that in Chukchee mythology we find the domesticated and the wild reindeer identified. One of the Chukchee incantations[3] for attracting wild bucks to a domesticated herd is called "The Buck Incantation," or "Incantation for converting Wild Reindeer into Domesticated Ones" (Qaalva't-e'wgan, Kırñat-e'wgan eu'rım). Furthermore, one of the Chukchee myths contains the following story as to the origin of reindeer-breeding.[4]

> "Old Creator, having taken on the image of a raven, flew up to the Supreme Deity (Añañ-Va'ırgın) and asked him for reindeer for the people. The Deity gave him wild reindeer. The Creator brought them down to earth. The people met the reindeer with cries, which frightened them and caused them to disperse over the tundra. The Creator again went up to heaven and brought down to earth other reindeer, which remained with the people."

According to the Koryak myths, Big-Raven, their ancestor, owned domesticated reindeer. Yet he is represented rather as a Maritime hunter; and the real Reindeer people — the Chukchee and the Tungus, as well as the Koryak reindeer-breeders — are pictured as people strange to him, of low intelligence, and most frequently hostile to him. This divergence between Reindeer and Maritime inhabitants is even more strikingly illustrated in the Chukchee myths, in which ancient Chukchee life is depicted in an exclusively maritime aspect.

Draught and Riding Reindeer. — The Koryak, like the Chukchee, use their reindeer exclusively in harness, and even consider it a sin to ride them. In summer the herdsmen themselves not only walk from one pasture to another, but even carry with them their belongings. Only in localities where the Chukchee and the Koryak live in close proximity to the Tungus, intermarry with them, and interbreed their reindeer in order to make them tamer, do they ride their reindeer, and then principally in the summer, when it is impossible to use sledges, owing to the swamps. Such is the custom of the Koryak on the Varkhalam and Gishiga Rivers, and of the Chukchee near the Indighirka River.

According to the accounts of Lehrberg, cited by Hahn and Keller, the

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[1] Thus, the Yukaghir call the domesticated reindeer "a'ce," and the wild, "to'loe;" the Tungus call the domesticated reindeer "o'ron," and the wild, "buyu'n;" and the Yakut call the domesticated reindeer "taba'," and the wild, "men'a'x." The Yakut have another name for the wild reindeer, namely, "taba'-kıl." "Kıl" means "a wild animal." This name is probably a translation from the Russian дикій олень.

[2] See Part I, pp. 143, 164, 187, 367.

[3] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 2.

[4] Ibid., p. 168.

233 174 Samoyeds of the fifteenth century used to ride their reindeer at that time, but also used them in harness.[1] At present, the Samoyeds, like their neighbors the Ostyak, use the reindeer only in harness, but that does not exclude the possibility of other uses of the reindeer by them in the past.[2] In the opinion of ethnologists, the original country of the Samoyeds extended at one time considerably farther south than at present, or as far as the region of the Sayansk Mountains, whence they were crowded to the north by the Turko-Tartar tribes. Moreover, some of the Samoyed tribes which remained in the Sayansk Mountains and along the upper course of the Yenisei River have become assimilated with the Turks or the Mongols. These tribes include the Tartarized Karagos and Soyot. The small tribe of the Karagos, and part of the Soyot, are still engaged in reindeer-breeding, and use their reindeer for riding only.[3]

But the principal and typical reindeer-riders at present are the Tungus. The use of reindeer by them as pack and riding animals is evidently influenced by the character of the locality in which they live, as well as by their mode of life. The Tungus occupy the most mountainous as well as the most wooded part of northeastern Siberia, and, as typical hunters, they are always wandering about. In summer they have to pass over deep swamps, or to cross not only mountain-streams but also large rivers; and it is exceedingly difficult to cross high mountain ridges, or to penetrate wild, dense woods, with sledges. This necessitates the use of pack and riding animals. For the same reason the Karagos and Soyot, living in mountains not easily accessible, have trained their reindeer to riding. According to the verbal statement of Klementz, the Karagos, in ascending and descending mountains, dismount, and lead their reindeer by the rein. The same is done in the mountains by the Tungus, who take great care of their reindeer when travelling. Being a comparatively frail animal, the reindeer is easily exhausted, or succumbs to bruises and strain. The Tungus, therefore, always see to it that their reindeer are not overworked, and that wounds are not caused by the friction of the saddle and packs.[4]

The Scandinavian Lapps, in spite of the mountainous and woody nature

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[1] E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen (Leipzig, 1896), p. 265; Keller, Naturgeschichte der Haustiere (Berlin, 1905), p. 201. On the other hand, Middendorff (Vol. III, p. 494) cites the opinions of Martens (Archiv für Naturgeschichte, 1858, I) and of Marsden (Travels of Marco Polo, 1818, p. 222), which discredit the statements of ancient writers as to reindeer-riding. But the fact that at present, as we shall see further on, some tribes make use of the reindeer as a riding-animal, justifies the conclusion that the *a-priori* reasoning of the writers quoted above, as to the past, has no foundation in fact.

[2] Judging by their epos, the Ostyak used the reindeer as a draught-animal in ancient times as well. At the time described in their legends, reindeer-breeding among the Ostyak was developed to a greater extent, and extended farther south than at present. See S. Patkanov, The Type of an Ostyak Hero, according to Ostyak Legends and Hero Tales (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 34, 35.

[3] My information as to the Karagos and the Soyot was obtained personally from Dr. Dimitri Klementz, curator of the Ethnographic Division of the Museum of Emperor Alexander III, St. Petersburg, who is known for his explorations, principally archæological, in southern Siberia and Mongolia.

[4] Reindeer-riding will be described in detail in the work on the Yukaghir.

of their territory, use the reindeer only in harness; but their narrow, canoe- 233
like sledges easily glide along paths that are otherwise hardly passable.
Besides, they harness only one reindeer to a sledge, after the manner of the 174
freight-sledges of the tundra Yukaghir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak.

However, some Tungus tribes, when they come in contact with people using sledges, employ their reindeer in harness and for riding, and for carrying packs, or for use in sledges exclusively. Schrenck thought[1] that the [114]
Saghalin Orok are the only Tungus tribe which make use of reindeer both for riding and for hauling sledges. According to his opinion, they adopted the idea of using sledges from the dog-breeders, the Gilyak. That is, of course, possible; but, as I have said before, there are other Tungus tribes who use sledges. Thus, all over the extensive northern tundra — between the Kolyma and Lena Rivers, where the Tungus tribes come in contact or intermingle with the Yukaghir or the Yakut — they have in certain cases adopted the sledge-harness without giving up reindeer-riding. The same may be said also of the Tungus living in other parts of the province of Yakutsk. On their trips through the mountains, or on hunting-expeditions, they still use reindeer for riding and for carrying packs; but, for transporting merchandise and mail between post-stations, they hitch their reindeer to sledges. Such contracts, however, are taken up only by rich Tungus who own large herds. In some localities the Tungus have, in later times, begun to train their reindeer to draw sledges. Thus, on the trail between Ola (a bay of the Sea of Okhotsk) and the upper course of the Kolyma River, which was opened only ten years ago, the local Tungus have trained their reindeer, which were formerly used exclusively for carrying packs, to carry goods on sledges. The Dolgan, a Yakutized Tungus tribe in the Yenisei tundra, and the Khangai, a Yukaghirized Tungus tribe in the Kolyma tundra, are now using the reindeer in winter in sledge-harness, and in summer as riding and pack animals.

RACES OF NORTHERN REINDEER. — In eastern Siberia two principal races 233
are distinguished, both among the wild and the domesticated reindeer. The
wild reindeer are divided into mountain and tundra reindeer. The former 136
are characterized by their greater height and the gray or light-gray color of their fur. In summer they retire from the mosquitoes to the summits of the mountains, and in winter they come down to the river-valleys. The tundra reindeer are not so tall, and they have darker hair. They, too, flee from the mosquitoes in summer, but to the shores of the Arctic Ocean and to near-by islands; and in winter they return to the northern forest-line. These migrations are carried out in large herds, which are waylaid by hunters on the Anadyr River and on the lower course of the Kolyma River in the spring and fall when the reindeer cross those streams.

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[1] Schrenck, II, p. 179.

233 136 It is worthy of note that the pregnant females leave for the north ahead of the males, crossing the rivers on the ice, so as to reach the summer places before the fawns are born. One of the distinguishing peculiarities of these two races of reindeer is the form of the hoof. The mountain reindeer have a high, steep hoof; the tundra reindeer, a rather flat, platelike hoof.

The domesticated reindeer are likewise divided into two races, corresponding to the races of the wild reindeer; namely, the Tungus and the Koryak-Chukchee reindeer. The Tungus reindeer is taller in stature, has longer legs, a more elongated muzzle, and hair of a lighter color (mostly gray or reddish gray), than the Koryak-Chukchee reindeer. The body of the Koryak-Chukchee reindeer is larger in proportion to its height. The color of its fur is darker than that of the Tungus reindeer. The hair of the fawns is especially dark; frequently it is black in the fall, and toward winter, as they grow older, it turns somewhat gray. The dark color of their fur seems to me to be caused by the humidity of the climate. In maritime regions the coloring of the reindeer is darker than in the mountains and in the continental climate of the Yakut territory. Among the Koryak-Chukchee reindeer we also meet more frequently with white (as though in contrast with the dark shades) and with dappled reindeer than we do among the Tungus. The spotted skins are highly prized for clothing, and the white ones for funeral dress. Spotted skins are never found among wild reindeer.

All that I have said here about the two races of reindeer is based upon accounts of the natives and on my own superficial observations. Professor Allen, in describing the material furnished by our Expedition, says, however, "Although this material seems considerable, it is insufficient, both in quantity and in character, to enable one to make satisfactory comparisons between the wild and the domesticated animals, or between the two commonly recognized domestic races, — the Lamut and the Chukchee." Further on he says, "The color of these skins is much like that of our eastern woodland caribou, at least, in general effect: the antlers, however, are longer and more slender, and partake more of the Greenland type."[1]

174 233 The domesticated reindeer of the tundra Yukaghir and of the polar Yakut belong to the Tungus race of reindeer. We know that the reindeer-breeding of the polar Yakut is of recent origin, and that they adopted the reindeer from the Tungus; but of the tundra Yukaghir this can hardly be said. It is quite possible that their first reindeer were of the Chukchee race, and that, after amalgamation of the tundra Yukaghir with the Tungus, the reindeer of the former gradually approached more nearly to the type of the Tungus race. A change of that kind may be observed in the reindeer of the Chukchee group which settled but thirty years ago on

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[1] Allen, Report on the Mammals collected in Northeastern Siberia by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History [New York, 1903], Vol. XIX, p. 126).

the Yerchen, a tributary of the Indighirka River. It may be observed, in 174
this connection, that the sledge of the tundra Yukaghir belongs to the 233
Koryak-Chukchee type, and not to the Tungus-Yakut type.

Degree of Domestication. — Next to the Chukchee reindeer, the 233
Koryak reindeer are the wildest, and, but for their gregariousness, it would
be difficult to manage them. The number of driving and draught reindeer 171
in each Koryak herd is very small, seldom exceeding that necessary for moving the family. The driving and draught reindeer are more accustomed to man and his habitation, but, after spending a summer with the herd without being used, they return again to their native state. The Koryak reindeer is mainly part of the herd, and feels but little its connection with man and his habitation. Human urine is an essential attraction for the reindeer in a nomad camp in winter.

The Koryak very seldom travel alone or with light supplies; that is, without family, baggage-train, tent, and herd. When stopping over night, the driving and draught reindeer are allowed to join the herd; and in the morning, before starting out for the journey, they are caught by means of a lasso. Whenever I happened to travel by reindeer-sledge without the herd, family, and baggage-train of the drivers, nearly half a day would be spent in trying to catch the reindeer. In spite of the fact that the wilder among the driving-reindeer had yokes suspended from their necks, which dragged before their front-feet and interfered with their running, they managed to get away many miles from the camping-place during the night.

The heavy Koryak tent is less adapted for frequent migrations than that of the Tungus. The herd, after eating all the moss around the tent on a new place, wanders farther and farther away from it. The Tungus are more mobile than the Koryak, and, as soon as the lichen around the camp is eaten, they move to another lichen-covered place. The reindeer must always be near the habitation. Moreover, two or three times during the day, the Tungus herdsmen round up the herd, bringing it close to the tents, so that the reindeer may remain accustomed to people and their habitations. No matter how large a Tungus herd may be, its owners try to ride as large a proportion of the animals as possible. Even the females are laden with packs during migrations, or are made to carry the children and the young. Thus the greater part of the herd is used to the saddle. The smaller a Tungus herd is, the tamer; because in that case all the reindeer are trained to ride, and are more accustomed to man. On the contrary, the Koryak manage a large herd more easily. For that reason the owners of small numbers of reindeer combine their herds into one large one.

When I crossed the Stanovoi Mountains, on my way from Gishiga to the Kolyma River, I had with me in the early part of my journey two Tungus herdsmen with ten pack-reindeer and a few reindeer for slaughter

233 171 for food.[1] When halting for the night, we took the reindeer to a lichen-covered place, where we left them, and in the morning the herdsmen would bring the reindeer to the camp before our Yakut drivers had had time to find their horses.[2] But, whenever I had occasion to drive Koryak or Chukchee reindeer, the capture of them around the camp consumed so much time that usually we were not able to start on our journey until several hours after rising.

At the appearance of wolves, the Tungus reindeer run straight to camp, as if to seek the protection of man. In a Tungus camp in the Indighirka tundra, I once had occasion at night to observe the reindeer, pursued by wolves, come running into camp with their tongues out, and fall exhausted at the tents. The men ran out with fire-brands in their hands, and the women with frying-pans and copper kettles, beating them with anything they could get hold of, so as to frighten away the wolves with the glare of the fire and the noise of the metallic utensils.

The Yakut have a general reputation as cattle-breeders, and, in comparison with the Koryak reindeer, their reindeer are more tame. An insignificant part of this tribe[3] migrated quite recently, at the time of the invasion of the Yakut territory by the Russians, to the polar region of the Verkhoyansk and Kolyma districts. No doubt, the climatic conditions of the Far North have had a retrogressive effect on the civilization of the Yakut. Where cattle-breeding proved impossible or unprofitable, they turned into fish-eating dog-breeders or reindeer-breeders; but at the same time they tried to adapt their new, more primitive life to the habits of the higher culture which they had acquired under a settled mode of life. Thus the Yakut tried to make their reindeer as tame as possible. I had opportunity to observe Yakut reindeer-breeding all over the north between the Kolyma and Lena Rivers, and was surprised to find how much more gentle, in most cases, were their reindeer than were those of the Tungus. The Yakut have even tried to carry the domestication of their reindeer to the point of teaching them to eat hay; but these attempts have failed. They have not hit upon the idea of laying in a supply of lichen,[4] probably because that would involve too much labor, and would be impracticable with a large number of reindeer.

In summer, when the reindeer live on fresh grass and leaves, many Yakut keep them near the house, instead of driving them off to the mountains, as a protection from the mosquitoes, as is done by the Koryak and the Tungus, or to the arctic shores, as is the custom of the Chukchee. In the Indighirka tundra I had opportunity to observe how the Yakut reindeer crowded, in summer, about the blinding smoke of the smoke-pits near the houses. To prevent the reindeer from getting burned, or from stepping on the hot cinders, the smoke-pits[1] are fenced in with poles, the tops of which are tied together in a manner that resembles the conical frame of a tent. The Kolyma-Chukchee, in imitation of the Yakut, have tried to introduce smoke-pits; but their wilder reindeer burned their feet, and injured their hoofs, in the fire.

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[1] I engaged the Tungus with the reindeer to accompany my caravan for a few days. In order to relieve my pack-horses, they carried part of the provisions, as long as any remained.

[2] As a rule, we stopped for the night in river-valleys, along the banks of which we found grazing for the horses; while the reindeer would be taken by the Tungus to the summits of the mountains.

[3] Of the two hundred and fifty thousand Yakut, only twelve thousand live at present in Verkhoyansk and Kolyma, the northern districts of the Yakut Province. Of these twelve thousand, not more than a fifth have reindeer.

[4] Schrenck once met on Saghalin a reindeer caravan of Orok who had two sledges loaded with lichen, to be used as fodder (see Schrenck, II, p. 180).

The Yakut dogs do not guard the reindeer, as is the case among the Lapps; but the two kinds of animals get along very well with each other. The dogs become accustomed to the reindeer while young, and the latter are not afraid of them. When the pups begin to bark at a reindeer or to chase it, they are trained, by beating, to distinguish the domesticated animal from the wild one. When a dog is particularly obstinate, one of its legs is caught in the collar, so that the dog has to jump on three legs, and cannot run.

In the Yakut settlements along the lower courses of the Indighirka, Yana, and Lena Rivers, even the draught-dogs are not so hostile to the domesticated reindeer as are the Kolyma and Gishiga dogs. When a nomad Koryak pays a visit to one of those settlements, he usually leaves his reindeer behind, at a certain distance from the village, to which he comes on foot. Only when all dogs in the settlement are tied, will the Koryak venture to enter with his reindeer. In the above-mentioned Yakut settlements, it is a common thing to see people ride up to the houses on reindeer, and only exceptionally ferocious dogs are kept on the chain. According to Yakut custom, the owners of the dogs are responsible for the reindeer injured by them. From my own experience, I know that draught-dogs can be taught by proper training to behave peacefully in the presence of domesticated reindeer.

Along the lower course of the Lena River I also saw reindeer spending their summer in Yakut settlements. To protect them from mosquitoes, long sheds were built in the form of corridors, with entrances on either side, by which the reindeer escaped from mosquitoes and from the heat. Before each of the entrances, smoke-pits, fenced in by poles, emitted smoke. The reindeer were generally put out to pasture at night, when the temperature fell considerably and the mosquitoes hid from the cold in the grass. The mosquitoes disappear at noonday also, when their thin wings are so dried up by the rays of the sun that they easily break. During that part of the day the reindeer also seek shelter from the heat in the shade of the shed. The mosquitoes are especially fierce in the morning and at dusk. Then the rein-

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[1] In making a smoke-pit, the Yakut build a fire in the pit, and cover it up with refuse, dung, turf, grass, or leaves, so as to allow the fire to smoulder only, and thus produce a smudge.

233 171 deer crowd about the smoke-pits, or stay in the shed. In one household I saw a shed built to accommodate two hundred reindeer. These reindeer were so tame that they would upset my photographic apparatus, and had to be kept at a distance to enable me to photograph them. The Koryak reindeer could not be approached near enough with the apparatus to be photographed, but would scatter in all directions, in spite of the fact that the herdsmen tried to keep them in place.

Not far from Shigansk, on the Lena River, where immense larch-forests cover large areas, I met among the Yakut another type of reindeer-management. These Yakut leave their reindeer in the woods, free from any supervision, during the summer, while they themselves engage in fishing along the islands and on the Lena. In the fall, on the appearance of snow, the reindeer are rounded up. They do not stray far away from the winter dwellings, and it [136] never happens that they get lost during the summer. There are no wolves in the depths of the forests, as in winter they avoid the deep, soft snows of dense woods. The polar wolf lives and propagates mainly on the tundra, amidst the shrubbery, on the outskirts of forests. There he finds in abundance wild reindeer, hares, and, in case of extreme necessity, lemmings. The dense woods of northern Siberia surprise the traveller by the scarcity of animal life and by their deadly stillness.

Reindeer spending their summer in the woods try to protect themselves from mosquitoes by running back and forth on the outskirts of the forest, thus forming a wide beaten path, or by getting into the water of rivers or lakes. On cloudy days, when the mosquitoes are numerous, the reindeer will spend the entire day in the water up to their necks, and will venture into the pastures only at night to satisfy their hunger and to rest on the grass. In winter the Yakut settlers do not manage so easily with their reindeer. Owing to the lack of food-supplies, they cannot keep them in their winter settlements. During summer, whenever there are Tungus in the vicinity, the Yakut, as a rule, keep their reindeer in a Tungus herd; or a few households get together, and the owners take turns in pasturing them.

On the lower course of the Yana, Omoloi, and Lena Rivers, I saw still another form of reindeer-management. In summer the Yakut reindeer are taken to the mountains by the Tungus or Yukaghir, while the Yakut owners remain on the river, fishing. In winter the herdsmen return to the Yakut houses, and the Yakut divide their supplies of fish with them. The wealthy Yakut, who own large herds of thousands of head, always keep hired Tungus or Yukaghir herdsmen. Of late years, good reindeer herdsmen are developing among the Yakut themselves.

Since the care and the use of a Koryak herd are almost the same as those of a Chukchee herd, I shall not attempt to describe at length the manner of driving, the harness, the sledges, the life of the herdsmen, and the diseases

of the reindeer. All that has been described in detail by Mr. Bogoras.[1] I 171
shall confine myself, therefore, to giving some additional information and to 233
indicating some points of difference.

Food of Reindeer. — In summer, as is well known, the reindeer like 233
fresh grass, especially the young sprouts of reed-grass, the leaves of the birch,
willow, and poplar, as well as mushrooms. In winter they feed exclusively [137]
on lichens;[2] but wherever the horse-tail (*Equisetum scirpoides* Mich.[3]) is to be found, they readily eat it in the winter as well, and frequently prefer it to lichens. But this low-growing weed is found only in certain localities, — in the sandy valleys of mountain-streams, where, in some places, it thickly covers large areas. In spite of the fact that in winter it is covered up with snow, the reindeer discover it by their sense of smell, as they do the lichen. More than once in the winter, I had an opportunity to see, in the mountain-valleys between the Indighirka and Yana Rivers, how ravenously the reindeer devoured that plant. The Tungus told me that they fatten on it, the same as do horses. It retains its juice throughout the winter, and does not dry up like grasses. During the winter the reindeer in the woods also eat lichens growing on trunks of trees.

When the reindeer feed exclusively on lichens, they acquire a special 233
longing for the urine of human beings. This longing attracts them to human
habitations. Fig. 63 represents a vessel (qoya′-oča′-lŋın, which signifies "the 514
"reindeer's night-chamber") made of seal-skin, which every herdsman carries suspended from his belt, and of which he makes use whenever he desires to urinate, that he may keep the
urine as a means of attraction in capturing [415]
refractory reindeer. Quite frequently the reindeer come running to camp from a far-off pasture to taste of snow saturated with urine, a delicacy to them. The reindeer have a keen sense of hearing and of smell, but their sight is rather poor. A man stopping to urinate in the open attracts reindeer from afar, which, following the sense of smell, will run to the urine, hardly discerning the man, and paying no attention to him. The position of a man standing up in the open while urinating is rather critical when he becomes the object of attention from reindeer coming down on him from all sides at full speed.

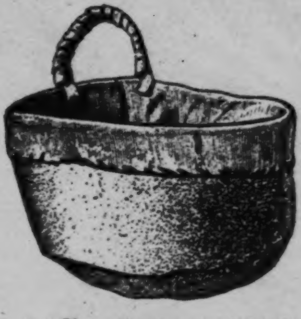

Fig. 63 ($\frac{70}{3171}$). Vessel made of Seal-Skin. Length, 15 cm.

While subsisting exclusively on lichens, the reindeer develop also a liking 233
for animal food. This peculiarity has been noticed by many travellers. It

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol VII of this series, pp. 80—95.

[2] See p. 386.

[3] See p. 399.

233 is said that reindeer catch mice. I myself saw reindeer in our train eagerly seize
the skin and other refuse of dried fish that had been thrown away by the drivers.

As I said before, the Reindeer Koryak do not like to roam about without
233 their families;[1] but at certain seasons the herds wander far from camp, and
221 compel the herdsman to follow them. This happens in winter, especially
when the weather is exceedingly cold, and in summer, when communication
by sledge is interrupted. The dwelling of the Reindeer Koryak then remains
fixed in one place for two or three months; while the herd, after eating all
the lichens near by, gradually moves farther away. The herdsmen at that time
undergo great privations. In winter, food can be brought from the camp to
the pasture in sledges, and the sleeping-tent can be transported in the same
way; but in summer the herdsmen have to carry their food, bedding, teapots,
and kettles. The herd is especially restless in the summer when annoyed by
mosquitoes, and the herdsmen must watch day and night lest the reindeer
[887] scatter in all directions. Usually the old men, old women, and little children
spend the summer on the bank of some river, fishing; while the other mem-
[857] bers of the camp, including ten-year-old boys and girls, wander about with
the herd, assisting the herdsmen.

SLEDGE AND HARNESS. — Plate XXIV, Fig. 1, represents the owner of a
462 camp in a light sledge, about to leave his old camp; and Fig. 2 represents
the front part of the train, ready for departure. The first sledge is occupied
by one of the wives of the owner. Then follow other sections of the train.
The rear is brought up by the herd with the herdsmen and grown-up boys.
Some of them walk, while others drive in sledges drawn by a pair of rein-
deer or by one reindeer, and in which they ride to round up stray reindeer,
and keep them with the herd.

This picture was taken early in April, and, as it shows, most of the reindeer still had their antlers, with the exception of the one in front, whose antlers were sawed off so that the woman could manage it more easily. Some of the reindeer had already cast one of their antlers. The males commence to cast the antlers at the end of November; but the geldings,[2] yearlings, and the barren does, cast their antlers in the month of April. Pregnant does cast their antlers from three to ten days after delivery.

233 Plate XXV, Fig. 1, represents the camp of a not very wealthy Reindeer
Koryak in spring. The herd, consisting of four hundred reindeer, was
621 rounded up to be moved with the camp to another place. The camp con-
sisted of two tents, housing five families, including the owner of the herd,

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[1] See p. 480.

[2] Brehm (Vol. III, p. 453, of the Russian translation) says that "the antlers of castrated reindeer always remain in the same position; that is, they preserve them if they happen to be castrated at a time the antlers were on, or they remain without antlers if they happen to be castrated just at the time they cast their antlers." No information is vouchsafed as to where the observation was made; but the error is probably due to the fact that geldings usually cast their antlers much later than normal bucks.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXIV.

492

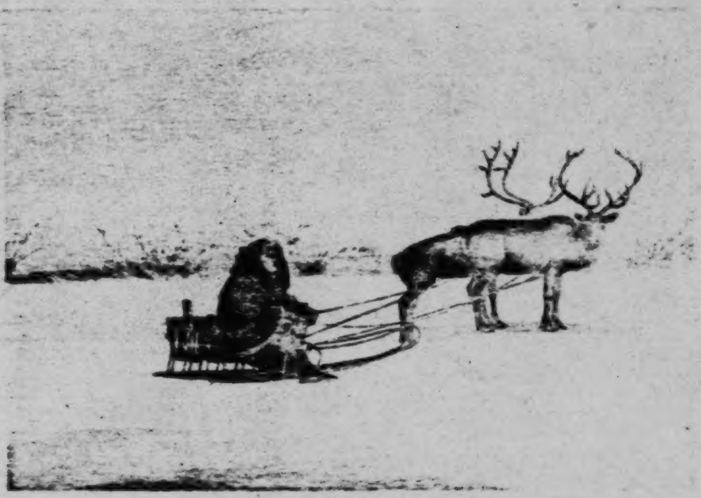

FIG. 1. REINDEER-SLEDGE.

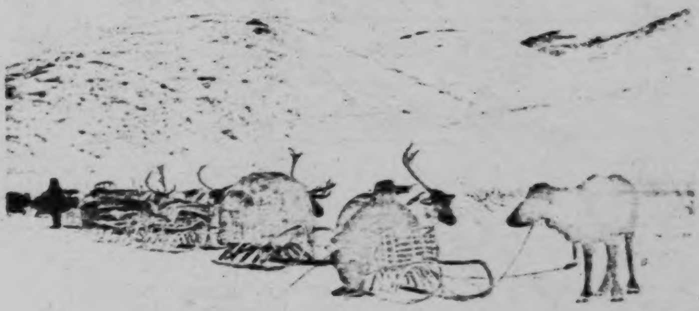

FIG. 2. TRAIN OF REINDEER-SLEDGES.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 484, A]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXV

341

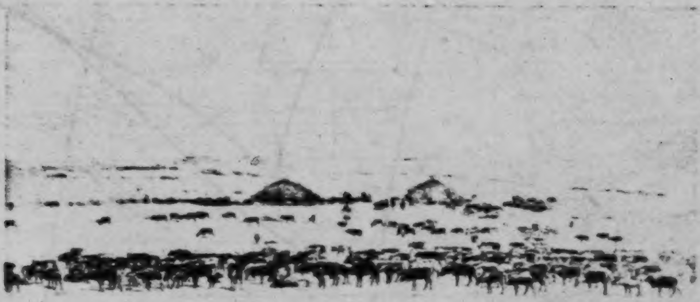

Fig. 1. Camp of Reindeer Koryak.

233

Fig. 2. Reindeer with Fawn.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 484. B]

233 his relatives, and herdsmen. Between the Koryak tents my own little tent was
621 pitched. To move the entire camp required from forty to forty-five sledges. The moving of the camp of the Taigonos chief — who has a herd of five thousand reindeer, twelve herdsmen with their families, and three large tents — requires not less than a hundred and fifty sledges. The train is made up as follows: —

484 First comes the owner in a light sledge drawn by a pair of racing-rein-
233 deer. He drives fast, and leaves the train far behind. On the way he looks
492 up pastures, and selects a halting-place. The sledges, loaded with household goods and tent-furnishings, each drawn by one reindeer, are conducted by women. One woman leads a train of seven or eight sledges. The first sledge, in which the woman-driver is sitting, is pulled by a gentle reindeer, usually one that belongs to the woman. This sledge is followed by a covered sledge for children. Next come sledges with clothing, dishes, provisions, bedding, and the tent-covers. The last sledge drags behind it the poles of the tent, since no reindeer follow it. The transportation of the driving-sledges is effected by placing them on top of the baggage in the freight-sledges.

233 Plate xxv, Fig. 2, shows a doe just after delivery (May 7), with the antlers still on.

493 A description of sledges and the points of distinction between the different kinds — such as racing-sledges, driving-sledges (men's and women's), family sledges, freight-sledges, and sledges for carrying the poles of tents — has been given by Mr. Bogoras.[1] Koryak sledges are in no way different from those of the Chukchee. The plan of construction is as follows: —

Instead of straight stanchions there is a series of arches or ribs, the ends of which fit into sockets in the runners, to which they are tied by means of leather strips passing through holes. On these arches, which stand upright and are parallel to one another, a long rectangular frame is placed, having longitudinal and transverse bars forming a grating. The frame is attached to the arches by means of thongs. In racing and riding sledges, these gratings are used as seats. In freight-sledges there is an upright grating all around, and a horizontal grating forms the bottom of the body of the sledge. As in the case of the Chukchee, the riding-sledge of the woman is somewhat larger than that of the man.

The dimensions of the riding-sledges which I collected on my expedition are as follows: —

	Man's Sledge.	*Woman's Sledge.*
Length	216 cm.	228 cm.
Width	39 "	46 "
Height	28 "	37 "
Weight	17.5 lbs.	25 lbs.

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 89–92.

493 171 The racing-sledge is so small and light that it can be lifted with one finger.

While the question as to the origin of reindeer-breeding among the Koryak and the Chukchee must for the present remain open, there is no doubt in my mind that the type of the Koryak-Chukchee sledge — with arches instead of pairs of stanchions, and with runners the fore-ends of which are curved upward and joined to the upper rails[1] — is of local origin. Nowhere is this type of sledge to be found, except among the Reindeer Yukaghir (the nearest neighbors of the Chukchee and the Koryak) and among the Yukaghirized tundra Tungus, between the Kolyma and Yana Rivers. The Yukaghir driving-sledges are not as carefully finished as those of the Chukchee and Koryak, and are somewhat higher than those of the latter; but this does not prevent the Yukaghir from riding astride the sledge, like the Chukchee and the Koryak.

The sledge which was described by Bogoras under the name of Tungus sledge,[2] I should rather call Yakut. I believe that the northern Tungus riders who have recently begun to use sledges adopted this type of sledge from the Yakut. This sledge is a combination of the ox-sledge of the southern Yakut and the northern dog-sledge. By its lesser length and greater width as compared with a dog-sledge, it resembles a Yakut ox-sledge; but in its stanchions, the thonged grating around the sledge, and the horizontal arch attached to the front parts of the runners, it resembles the dog-sledges. The northern Yakut also use these sledges in driving passengers with horses, or in drawing loads. The driver usually sits astride the horse, and from each side of the saddle a line runs to the front of the sledge.

492 171 Mr. Bogoras has pointed out the difference between the reindeer-harness of the Chukchee and the Koryak on the one hand, and that of the Yakut and the Tungus on the other. I wish to call attention here to the advantages of the harness of the latter. The Yakut always use two reindeer to a sledge, and therefore we must take for comparison the Koryak racing and driving sledges, which likewise are drawn by two reindeer. In the case of the Koryak sledges, both the reindeer to the right and the one to the left pull with the left shoulder, and the collar is slipped over each reindeer so as to take in its right fore-leg. The line running from the collar of each reindeer to the sledge, commencing at the right fore-leg, passes on the side of the reindeer by the right hind-leg, which remains on the left of the line. In the case of the Yakut, the reindeer to the right pulls with the right shoulder, — that is, the collar takes in its left fore-leg, — while the reindeer to the left draws like the Koryak reindeer. The angles of both collars are thus between the two reindeer, — on the right side of the left reindeer and on the left

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 17 p. 90; and Plate XXIV, and Plate XXXIX, Fig. 2, of this volume.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 4, p. 70.

side of the right reindeer respectively. These angles are joined, by means of a wooden or bone clasp, to the ends of a leather line which passes loosely through the front arch of the sledge. The Koryak and the Chukchee use a separate line for each reindeer, both of which pass from their collars to the sledge, and are firmly attached to the sledge-front. The Yakut harness offers the following advantages: —

It compels both reindeer to pull alike. If one of them pulls with greater strength, it will pull forward its end of the traces, and shorten the line of the other reindeer, whose hind-legs will then be struck by the arch of the sledge. This forces the lazy reindeer to make an effort and pull at its end of the traces equally with its mate. This kind of harness requires the reindeer of each team to be of equal strength. If the driver should not pay attention to this, the weaker reindeer would succumb. The stronger reindeer pulls out its arm of the traces; but the weaker one, unable to cope with the former, becomes still weaker the farther they proceed, until finally it drops from exhaustion. This happens quite frequently with inexperienced drivers.

When a train of freight-sledges using Yakut harnesses comes down a mountain-slope, the reindeer can swerve to both sides, — the right reindeer to the right, and the left one to the left, — and the sledges will come down by their own weight without striking the reindeer's legs. This is very important in using teams of two reindeer. In coming down a mountain-slope, the horizontal arch of the rear freight-sledge of the Yakut strikes the back of the front sledge with great force, and would crush the legs of the reindeer if they were unable to swerve to different sides. The Yakut reindeer of each succeeding sledge are tied separately, with a line about a metre long, to the rear end of the preceding sledge. The line passes from the halter. In the case of the Koryak, the freight-sledge is drawn by one reindeer, which can swerve to the left when going downhill.

The reindeer do not have to pull all the time with the same shoulder. As the Yakut always use two reindeer to a freight-sledge, the drivers frequently change the reindeer from right to left, and *vice versâ*.

In the manner of guiding the movement of the reindeer, the Koryak-Chukchee and the Yakut do not differ greatly. The reindeer is not directed with the bridle. In the team-harness of the Yakut there is only one rein, which is attached to the halter of the reindeer on the right side. The Koryak employ two reins in their team-harness, — one for each reindeer. The reins end in knotted loops, which are slipped on the left hand of the driver. To make the reindeer go to the right, it is necessary to pull the reins. However, it is principally the reindeer to the right that learns to change the direction and to pull his mate along. The halters of both reindeer are connected by a line about half a metre long. To make the reindeer turn to the left, the driver thrusts forward, along the side of the right reindeer

492 a thin pliable rod of willow, which takes the place of a whip. The righ reindeer then, as though trying to avoid the blow, pushes the left reindee to the left. The rod thus used as a whip has a length of from 120 cm. t 130 cm. (Fig. 64). It has a head of antler at the grip end, and a pointed
171 ivory cap at the other, with which the reindeer is prodded on. The Yakut drivers use, instead of a whip, an ordinary pole from three to four metres long, or a willow switch. When the driver thrusts the pole forward to the right of the reindeer, the latter turns to the left. As stated before, the Yakut use only a rein for the reindeer at the right. When the driver pulls the rein lightly, the right reindeer turns to the right, and pulls along the left reindeer. If the driver gives the rein a strong pull, the reindeer turns halfway round, and stops. At halting-points on the road, the driver thrusts the pole into the snow, and ties the rein to it. Then all the rear sledges of the train come to a stop.

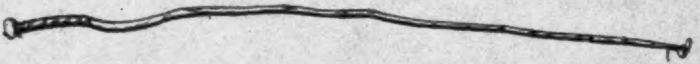

Fig. 64 ($\frac{70}{3381}$). Reindeer-Whip. Length, 152 cm.

In using the driving and racing sledges, the Koryak and the Chukchee drive sitting astride (see Plate xxiv, Fig. 1), while the Yakut sit sideways on the right side of the sledge. Plate xxiv, Fig. 2, shows a Koryak woman leading a train of sledges, and sitting sideways, like the Yakut driver, because she happens to be in a freight-sledge having a grated railing. As a rule, however, a young woman prefers to lead a train of sledges driving her own smart driving-sledge drawn by a pair of her own reindeer.

233 Management of Reindeer-Herds. — To pick from a large herd a number of a certain kind of reindeer is a very troublesome task. This must be done, for instance, when reindeer have to be given away with a daughter who is marrying into a strange camp, or when relatives or neighbors who kept reindeer in one herd separate to leave for different places, or when, in spring-time, the owner of the herd takes the pregnant does to a separate pasture.

Whenever this has to be done, all the herdsmen, as well as boys, girls, and children, get together. The scattered herd is collected and driven to one place, where it is surrounded by a chain of watchers, who do not allow the reindeer to disperse. In order not to frighten them, the watchers sit on their heels; but, whenever the reindeer attempt to break through the chain, the watchers jump to their feet, and stop the flight. In the midst of the herd is the owner of the reindeer, who intends to remain on the place, with some assistants. They capture their reindeer one by one with lassos, and tie one front-leg of each one to the corresponding hind-leg by means of a short leather thong. When all the required reindeer are secured in this manner, the watchers drive the herd to one side. 233

The tied-up reindeer remain behind until they are entirely separated from the free reindeer. Then they are driven back to the old pasture. I once witnessed the separation of a large herd, and saw what an amount of trouble this primitive method of surrounding the herd with people gives. Refractory reindeer break through the chain constantly, and lead away the rest of the herd. The fleeing reindeer then have to be rounded up, and returned to the enclosure. If the herd is not large, the enclosure is made of sledges arranged in a semicircle.

The Yakut reindeer-breeders have regular enclosures, made of poles, 233
near their houses. The enclosure is in the shape of a rectangle, the sides of which form high fences, so that the reindeer cannot jump over them. 171
The rectangle is approached at one corner by a long passage, continuing one of the short sides of the rectangle, through which the reindeer are driven. Inside the enclosure, the herdsmen very seldom make use of the lasso, but capture their reindeer with their hands. Such enclosures are to be found at all the polar post-stations of the Yakut territory. Whenever reindeer are required to carry mail or passengers, the entire herd is brought from the pastures inside the enclosure, and, after the necessary reindeer have been selected, the herd is set free.

The size of reindeer-herds among the Koryak is, in my opinion, greatly 233
exaggerated by some writers. For example, Slunin says that the Koryak 114
herds number from ten to eighteen thousand head.[1] I had an opportunity of seeing some of the herds mentioned by Slunin, and our figures are greatly at variance. For instance, the Koryak Kulo, according to my information, had a herd of not more than three thousand reindeer; while, according to Slunin, it numbered fifteen thousand.

On my way from the Gishiga to the Kolyma River I spent two days in the camp of a wealthy Tungus by the name of Abraham, whose herd was estimated by Slunin at eighteen thousand head.[2] I myself saw that herd. It was not very large, and I was told that there were eight hundred reindeer in it. It is quite possible that not all of Abraham's reindeer were there, but that part of the herd was elsewhere. Even if we were to multiply by five the number that was given to us, we should get only four thousand, and even that number is too large for the herd of a Tungus breeder in the Gishiga district. In the district of Verkhoyansk I knew a Tungus who had 233

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[1] See Slunin, I, p. 634. Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 208) also gives improbable figures concerning the numbers of Koryak reindeer. He says that rich Koryak have from ten to thirty thousand reindeer, and more. The elder Etel Sopliskoff had nearly a hundred thousand head. Kennan (p. 195) gives similar incredible figures. He asserts that the Reindeer Koryak of northern Kamchatka have herds of from eight thousand to twelve thousand head, and one of them had thirty thousand reindeer.

[2] Slunin, I, p. 634.

233 three thousand reindeer, and the largest herd that I ever saw near the Indighirka River was estimated at something over five thousand reindeer.

It is true that the Tungus, when speaking to Russians, always underestimate the number of their reindeer, so as to appear poor, since they do not like to kill them for meat, for which the Russians come; but such is not the case with the Koryak. They are very vain and boastful in that respect, and are prone to exaggerate the size of their herds. In the Taigonos Peninsula the chieftain would frequently say to me, "I am a rich man: I am very rich in reindeer." On the contrary, Abraham, the Tungus whom I mentioned above, tried to underrate in my opinion the size of his herd, calling my attention to the fact that it did not belong to him alone, but that all of his relatives had a share in it.

[592] On the Taigonos Peninsula, where the Koryak have mastered the art of counting, I took a census of the reindeer by households (I use the word "household" and not "family," because usually brothers and other relatives keep their herds together). I do not consider the figures that follow absolutely accurate, but they will give an approximate idea of the value of the Koryak reindeer industry.

233 592 511 I enumerated sixty-three households, which gave a total of 17,000 reindeer. The four largest herds numbered 2,000, 2,500, 3,500, and 5,000 head respectively. The remaining households had from five reindeer to eight hundred reindeer each. Thirty-four households, or more than half, had from five to fifty reindeer each. The majority of owners of small herds had no households of their own, but worked as herdsmen for the wealthy reindeer-breeders. Dividing 17,000 (reindeer) by 318 (the total number of Taigonos Koryak), and multiplying the quotient by 3,748 (the total number of Reindeer Koryak), we get 200,000, the probable total of Koryak reindeer.

233 437 439 The Koryak reindeer are intended mainly for slaughter. With the exception of a small number used for racing, driving, and as draught-animals in their migrations, the entire herd of a wealthy Koryak serves for consumption in various ways. From his herd he gets meat for food, and skins for clothing and tents, and he exchanges the slaughtered reindeer and their skins for articles of consumption which he does not possess. From the Maritime Koryak he gets by barter walrus and seal thongs; fat, oil, and meat, iron-ware made by their smiths, embroidered funeral dress, and dried fly-agaric. From the Russians he receives in exchange tea, tobacco, bread, printed cloth, and other imported goods. With the hunters he exchanges his reindeer-meat and reindeer-skins for the furs of fur-animals, which he again exchanges with Russian merchants for imported goods.

233 171 The great mass of the Tungus find in the reindeer merely a means of transportation. The Tungus households which own large herds are not of a uniform type throughout. In the Gishiga district the Tungus household has

some of the characteristics of the Koryak. The herd, though, consists mostly of reindeer trained as riding and pack animals, but they are not let out by their owners. Like the Koryak, the Gishiga Tungus have not advanced beyond barter. The poor Tungus, in exchange for squirrel-skins and other products of the chase, receive from their rich fellow-tribesmen riding-reindeer, meat, and skins for clothing. The reindeer-management of a wealthy Tungus in the territory of Yakutsk resembles that of the Yakut reindeer-breeder.

The type of the Yakut reindeer-management is the very opposite of that of the Koryak. The profits from a Yakut herd are not derived from the sale or barter of meat and reindeer-skins, but from the use of the animals for transportation. The wealthy Yakut uses his reindeer for carrying merchandise all over the northern part of the province of Yakutsk, taking furs from the northern districts down to the Aldan River in the south, or to the Lena River in the west (where steamers ply in summer). He takes contracts for carrying the mail, and supplies the post-stations on the main and branch roads with reindeer and drivers. The Koryak reindeer are not adapted to such use. Besides, the Yakut population in the north is greater, trade is more considerable, and intercourse between different parts of the territory is livelier, than in the Koryak territory. In the latter the Russian merchants use dogs almost exclusively in carrying their goods, and hire their drivers mainly in Russian settlements.

The Kolyma merchants tried to avoid the transportation of goods from Yakutsk, or, by the recently opened trail, from Ola, by employing Chukchee breeders with their reindeer-sledges to bring merchandise from Gishiga to Kolymsk. Owing to their low standard of life, the Chukchee charge an insignificant price; and this method has proved cheap, but unreliable and slow.[1] The Chukchee made the trip in their usual fashion, travelling with their families and herds, and making about seven miles a day, so that the trip from Gishiga to Sredne Kolymsk took them about five months. The Yakut reindeer would cover the same distance with the same freight in from twenty-five to thirty days.

Comparing further the two types of use of the reindeer, — that of the Yakut and that of the Koryak, — we find that the respective uses made of the herds generally determine the great differences between the methods of training, composition, value, and profit from the herds.

As already stated, the Yakut originally obtained their reindeer from the Tungus, but they have greatly improved the Tungus breed. At present the Yakut reindeer is larger not only than that of the Koryak-Chukchee, but

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[1] The first year the Chukchee received from the merchant who hired them two bricks of tea (according to Gishiga prices, fifty cents) for each sledge drawn by one reindeer for the entire distance from Gishiga to Sredne-Kolymsk. Each sledge carried one package of brick-tea, weighing five and a half puds (about two hundred pounds). For the same weight and distance, the Yakut would have charged five rubles per pud, or 27.50 rubles per sledge (about $13.50).

233 171 also [illegible] n that of the Tungus. I remember one Yakut herd not far from Bulun, on the lower course of the Lena River, which surprised me by the great size of the reindeer. The Yakut have achieved this, first of all, by careful selection. The Yakut reindeer-herd undergoes constant change in its make-up. A wealthy Yakut reindeer-breeder is continually trading or selling his poor or stunted breeders, and buys, wherever he can, large, strong bucks and does, being ready to pay good prices, and thus all the time improving the race. Besides, the Yakut reindeer-breeders make a specialty of selling their trained reindeer for post-stations. The marks of the owners of the reindeer, in the shapes of initials, are branded by the Yakut with red-hot iron seals on the hind-quarters of the reindeer. Quite frequently Yakut reindeer are found marked with several brands, which shows that they have passed through several hands.

233 422 A Koryak herd undergoes but little change in its make-up, except what is occasioned by natural increase by birth, or by decrease from disease and from slaughter for food. The herd is closely connected with the family cult. The reindeer is the bearer of luck, and the protector of the family. Although the head of the family has control of the herd, it is still considered as the common property of the whole family.[1]

Moreover, each individual member of the family has under his or her own mark a certain number of reindeer which are considered as his or her personal property. Every new-born member of the family, independent of sex, receives, as a gift from the first fawns born after his or her birth, one or more female fawns. In time, under favorable circumstances, these become an entire herd, which are branded with a special mark, distinguishing them from other groups of reindeer in the herd. The Koryak mark of ownership is made on the ear of the reindeer. The operation is performed on the new-born fawn by biting off, or cutting off with a knife, a piece of the ear. The marks of ownership do not differ much. They are in the shape of a straight or curved line, an acute angle, or of two or three incisions in zigzag form. The Koryak readily distinguish their marks, even though they strongly resemble one another.

432 233 777 Although of late years wealthy Koryak herd-owners, for the sake of the improvement of their herd, are buying trained reindeer or good breeders from the Tungus, nevertheless they consider it a sin to sell any live reindeer. Reindeer that are sold carry with them the luck of the herd: therefore, when selling their reindeer for slaughter, the Koryak do not part with them alive, but kill them themselves. Under such circumstances, the slaughter of a reindeer that is sold is considered as a sacrifice to the Supreme Deity, and can bring no bad consequences.

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[1] See Chap. XII.

The relative proportion of males and females in a herd differs in the Koryak and Yakut herds. A Koryak herd is intended principally for slaughter. To prevent the herd from greatly diminishing, the Koryak kill principally the males, young bucks, or old barren females. For this reason the females in a Koryak herd usually are from sixty to seventy per cent of the total number. The Koryak, when speaking of the wealth of a reindeer-breeder, quite often have in mind only the number of grown does, not counting the bucks and fawns. 233 171

On the other hand, the Yakut reindeer are principally considered as working-animals; and more value is therefore attached to the bucks, as being the stronger. Only under exceptional circumstances do the Yakut kill reindeer for food; nor do they sell them for food at all, since the meat would prove too expensive. The polar Yakut herdsmen subsist principally on fish with a modicum of imported flour. At times they have horse-meat or beef, cow's butter, and milk, all of which are brought in the winter, in a frozen state, from the more southern Yakut settlements, where cattle-breeding is carried on. The Yakut would rather kill a female than a working buck; and the bucks all work, — not only the geldings, but those kept for breeding also. For that reason, it is quite common to find in a Yakut herd the number of females less than that of the males, the proportion of the former being from forty to fifty per cent. The Yakut harness even the female reindeer, not excepting the pregnant ones. I had occasion to drive pregnant does on the post-road even in April, when they were about to be delivered. In the two types of uses of the reindeer just described we also find a different treatment of the reindeer from the day of their birth.

The period of rut of the domesticated reindeer continues from the end of September until the beginning of November, while delivery takes place between the beginning of April and the end of May. The greatest number of births occurs early in May. Both the period of rut and of the birth of the fawns takes place among the wild reindeer from ten to fourteen days later than among the domesticated race. 233

In the month of March, usually, the reindeer-breeder separates the pregnant does from the rest of the herd, and keeps them in another pasture. The herdsmen must look out for all the new-born fawns to prevent their freezing to death during the cold nights. I visited at the period of delivery, on May 7, 1901, a herd of does belonging to the Taigonos chieftain. More than half of them had already given birth to fawns. The place was an entirely open, treeless tundra, near the Chaibuga River. The snow, blown about by winter winds, was not deep. During the day it was beginning to thaw from the sun's rays, and here and there black hillocks, and earth covered with lichen, moss, and the previous year's grass, could be seen. The herd was scattered over an enormous area. Each doe seemed to keep apart with

233 her own fawn. Most of the fawns, but recently born (in fact, only one or two days old), were already running about with their mothers, who would run off at every attempt on my part to approach them. In a Yakut herd on the Lena River (1897), I could easily catch the little fawns, since their mothers were not afraid of people.

Almost all the fawns of the Koryak herd mentioned here were of a black or dark-brown color. Of the total number of almost five hundred fawns, I saw but ten or twelve pure white ones, and approximately the same number of dappled ones. I spent about two hours with the herd, during which time two does gave birth to their young. One of them, together with its new-born fawn, is shown on Plate xxv, Fig. 2. I took her picture during delivery, before the appearance of the placenta, when she was lying quiet.

The reindeer does produce young once a year. Not more than two or three barren females can be found in a large herd. When the weather is favorable in the spring, but few of the new-born fawns perish, usually from ten to fifteen per cent; but when the nights are cold, especially if there are snow-storms, many of them freeze to death. In a bleak spring the loss of fawns sometimes reaches as high as thirty per cent or more. On cold nights the Yakut reindeer-breeders place the does with their young in the long sheds described above, which diminishes the mortality of the fawns.

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171 As a rule, the Koryak do not milk the does. Only on rare occasions, in the entire absence of food on the tundra, and when they do not like to kill the reindeer, do the herdsmen make use of reindeer-milk. The Koryak doe will not allow herself to be milked. The herdsmen throw her down on the ground, and suck the milk from the udder, like fawns. Some Koryak in close proximity to the Tungus have learned to milk the does. The Tungus are very fond of reindeer-milk, and drink it with tea. The milking is done by the Tungus as follows: —

A few men capture the doe and let the fawn come up to her, then suddenly pull it away from the udder, and draw the milk into a wooden basin. Not more than about three cups of milk can be obtained from a doe in a day. The milk is thick, very fat, and sickish to the taste. I thought its flavor resembled that of sheep's milk. The milking of the doe, of course, affects unfavorably the growth of the fawns. The Yakut do not milk their does, and that is one reason why the Yakut reindeer are taller and stronger than those of the Tungus.

435 The value of a Tungus, and especially of a Yakut, herd, is considerably higher than that of a Koryak-Chukchee herd. The price of a Koryak reindeer sold for slaughter varies from two to five rubles. The Russians usually buy slaughtered reindeer from the Koryak for from two to four bricks of tea per head. When buying slaughtered reindeer from the Koryak for food, I generally paid six bricks of tea, which was considered an unusually high price.

A brick of tea[1] is sold at Gishiginsk (the centre of Russian trade) for fifty 435
kopeks (about twenty-five cents); but, as the distance into the interior from
that point increases, the price rises, until it reaches a ruble or more.

I have already stated that the Koryak do not sell their reindeer alive, 233
especially the driving or breeding bucks; but they exchange them for other 171
reindeer. A good Tungus driving-reindeer is usually worth two Koryak
reindeer. The Tungus seldom sell their reindeer for slaughter. On my trip 435
from the district of Gishiginsk to the Kolyma River, I bought on the Var- 437
khalam River, in the camp of Abraham, the Tungus I mentioned before, a
few reindeer for provisions on the way, and took them along with me. I
paid six rubles per reindeer. A good Tungus riding-reindeer is valued at
ten rubles. In the north of the Yakut territory, where the wealthy Tungus
harness their reindeer to sledges and engage in transportation, a driving-reindeer is valued at from twelve to fifteen rubles. A Yakut draught-reindeer
is valued still higher. On the Yana River and at the mouth of the Lena
River, a good Yakut draught-reindeer is prized at twenty-five rubles. Not
far from Verkhoyansk my dog frightened a team of harnessed post-reindeer.
They started off, ran into a tree, and one of them broke its leg. It had to
be killed; and by agreement with its owner, I paid him half of the cost of
the reindeer, namely, twelve rubles. Since the Yakut will not kill their
reindeer, they buy the skins of Chukchee reindeer or of wild reindeer for
clothing. Not infrequently Yakut reindeer-herdsmen may be seen dressed in
coats made of skins of musk-deer (*Moschus moschiferus*) or mountain-sheep,
or of skins of calves of cows, lined with the fur of hares.

A reindeer-herd multiplies very quickly under favorable conditions. Start- 233
ing with a herd of a hundred females in the second year of their life, when
they just begin to breed,[2] and assuming that they, as well as their female 433
offspring, will continue to produce one fawn each per year for the following
ten years,[3] and, further, that the number of bucks and does born each year
will be the same, we find that in the eleventh year the original herd of a
hundred females would have grown to a herd of 11,420 head (5760 does,
5660 bucks). From this calculation it may be seen with what rapidity a
reindeer-herd would multiply if its growth were not moderated by mortality
among the fawns, by slaughter for meat and skins, and, above all, by epidemics. Barren does are so few, and stillbirths so rare, that these two factors
need not be taken into account.

Of the annual offspring, the wealthy Koryak kill about half for meat

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[1] A brick of tea usually weighs two and a half Russian pounds (one kilo); but some bricks weigh two pounds, and others two pounds and three-quarters.

[2] Quite often rut sets in among the does the first autumn after their birth, and they become pregnant.

[3] The average life of a reindeer is fifteen years, and the does bear until the end of their lives. Cases of the birth of twins are not rare.

233 433 and skins. The fawns are generally slaughtered in the fall, when they are from five to seven months old. The skins are used for clothing, and are in great demand for barter. Further slaughtering of grown reindeer in the winter by the owners for their own consumption, and for food for the Maritime Koryak and the inhabitants of Russian settlements, affects very unfavorably the growth of the herd. That is why there are so few owners of large herds among reindeer-breeders. Some herd-owners have become impoverished because the Russian officials compelled them to sell large numbers of reindeer for the Russian settlements in times of famine. The smaller a herd is, the more its growth is affected by the slaughter of the reindeer.

After all has been said, the great drawback to the growth of reindeer-herds is the frequent occurrence of epidemics, which, in a few days, may pauperize a rich reindeer-breeder. Detailed information on epidemics and diseases of reindeer has been given by Mr. Bogoras.[1]

It goes without saying, that the Yakut herds are not immune to epidemics; but in other respects the growth of the Yakut herd is much faster. Many Yakut in the Verkhoyansk district who but a comparatively short time ago purchased a few dozen reindeer from the Tungus, and engaged in their propagation, are now wealthy reindeer-breeders.

511 233 433 The Koryak reindeer-breeder has not passed as yet beyond a primitive economic stage; that is, all that he needs for living he derives from his herd. Although the herd of the Koryak may be said to constitute his capital, in so far as the labor of hired herdsmen furthers the accumulation of that capital, the only benefit which he derives from the exchange of reindeer for other things is the acquisition of articles to satisfy the current needs of the family. Under such conditions, the profit derived from a Koryak herd is insignificant. A large number of reindeer are slaughtered annually, — that is to say, part of the wealth is destroyed, — and in exchange for that, the reindeer-breeder seldom gets anything that will serve him for any length of time. We have here a case of most primitive barter.

171 436 492 [495] As opposed to the Koryak, the Yakut reindeer household is founded on a money basis. The reindeer serve here, not only as an article of barter for goods necessary in the household, but as a source of earnings. The income derived from the maintenance of post-stations and the transport of goods is very considerable, and is received in money. Wealthy Yakut herd-owners have considerable capital, and even send deposits to banks. Communication over the entire length of the Government trail from the Aldan River, south of the Verkhoyansk mountain-ridge, to Sredne Kolymsk (a distance of 1350 miles) and over all branch-trails leading from that principal trail, is kept up by the Yakut in winter with reindeer, and in summer on horseback. This

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 80, 81.

explains why the herd of a Yakut constitutes capital in the real sense of the 492
word, and why the income derived from it, as well as its value, is consider- 171
ably greater than anything the Koryak can realize.

For carrying my collections from Sredne Kolymsk to Verkhoyansk (a dis- 436
tance of 928 miles) I paid my Yakut driver five rubles per pood (sixteen kilograms). For great distances a sledge drawn by a pair of reindeer is loaded with from five to seven poods.[1] Thus, in twenty-five days, the time it takes reindeer to carry a load the distance between the two points just mentioned, each pair of reindeer earned for its owner from twenty-five to thirty-five rubles, with no expense attached, except the small pay of the driver.

One driver is supposed to take care of from eight to ten sledges. He 492
drives the reindeer attached to the first sledge, while each of the other teams 171
is tied to the preceding sledge. The first sledge, carrying nothing but the driver and his provisions, is drawn by the most docile reindeer, yet they must be very strong animals. Quite frequently the reindeer in the rear — either because they are not used to the harness, or through laziness or exhaustion — refuse to go and pull back; while the reindeer in front, prodded by the pole of the driver have to drag them on and force them to go. It often happens that when the reindeer are tired, all the rear reindeer lag, while the front pair are compelled to draw the entire train. Sometimes one or more reindeer in the train fall from exhaustion, and the front pair of reindeer drag them along on the snow until they are compelled to get up. If, at such times, the front pair become exhausted, the driver substitutes others, and hitches the former to the last sledge.

When the reindeer are exhausted or very tired, they begin to pant, and lie down on the ground and no amount of beating will induce them to get up. It frequently happens that the exhausted reindeer fall dead. In my travels with post-reindeer, which are usually over-driven, my reindeer would fall by the wayside, exhausted or dead. If a reindeer lies down so that it cannot be raised, the driver unhitches it, and leaves it. If it should recover, he will pick it up on his return-trip.[2] It frequently happens that wolves devour such abandoned reindeer.

I remember that, at one station in the district of Kolymsk, the keeper harnessed to my train teams composed of Yakut and Chukchee reindeer. The latter he had purchased from the Chukchee to make up for the loss of station-animals. In spite of the fact that they were fat and strong animals, the Chukchee reindeer, being unaccustomed to fast driving, could not long

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[1] For short distances a pair of Yakut reindeer can carry from nine to twelve poods.

[2] The distances between post-stations on the lonely polar trails vary from sixty to four hundred versts (40 to 265 miles). According to the rules governing post-stations, the reindeer must make fifty versts (thirty-three miles) per day. The same set of reindeer cover the entire distance between the stations.

171 keep up with the Yakut reindeer, and soon began to pant and fall, in spite
492 of severe beating. We abandoned them one after another, leaving on the trail a few sledges with provisions, and finally reached the station on foot. The Chukchee reindeer were the usual little-trained draught-animals, which made from seven to ten miles a day in nomad trains, walking at an easy gait the entire distance.

233 Comparative Remarks. — In conclusion I wish to sum up the chief
171 peculiarities of the three types of use of the reindeer.

The domestication of the reindeer of the Koryak-Chukchee is very
433 primitive. The economic conditions are still in the simple stage in which the herd serves merely to satisfy the wants of the family. Its principal object is to serve as a source of supply for food and clothing, the reindeer being kept mainly for slaughter. Transportation is but a secondary purpose of the reindeer.

The Tungus reindeer represent a more advanced type. Their chief use is as a means of transportation over the hunting territory, both as riding and pack animals. The household of the wealthy Tungus herd-owner approaches either the Koryak or the Yakut type, according to its location.

The Yakut reindeer are an improved Tungus race. Their principal use is commercial. They are the chief source of money earnings. The owners of one or two dozen reindeer seldom use them for their own household, but hire out themselves with their teams for the transportation of merchandise; or they rent their reindeer to Yakut contractors for a money consideration.

233 The Domestication of the Wild Reindeer. — To what has been said on p. 471 concerning the possibility of taming wild reindeer I wish to add
224 the following remarks.

114 It has been said that the Amur Tungus domesticate wild reindeer. I consider these reports, which are confirmed by my friend Mr. Sternberg in his review of Bogoras's work on the material culture of the Chukchee,[1] worthy of little credence. If the Amur Tungus could increase their herds by taming wild reindeer, they would surpass in skill the tamers of our zoölogical gardens, who succeed only to a certain degree in taming wild animals. In a personal talk with me on this subject, Dr. Sternberg told me that in the original draught of his manuscript he had written "enticing" instead of "taming," which might refer to the skill of the Tungus in enticing wild reindeer with the help of specially trained domesticated animals. This I know is done also by the Tungus of the Province of Yakutsk, and of the Gishiginsk and Okhotsk districts of the Maritime Province; but in those places it applies only to hunting wild reindeer, and not to capturing them for purposes of taming.

In the districts named, three ways of hunting wild reindeer with the

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[1] American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. VII, 1905, p. 321.

help of domesticated animals are known. The first is by means of specially 233
trained reindeer, called "hunting reindeer," or man·sči'k (маньщикъ, from manit' [манить], "to entice"), by the Russians, and ondada' by the Tungus. In my 224
travels over northeastern Siberia I had occasion to meet Tungus hunters riding 114
reindeer, who led another reindeer (ondada') by a long line. Above everything else, the ondada' is a good guide: it leads its master through woods and other impenetrable places by the surest paths; directed by its scent and hearing, it brings him to the pasture of wild reindeer. Then the hunter pays out the line, and lets the man·sči'k go ahead, while he himself hides behind a bush or hill. The man·sči'k begins to dig in the snow to get some lichen. When the wild reindeer, noticing the man·sči'k, and impelled by love of gregariousness, approaches, the hunter begins gently to draw in the "enticer," until the wild reindeer, following step by step, gradually comes within easy range of the hunter. The second method is employed by the Tungus in the autumn during the rutting-season of wild reindeer. The hunter starts out on his expedition with his best two stags, the strongest in the herd. Having found the tracks of a herd of wild reindeer, the hunter lets one stag loose, after having tied a thong in several loops around its antlers. Feeling itself free, the rutting stag, taking the scent of the tracks of the wild dams, runs to overtake them. The wild stag does not allow his adversary to approach the females, but engages in single fight with him, and becomes entangled in the thong. The hunter, mounted on the other stag, finds the combatants with their antlers entangled, and slays the wild reindeer. Sometimes he succeeds also in killing a female, which, according to the hunters, watches from afar the struggles of the males, and takes flight only on the approach of man. The third method consists in enticing wild stags in the autumn by means of domesticated dams. This method is resorted to in wooded localities that are free from wolves. Having found a pasture of wild reindeer, the hunter leaves there, alone and unguarded, some dams from his herd, which are then in their rutting-period. The dams attract the wild stags. A day or two later the hunter stealthily approaches his dams, and endeavors to shoot the wild reindeer that have imprudently gone too near them. The Koryak, too, take advantage of the wild stags visiting the tame dams in their herds, and slay them, while the Chukchee consider it an ill omen if in such cases the wild stag escapes from the herd. It will thus be seen that the principle in all three methods is to kill the wild reindeer; and in the last method it is also desired to obtain a stronger and larger breed from the domesticated dams.

Mr. W. D. Nemirovich-Danchenko, in two articles on "The Mezen Tundra", and "The Country of the Lapps",[1] informs us that the Samoyed are not able to tame the wild reindeer of the Mezen Tundra, but that the Lapps

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[1] Picturesque Russia (Russian), St. Petersburg 1881; Vol. I, pp. 95, 178.

233 224 114 succeed easily with those of their country, by catching them with the lasso and keeping them tied up for three days before feeding them. After that treatment, he says, the reindeer are as tame as those of the domesticated herd. Presumably this report is based on a misunderstanding and refers to the first training of unbroken reindeer that are taken out of the herd.

233 171 I discuss the possibility or impossibility of taming wild reindeer thus fully, because the answer to this question is of the utmost importance not only from the point of view of the economic interests of the reindeer-breeders, but for the history of domestic animals in general. It is true that the domesticated reindeer differs little from the wild reindeer. So far, zoölogists have found no anatomic differences which would justify us in considering the domesticated reindeer as a distinct variety. From this it may perhaps be inferred that reindeer-breeding is of comparatively recent origin; but the fact must also be taken into consideration that the reindeer-breeders know hardly anything of artificial selection, and that domestication was not accompanied by changes in the feeding of the animals. However this may be, the more pacific nature, the familiarity with man (so to speak) and the readiness to obey him, which we find even in the primitive race of the Chukchee-Koryak reindeer, do not develop at once. These qualities are gradually acquired, and are transmitted by inheritance through a whole series of generations. This applies all the more to the race of Tungus reindeer. The comparative weakness of the reindeer is an advantage to man in the taming of this animal, which could not be accomplished by superior physical strength alone. I have already cited an instance of how the draught-reindeer of a primitive Chukchee herd, when first put into harness with Yakut reindeer, might be beaten to death, but could not be made to draw the sledge as fast as the Yakut reindeer do.[1] Should a wild stag, notwithstanding its innate fear of man, join the herd, attracted by the dams, there would be danger of the herd-owner, however vigilantly he might keep watch, losing a large part of his herd, which the wild stag would probably lead away into the wilderness. The invariable custom of the Chukchee of killing the wild reindeer attracted to the herd by sexual instinct appears to me to have been called into existence in a great measure by this very apprehension, and hence this custom is invested with a religious significance. When I consider reindeer-breeding as of recent origin, I still do not mean to assign to it a beginning very near to our times. The Chukchee-Koryak cult related to the domesticated reindeer, with its numerous rites and festivals, required much time for its evolution and establishment. As it is a matter of great importance, from the point of view both of science and of domestic economy, for reindeer-breeders really to be able to increase their herds by the taming of wild reindeer, let us hope that

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[1] See p. 497.

future investigators of the reindeer-breeding tribes will pay to this interesting and important question the attention which it deserves.

In connection with the question of the occurrence of cases of taming wild reindeer, I will mention the account of a certain Yukaghir, quoted by Bogoras,[1] concerning the taming of wolves, and of their use in harness with dogs. I, too, have heard this story among the Yukaghir of the Lower Kolyma, and, like Bogoras, I consider it a myth.

I will give another example showing how a mythical episode may turn into an account of a real event. We know from the Koryak myths that the evil spirits (kalau) keep herds of mountain-sheep (*Ovis nivikola* Eschholtz) instead of reindeer.[2] Now, Dittmar tells as a real fact, which evidently he had heard from the Kamchadal, that a group of Kamchadal from the river Moroshechnaya, fled into the mountains in order to free themselves of the necessity of paying fur-tribute, and that they wandered about there with a small herd of mountainsheep tamed by them.[3]

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 101.

[2] See Part I, p. 241.

[3] See Dittmar, Reisen in Kamtchatka, p. 413 (Russian translation, p. 356).

VI. — DOG-BREEDING.

231 492 174 THE BEGINNINGS OF DOG-DRIVING, AND ITS FORMER AND PRESENT EXTENT. — No doubt the dog was domesticated long before it was used for driving. According to a tradition recorded by me in the village Itkana, the use of dogs for driving, among the Koryak, began as follows. Once upon a time some children who were playing with a dog tied it to a wooden chamber-vessel (oča'lyo). The dog dragged the vessel along. "Ah," said the people, "it can draw!" and they hitched the dog to a sled.[1] This tradition points to the fact that in the memory of Koryak now living a reminiscence has been preserved of the time when the dog, though already a domesticated animal, was not employed for driving-purposes.[2]

492 171 According to the statements of early travellers and writers, like Marco Polo and Witsen, dog-driving in western Siberia was formerly employed much farther to the south than it is now. As stated by Witsen, at the time when he wrote (1785) there were no horses in the northern parts of the Yenisei district, but only dogs; and even near Tomsk horses were used in summer for driving, and dogs in winter.[3] Later on, the horse supplanted the Siberian driving-dog, and in the extreme north it found its competitor in the Arctic reindeer. In more southerly latitudes the dog has held its place as a driving and draught animal only in the southeastern part of Siberia, in Kamchatka, on Saghalin Island, and in the Amur region. In the well-known expedition to the Yugra country in 1499 the Russian Army was accompanied, according to Lehrberg, by hundreds of dog-sledges.[4] The same writer states that in former times dog-driving was in use west of the Ural Mountains in the government of Perm. Middendorf supposes that in Europe the driving-dog was superseded by the horse in antiquity, probably in prehistoric times. He

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[1] Steller (p. 133) quotes the tradition of the Kamchadal, according to which their creator Kutka did not hitch up dogs, but dragged the sled himself.

[2] It is interesting to note that in Koryak mythology reindeer-driving as a sign of wealth is contrasted with going afoot as an indication of poverty (see Part 1, pp. 253, 281, 283), but not with dog-driving. In my judgment, it cannot be inferred from this that the Koryak dog was not used for driving until after the reindeer had been tamed. In the first place, the dog is the most ancient domesticated animal, and, besides, it was very easy to teach it to draw a sled; in the second place, primitive imagination, as well as the most modern, employs extreme situations to enhance contrast, unwittingly or purposely disregarding intermediate conditions that do not bring out the contrast so well. In one myth (see Part 1, p. 210) Big-Grandfather asks his daughters to give him some soup for feeding the dogs. He goes out and calls the dogs, and the reindeer which have carried off the Fog-Man turn into dogs and run back to the trough with their sled. From this myth it may be concluded that the creator of the Koryak world is conceived of as having driving-dogs.

[3] See Middendorf, II, p. 520.

[4] See Lehrberg, Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Russlands: 1. Ueber das Yugrische Land (St. Petersberg, 1816), p. 17.

also thinks that the expression "pennikorm" of the Baltic Provinces (which 492
means "a dog's load"), which is used instead of "geographical mile", recalls 171
the vanished custom of dog-harnessing.[1] We find, of course, in many European countries at present, also the use of draught-dogs harnessed to small carts. I observed it in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland. Milkmen, green-grocers, tradesmen, artisans, distribute or bring their products to market in carts to which are harnessed one or two dogs. The driver, man or woman, helps them draw. But this particular, limited use of dogs as draught-animals is quite different from the breeding and harnessing of dogs of the Siberian tribes, to whom the dog furnishes the only means of communication and transportation. It is possible, however, that the present use of the dog in harness in Europe may be regarded as a relic of a more extensive use of the harnessed dog in antiquity.

Considering the available data concerning the former extent of dog-driving in the West, we are forced to the conclusion that the changes in the manner of harnessing and driving dogs among the dog-breeders of eastern Siberia, which have taken place in historic times, occurred under the influence of Russian invaders, who had been familiar with dog-driving previous to their meeting with the East Siberian tribes.

I have remarked before that the region in which dogs were used as 171
draught-animals has narrowed down to a certain degree, owing to the intro- 492
duction of the reindeer. Most of the Siberian tribes engaged in dog-breeding, like the Ostyak, Samoyed, Tungus, Yukaghir, Chukchee, and Koryak, employ also the reindeer to such an extent that in many cases a large portion, sometimes even the majority, of the tribe, are engaged in reindeer-breeding. The tribes which formerly did, and do now, use only dogs as draught-animals, are the Ainu, Gilyak, and Kamchadal in Asia, and the Eskimo and Indians of northwestern America. The Russians now living in hamlets in the Far North (principally near the mouths of rivers) and in the extreme east of Siberia also use dogs exclusively for hauling loads and for travelling. In a few localities these Russians, who are fishermen, possess a small number of horses for riding in summer, but none of them have taken up reindeer-breeding, — an occupation conflicting with the sedentary habits of their former home.[2] In the north of the Yakut Province a few Russians own small herds of reindeer, but the herds are under the care of Tungus.

Both the modern driving-dog of Siberia and that of northern America 231
belong to the same wolf-like race of domestic dogs. Middendorf supposes 171
that it represents a cross between a wolf and jackal.[3] Schrenck, too, considers

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[1] Compare Middendorf, II, pp. 519, 520.

[2] See the ethnographic map in Part I for Russian hamlets in the extreme northeast of Siberia.

[3] See Middendorf, II, p. 527.

231 the Eskimo dog as related to that of Asia. He thinks that the dog of northern North-America has reached there from the Old World.[1]

171 Except for its smaller stature (the average height at the fore-legs is between 50 cm. and 75 cm.) and more varied color, the dog is, on the whole, hard to distinguish from the polar wolf. Though a considerable percentage of dogs are of a uniform light or dark gray color, like that of the wolf, many of white color and black color occur; but particularly numerous are the piebald dogs, with white or black spots on their legs, chest, and sides. West of the Stanovoi Ridge more piebald dogs are found than near the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk. For instance, along the Indighirka the majority of dogs that I saw were piebald, with white and black spots. This, in all probability, must be the result of intercrossing of the native dogs with the Tungus hunting-dog, which resembles the shepherd-dog, or with the dogs imported by the Russians. This may also explain the fact that on the Lena, among the Yakut dogs, I sometimes saw specimens with drooping ears. On the other hand, from crossing the driving-dog with the Tungus dog, which is smaller in size, there results a small fox-like type, with pointed snout, small erect ears, and bushy tail. Such dogs I met frequently on the Kolyma River. They very much resemble foxes, especially those with reddish fur. When in good humor, they turn their bushy tail upward; but when tired or disgruntled, they drop it and drag it, as foxes do. Then the round pupils of the eyes alone distinguish this dog from a fox.

492 171 The present method of driving dogs employed by the Koryak is identical with that used by the Russians and natives of eastern Siberia, and particularly also with that used by the Chukchee, which has been described in detail by Bogoras.[2] Therefore I shall point out here only a few peculiar traits of dog-breeding among the Koryak, and its relation to their domestic economy. I shall also give some additional information relating to the distribution and types of dog-breeding in Siberia.

HARNESS. — To the three types of dog-harness mentioned by Bogoras, two others may be added, — the modern Gilyak and the ancient Kamchadal type. Thus we find the following five types: —

1. *The West Siberian Harness.* — It consists of a round strap encircling the dog's body like a belt across abdomen and back (Fig. 65). From the lower part of the belt, where the ends of the belt-strap are joined by means of a toggle, a trace runs between the hind-legs of the dog. Around this trace is wound some soft material, usually a piece of fur, to protect the legs of the animal. Thus the dogs are made to pull with their haunches. In describing the West Siberian dog-harness, Middendorf says that a small strap runs from the upper part of the harness, over the loins, to the main line, to

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[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 167.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series pp. 98—114.

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prevent the harness from slipping back upon the legs.[1] From Middendorf's description it does not appear whether he personally handled a West Siberian harness on the Yenisei River or a harness in use to the east of the Lena. I may add here that during my sojourn at the mouth of the Lena in 1897 I had occasion to see dog-breeders that came there from the Khatanga and Anabar Rivers, both west of the Lena, who had the same harness as is now found everywhere east of the Lena.[2]

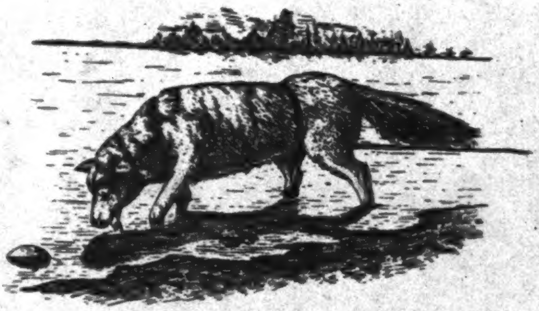

Fig. 65. West Siberian Dog-Harness (from Nordenskiold, I, p. 353).

2. *The East Siberian Harness*, also employed by the modern Koryak, consists of a long loop of skin (Fig. 66), the ends of which are united by a little strap terminating in a toggle, which is inserted in one of the rings of the main line. The loop is made of a piece of skin two or three fingers wide. The sides of the loop are united by means of one or two cross-strips of leather which go over the back of the dog. The dog is put into harness by passing its head through the opening between the top of the loop and the first cross-strip. At one side of the harness a small strap is sewed on, which serves as a belly-band. It passes under the dog's belly, and is fastened with a wooden or bone toggle to the loop on the other side of the harness.[3] Thus this type of harness resembles the Russian horse-harness. The top or the breast-piece of the harness, by which the dog pulls, rests on the chest;

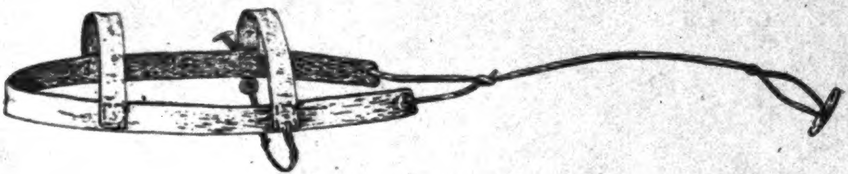

Fig. 66 ($\frac{70}{8171}$). East Siberian Dog-Harness.

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[1] Middendorf, II, p. 521.

[2] From the statement made by Middendorf (Footnote 3, p. 521), it may be inferred that in his time both kinds of harness were known on the Yenisei. He says that the Yenisei Yakut used to call the back-harness "Russian harness" (nuča'-alygga'), and the chest-harness "Yakut harness" (saxa'-alygga'). Judging from the name, Middendorf conjectures that the back-harness came to Asia from Europe.

[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 25, *a*, *d*, p. 108.

but often the band across the back is too short, or in driving the breast-piece of the harness slides upward, despite the belly-band, and the breast-piece comes to rest above the chest, so that the dog pulls with its neck, thus making breathing difficult. This is the principal inconvenience of this type of harness.

3. *The Eskimo Harness.* — Murdoch[1] describes this harness (Fig. 67) as follows: "The dog-harness consists of a broad strip with three parallel loops at one end. The head is passed through the middle loop, and a fore-leg through each of the side-loops, bringing the main part of the thong over the back." In a similar way Parry[2] and Nelson[3] describe the Eskimo dog-harness. The dog-harness of the Central Eskimo is constructed on the same principle. "It consists of two bights passing under the fore-legs. They are joined by two straps, one passing over the breast, the other over the neck. The ends are tied together on the back, whence the trace runs to the sledge."[4] From these descriptions it is clear that the Eskimo dog pulls partly with its shoulders, but mainly with its chest. Furthermore, the breast-bight or breast-piece cannot slip up, as is the case with the East Siberian dog-harness, and therein lies the advantage of the Eskimo dog-harness over all the others. The Asiatic Eskimo seem to use a dog-harness similar to that of the Central Eskimo; but in the illustration of the dog-harness of the Asiatic Eskimo, given by Mr. Bogoras,[5] the breast-strap joining the two bights for the fore-legs is not seen, so that it appears that the dog pulls with the shoulders only.

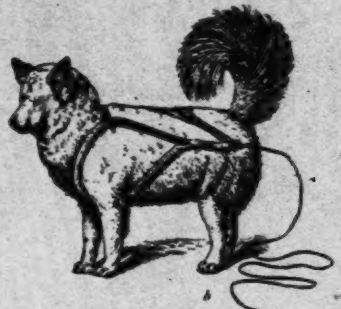

Fig. 67. Eskimo Dog-Harness. (From F. Boas, The Central Eskimo, Fig. 487.)

4. *The Amur Harness.* — This type of harness (Fig. 68) is very simple and primitive, consisting as it does of only one loop, which is put over the dog's head, in the form of a loose collar, so that the dog pulls with its neck exclusively.[6] In this respect the Amur harness differs, disadvantageously, from all others. Under great exertion or excitement, says Schrenck,[7] the dog is easily subject to suffocation. This dog-harness is used by the Ainu on

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[1] The Point Barrow Eskimo, p. 538.

[2] See Parry, II, p. 517.

[3] Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, p. 209.

[4] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 531, and Fig. 487 on p. 532.

[5] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 20, *b*, p. 98.

[6] See Schrenck, II, pp. 172, 173, Plate XXXVI, Figs. 2, 3. Sternberg (American Anthropologist, N. S., 1905, Vol. VII, p. 324) has pointed out the error into which Bogoras has fallen (owing to the indistinctness of several of Schrenck's illustrations) by classing the Gilyak harness with the modern type of Kamchadal harness (Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series p. 109).

[7] Schrenck, II, p. 173.

Saghalin, the Gilyak, and the representatives of Tungus tribes on the Amur River, who have learned dog-driving from the Gilyak.[1] 492

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5. *The Ancient Kamchadal Harness.* — The modern Kamchadal dog-harness (Fig. 69), named "oblique harness" by Bogoras, differs from the usual East Siberian type in that it is shorter, has only one band across the back, and has no belly-band;[2] but, judging from Krasheninnikoff's (1733—43) and Dittmar's (1851—55) description, the Kamchadal of their times used for harnessing dogs simple collars or loops like those of the Gilyak, without cross-straps; but the manner of putting them on was like that of the Yakut reindeer-collars,[3] which on the right-hand animal are put over the head and the left fore-leg, so that it pulls with the right shoulder and in part with the chest, while the left-hand animal has its head and right fore-leg in the collar, and pulls with its left shoulder.

I find that among the five types of dog-harness here mentioned, that of the Eskimo is most effective. Next to it, the most practical is the ancient Kamchadal harness, which, in simplicity, even surpasses that of the Eskimo. The East Siberian harness occupies an intermediate place between the Eskimo and the Amur types, the former of which requires the dog to pull with the chest, the latter with the neck. The Amur and the west Siberian harnesses are burdensome for the dog, each in its own way. The former also prevents fast driving; the latter is a torture to the dog when drawing a load.

The question now arises, to which tribe does the

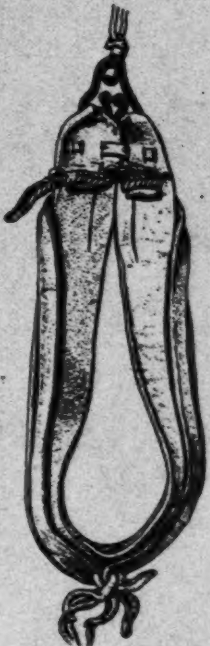

Fig. 68. $\frac{70}{1111}$ c. Amur Dog-Harness.

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[1] Schrenck, II, p. 175.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 25, *a*, p. 108; also Tushov, "Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka" (Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1906, pp. 77, 78; Figs. 12, 13).

[3] See before, p. 487, and Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 79. I will here translate Krasheninnikoff's own words, as his obsolete Russian and his inexact expressions, coupled with the absence of illustrations, may lead to misunderstandings: "The loops (collars) are made of broad straps, soft and folded double, which are put on the dogs over the shoulder-blade, — over the left shoulder-blade of the right-hand dog and the right shoulder-blade of the left-hand dog." This means that the left shoulder of the right-hand dog is in the loop, and it pulls with its right shoulder, and *vice versâ* in the case of the left-hand dog. That this description must be understood exactly in this way, may be seen from the passage in which Krasheninnikoff describes the Koryak harness of a pair of reindeer: "The loops by which the reindeer pull are like those of dogs: they are put on both reindeer over their right shoulder-blades" (Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 210); i.e., both reindeer pull with their left shoulders, as I have described before (p. 486). Dittmar's description is much clearer. He says, "Jeder Hund trägt nämlich beständig einen festen ledernen Halsriemen mit einem daran hängenden Haken und alle Enden der Anspannriemen verlaufen in eine weite lose Schlinge durch die der Kopf und ein Vorderbein des Hundes gesteckt werden, während die Haken der Halsriemen in die Wiederhaken der Schlingen eingreifen. Die Hunde ziehen also mit dem Nacken und der Brust,

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The question now arises, to which tribe does the invention of the harness described here as the East Siberian type, which is used at present by the Koryak, belong? We do not know the type of harness used in olden times by the Koryak and Chukchee. It is likewise unknown what type was used by the Yukaghir who lived between the Lena and the Kolyma Rivers. I am inclined to think that the primary East Siberian dog-harness i. e., that of the native dog-breeders of East Siberia — consisted of one single bight like that of the Gilyak or Kamchadal, but that the Russian immigrants changed it by adding to the single bight back-bands and a belly-band, and that the natives afterwards adopted from the Russians the harness modified in that way. The following considerations support this hypothesis.

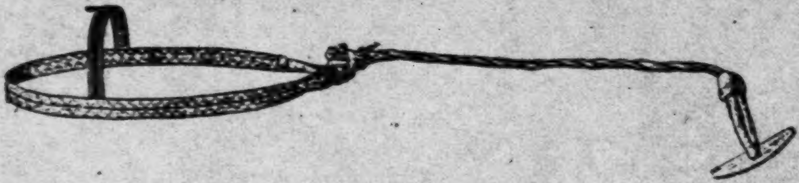

Fig. 69 (1/11). Modern Kamchadal Dog-Harness.

The East Siberian dog-harness, with its cross back-straps and belly-band, recalls as I stated before, the back-straps and belly-band employed in the Russian horse-harness;[1] the Kamchadal have adopted the East Siberian harness from the Russians; and the Russians, not only all over eastern Siberia, but even on the Amur River,[2] employ this harness, evidently imported by them, and not that of Gilyak type. That the Yakut, according to Middendorf's statement, called the East Siberian type the Yakut harness, does not at all argue that it was actually invented by the Yakut, the northern branch of whom became dog-breeders very late. Their word for "dog-harness" (a'lyk)[3] is not a Yakut word, but the Russians of various Siberian localities designate the dog-harness by this term.

I think that the Eskimo harness too, with three bights, is an improved type developed from the single-bight harness. The latter can be easily cast off by the dog, or it slipps off[4] — a great inconvenience — in driving over

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wodurch sie die grösste Zugkraft entwickeln können" (see Dittmar, Reisen in Kamtschatka in den Jahren 1851–1855, p. 161).

[1] It is interesting to add here that the West European dog-harness for pulling carts is of the East Siberian type; i. e., the type is, as I suppose, of Russian origin. The only difference between the West European and the East Siberian dog-harness lies in their back parts. While the East Siberian dog-harness ends with one trace, which is fastened to the main line, the West European dog-harness ends in two traces, — one on each side, — which are fastened to the ends of a whiffletree, as in a double horse-harness. The shape of the back part, and the manner of attachment to the main line, are another inconvenience of the East Siberian dog-harness; for the dog must run somewhat obliquely in order to draw with the chest, and this fatigues the dog extremely.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 173.

[3] See Footnote 2, p. 505, alygga' = alyk + ga; -ga is the possessive suffix.

[4] It may be noted here, that, according to Dittmar's description, the former Kamchadal single looped dog-harness was also prevented from slipping off by fastening the breast-piece to the dog-collar (see p. 507, Footnote 3).

492 snowdrifts, over hummocky ice, and rough ground, where the long traces of
174 the Eskimo harness may catch.

The Koryak make the dog-harness of hide of the thong-seal (*Erignathus*
281 *barbatus*), as well as of bear-hide. On the Kolyma, dog-harness is also made
of ox, horse, and elk hide.

492 There is no information to the effect that dogs have been used in the
Old World as beasts of burden; but, according to Klutschak,[1] the Eskimo
171 sometimes use dogs for carrying packs when sledge-driving becomes difficult
or impossible. The dog of the American Indian is also used as a beast of
burden. I have heard that prospectors in Alaska use the dog in the same way.

Methods of attaching Dogs to the Sledge. — Like the Russians of eastern Siberia, the Koryak nowadays harness the dogs in pairs, one dog on each side of a long stout main line (Plate xxvi, Fig. 1; see also Fig. 183). Probably this method has also been introduced by the Russians to facilitate fast driving, since in this way many dogs can be harnessed to the sledge. Judging from certain survivals of former harnessing, the natives of Siberia, who harness dogs tandem, formerly used to attach them to the main line singly, and alternately on the right and left of the trace. The Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma harness dogs that way even now; and the same is done by the Koryak when transporting household effects from the winter to the summer dwelling, and *vice versâ*, if their dogs are few in number. According to some statements, the Koryak in olden times did not drive fast. They harnessed few dogs to the sledge, and the driver himself helped to pull or push the sled, as the western Eskimo do. The Koryak often do so even now when moving from their winter houses to their summer quarters. To avoid the trouble of loading and managing a sledge drawn by a small team, the Koryak, who have few dogs, often walk from village to village, if these are not too far apart, carrying their goods in a bag on the back. In olden times walking was more in vogue than it is now.

According to Schrenck's description, the Gilyak, like the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, attach the dogs at equal distances apart, alternately on the two sides of the main line,[2] and there are only few dogs (about six or seven) in a team; while the Russians on the Amur attach the dogs in pairs,[3] with the exception of the first (the leader), which may be single, the team consisting of from five to seven pairs. This latter method is used by the Russians all over East Siberia. According to Krasheninnikoff, the Kamchadal of his day would usually harness only four dogs to a sled, but would attach them alternately or in pairs.[4]

The Eskimo generally attach the dogs so that the traces of each dog

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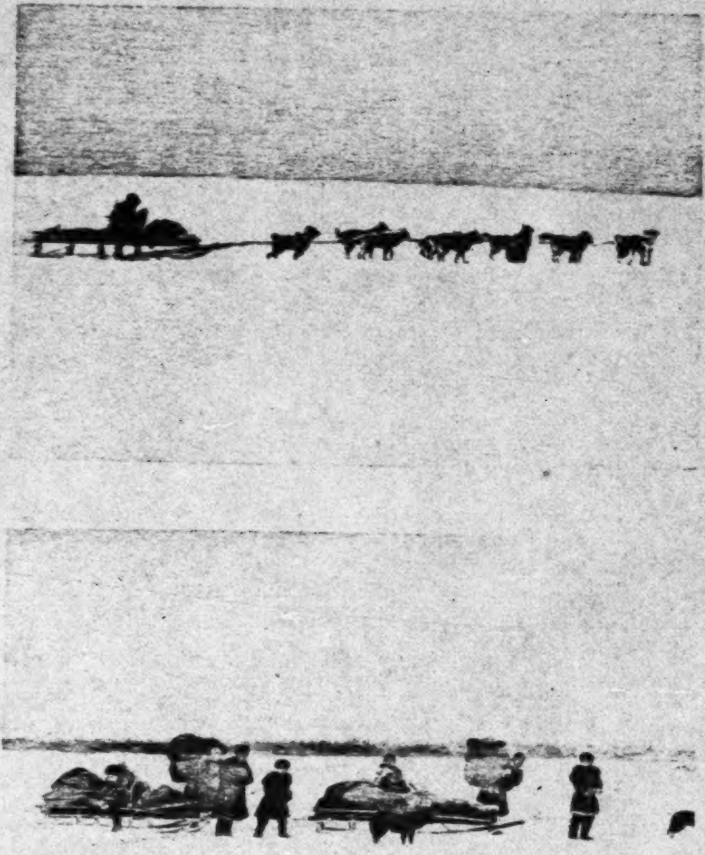
[1] Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo (Wien, 1881), p. 83.

[2] See Schrenck, II, Plate xxxvi, Fig. 2, p. 172.

[3] Ibid., p. 173.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 77.



Dog-Sledges.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 509]

492 171 run directly to the fore-part of the sled. The line of one dog (the leader), being somewhat longer, enables it to keep ahead; while the others, in running, are arranged like a fan. According to Bogoras,[1] this method of harnessing was still in use on the Chukchee Peninsula in the middle of the last century. On the other hand, the Eskimo about Bering Strait now employ both the Asiatic and the American methods of harnessing; i. e., tandem and fan-like,[2] having evidently adopted the former method from the Chukchee, or rather from the Russians in Alaska. At Point Barrow the Eskimo, too, now employ the Asiatic method of harnessing. As Murdoch[3] states, "the dogs are attached in a long line, alternately on opposite sides of this trace, just so far apart that one dog cannot reach his leader when both are pulling;" i. e., as the dogs are attached by the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, the Gilyak, and in many cases by the Koryak. The Eskimo about Bering Strait, in employing the tandem method, attach single dogs alternately, or in pairs if there are more than three dogs.[1]

493 174 THE SLEDGE. — The sledge now employed by the Koryak for dog-driving is of the same type as that in use in the whole of northeastern Siberia, but chiefly among the Russians. This sledge, with its three or four pairs of vertical stanchions, with a horizontal front bow tied to the upturned runners, and with a vertical bow at the first pair of stanchions and a netting of thongs on the sides and in the back, is also in use among the modern Chukchee, and has been described in detail by Bogoras.[4] We do not know now what ✓ was the original type of the Koryak dog-sledge, but doubtless it was not the sledge above described. The ancient Chukchee dog-sledge had "curved ribs, similar to the reindeer-sledge."[5] The ancient dog-sledge of the Kamchadal[6] also had curved ribs. Accordingly there is no ground for assuming that the Russians adopted from the Koryak the above-described type of sledge with vertical bow. In Steller's time there were already in use in Kamchatka two types of sledges;[7] namely, the ancient Kamchadal sledge with curved ribs, and the present *narta* imported by the Russians. As with the dog-harness, so also with the East Siberian dog-sledge, I think that in its fundamental form it is a type of dog-sledge of some native tribe, most likely the dog-breeding Yukaghir, with whom the Russians fell in on the rivers Yana, Indighirka, and Kolyma, far back in the first half of the seventeenth century.[8]

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol VII of this series, p. 98.

[2] See Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, p. 209.

[3] See Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, p. 358.

[4] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 21, pp. 104—106. It should be added, however, that our information concerning the method of harnessing and dog-driving of the Maritime Chukchee of the Arctic Ocean between Cape Erri and East Cape is as yet incomplete.

[5] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 99.

[6] See Steller, p. 370; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 78; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 93.

[7] See Steller, p. 370.

[8] The Cossacks founded the town Verkhoyansk on the Yana River, and reached the Indighirka as early as 1639. Since then the Russians have been improving the local means of transportation.

But the Russians considerably improved upon the native type, and then 493 carried it to Kamchatka, the Koryak, Chukchee, and to the Russian settlers on the Amur. 174 Part of the Yakut, who became dog-breeders but lately, have also adopted this type of sledge. Its structure, dimensions, and firmness are well adapted for fast driving, for carrying heavy loads, and for making long journeys, — conditions of which the primitive tribes of Siberia had no need, or much less need than the Russian conquerors, — at first for military campaigns, and later for mercantile transports, the conveyance of officials and priests, and for carrying scientific expeditions. For the transportation of passengers the sledge had to be made long, with a comfortable seat in the rear,[1] and room in front for the driver. I also think that the vertical bow [177] of the sledge is a Russian invention. When jumping off the sledge during the journey, either to run for a while or to urge the dogs along, the driver does not let go of this bow. If he should, the dogs, on scenting game, or aroused by something else, might suddenly run away, leaving the driver in the wilderness. This danger is great when the number of dogs in harness is considerable and the sledge is without freight. Once when I myself drove a team of dogs and got off to adjust the sledge, the dogs suddenly ran away and left me alone. Luckily there was a village seven kilometres away, where the dogs stopped, while I escaped with no more serious result than having to walk this distance in heavy travelling-clothes.[2] The Yukaghir of the 492 Upper Kolyma, who have few dogs, and who are in the habit of helping them to draw the sledge, use no vertical bow. 171 In travelling over the Yukaghir territory on the Upper Kolyma River, I could make no use of Yukaghir dogs. They are unfit for fast driving with passengers and heavy freight. I had to hire horses from the distant Yakut villages. The Yukaghir themselves, in their wanderings, go on foot or on snowshoes. Only children and the sick sit on the sledges. But whenever I had to make short journeys, and it was inconvenient to send for Yakut horses, the Yukaghir, in order to carry me some five or ten miles, would combine the dogs of two or three households into one team. I would sit on the sledge alone, without a native driver. One Yukaghir on foot, — sometimes on snowshoes — would run in front, followed by the team; while another would run behind the sledge, holding in his hand one end of a long thong, the other end being tied to the back of the sledge, to prevent the dogs, which are not directed by shouts, from losing the trail, and to stop them whenever they might try to run away.

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[1] To a sledge intended for passengers a high netted back, made of sticks and strips of leather, is attached.

[2] I knew a certain Yakut, Nikolai Sleptsoff by name, who lived on the border of the forests, on the Kolyma tundra, and who in the spring was driving a dog-team over the open tundra, and fell ill with snow-blindness. Unable to see the trail, he could not drive, and he let the dogs go, in the hope that they would take him to the village. All at once he felt that the dogs had gotten off the trail and into the soft snow. He got off in order to feel for the trail with his feet; but the dogs, probably roused by some beast that passed by, ran away with the sledge, and left the blind Yakut alone in the tundra. Sixteen days he lay there, subsisting on melted snow. The Reindeer Yukaghir found him in a dying condition, and cared for him until he had regained his strength. The dogs and the sledge were found by the relatives of the Yakut, who went in search of him. They had strayed far away from the tundra, into the forest. The dogs, entangled in the bushes and in their own harness-straps, had died there.

The Russian immigrants, although they have improved the local sledge, and have adapted it and the whole method of dog-driving to the new requirements of transportation, have nevertheless kept every feature required by local conditions. Thus the narrowness of the sledge has been preserved, which is necessary on account of the absence of roads, and the lashings by means of which all parts are held together. These give the sledge not only strength, but also elasticity, which enable it to resist the jolts that would break a sled joined with wooden pegs or iron nails.

In Whymper's book "Travels in Alaska,"[1] we find an account of Russian-Indian dog-driving on the Yukon River. It is to be regretted that it contains no detailed description of the sledge and harness; but it states that five dogs were harnessed to each sledge, that the sledges carried freight only, and that the men went on snowshoes. To judge from the illustrations, as far as they can be made out, the sledges were constructed somewhat like the East Siberian type. They had neither vertical nor front bow. The dog-harness, too, is apparently like that of eastern Siberia. The dogs are placed abreast, after the manner of the Eskimo.[2]

We have already seen that where there are few dogs in a team, the men usually walk, or even help draw the sledge. The manner in which the driver sits on the sledge varies in different regions. All the tribes using the sledge of the East Siberian Russians sit sideways on the right-hand side near the vertical bow, which is held with the left hand, while the shaft of the brake is held with the right. Thus the driver, without letting go of the bow, often jumps off the sledge and runs along, urging the dogs on with a shout, supporting the sledge on slopes, or pulling it aside from stumps, hillocks, and other obstacles on the trail. This sledge is also convenient for carrying passengers who sit in the back part of the sledge, their feet stretched forward, or who lie stretched full length under a blanket. The Gilyak sit astride of their light sledges, which have no bow, and are peculiar in that their runners turn upward both front and rear.[3] The dogs' labor is lightened by decreasing the surface of friction; but, on the other hand, the sledge sinks more easily into soft snow. Bogoras says that the driver of the ancient Kamchadal sledge sat astride it;[4] while Krasheninnikoff, in whose day the Kamchadal still employed the ancient type of sledge, says, "They sit on the sledge with their feet hanging down its right side; and to sit astride the

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[1] See Whymper, Alaska, Reisen und Erlebnisse; illustrations on p. 188 and on titlepage.

[2] The photograph of a sledge of the Alaskan Eskimo from St. Michael in Nelson's work (Plate LXXV) strongly resembles the illustration on the titlepage of Whymper's book.

[3] See Schrenck, II, Plate XXXVI, Fig. 1; Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Survey [Moscow, 1904], Part I, p. 19).

[4] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 102.

492 m1 sledge is deemed a great sin, for thus the Kamchadal women sit on it."[1] On the other hand, Steller relates that the Kamchadal sat more frequently on one side of their sledge to be able to jump down quickly in dangerous places, but sometimes when driving on a smooth plain they sat astride.[2]

231 TREATMENT OF THE DOG. *Feeding.* — The northern driving-dog, being a carnivorous animal, requires for its nourishment the same food as man. This has the advantage that the procuring and storing of food for both man and his domestic animals may be attended to at one and the same time and place. On the other hand, an abundant supply of animal food is required: hence dog-breeding is possible only on the seacoast or near rivers rich in fish. Besides, dog-breeding necessitates settled habits, as it requires large stocks of animal food for the winter, when sea-hunting ceases, as is the case in the territory occupied by the Koryak. The main food of the Siberian dogs consists of fish. On the coast, fish is caught in summer in great quantities, and is conveniently prepared for winter supplies. The Koryak dogs, too, [136] prefer fish to any other kind of animal food. The principal fish caught by the Koryak is the dog-salmon (*Oncorhynchus keta*). It serves also as the staple food for dogs. In part the dogs' food is supplied by the small fish uyo'k (*Salmo socialis*). Dog-salmon dried in the sun is fed dry to the dogs during journeys. The skeleton of the dog-salmon, too, on which small pieces of meat remain after the soft parts have been removed for drying, supplies food after being dried in the sun. When at home, a thin soup for the dogs, made from the bones and heads of dog-salmon, dried uyo'k, and other fish-offal, is cooked in an iron kettle. Into this soup pieces of seal-blubber are sometimes thrown. The soup for the dogs, when ready, is cooled a little by pouring it into wooden or seal skin buckets (Plate XXVII, Fig. 1; see also Fig. 104), which are then carried out of the houses on the backs of the women by means of head-bands. As the food for the dogs is prepared of those parts of fish which decompose most rapidly during the summer and autumn, a strong stench fills the houses while it is being cooked. During our residence in the underground houses of the Koryak, this stench from the dogs' food caused us the greatest annoyance. The dogs are fed outside of the house. Plate XXVII, Fig. 1, shows two women pouring the warm soup, which is of the color of iron-rust, from wooden buckets into a long wooden trough. Before feeding, children untie those dogs, which for some reason are tied up. Impetuously the dogs make for the trough, and furiously begin to lap up the soup, dipping their snouts into the liquid up to the eyes, searching for the more substantial solid portions of the food. Fights are rare among the dogs while feeding, for they well know that the dog that starts a fight will be struck over the head by the women or children who supervise

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[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 81.

[2] See Steller, p. 371.

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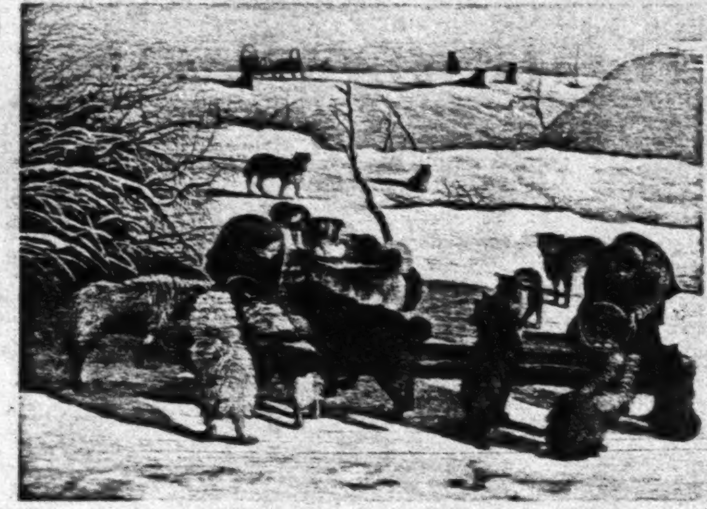

Fig. 1. Feeding of Dogs.

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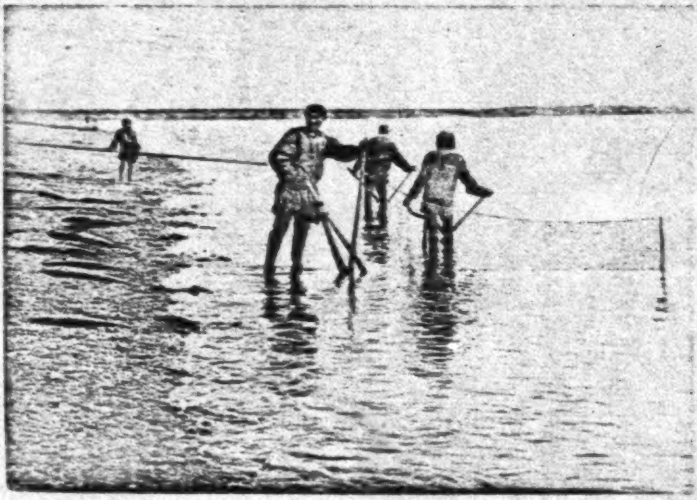

Fig. 2. Fishing with Hand-Net.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 513]

231 the feeding. No sooner, however, does a dog from another household approach the trough, than all will set upon it. A newly acquired dog is brought to the trough and watched, lest the other dogs attack it. After two or three days the pack recognize the new dog's right to come to the trough. A similar protection must be extended by the Maritime Koryak to a newly acquired dog that is for the first time put into a team.

231 171 As far as I know, among all the Asiatic tribes using the dog, only the Gilyak feed the dogs indoors. For this purpose a high platform is erected in the middle of the house, the trough with the feed is placed on it, and the dogs are taken there.[1] The Koryak, Chukchee, Kamchadal, Yukaghir, northern Yakut, and coast Tungus feed the dogs out of doors. The Eskimo do not let the dogs into the house, but they lie in the entrance leading into the winter house. Murdoch says that the Eskimo women take care of the puppies as if they were babes, and carry them in their coats.[2] Among the Central Eskimo, "young dogs are carefully nursed, and in winter they are even allowed to lie on the couch, or are hung up over the lamp in a piece of skin."[3]

231 171 774 343 *Care of the Dog.* — Among all dog-breeders, — excepting the northern Yakut, who only lately reached the polar regions, where they took to dog-driving, — dogs are believed to play a certain part in the world of the dead. The Yukaghir, Koryak, Chukchee, and Kamchadal believe that dogs guard the entrance to the country of the shades.[4] They must be bribed by the entering shadows. They give a very ugly reception to the dead who while alive tortured dogs. These ideas are not foreign to the Gilyak, Aleut, and Eskimo. We find an entirely different attitude towards the dog among the Yakut, who originally did not breed dogs. They consider the dog an unclean animal. The shaman whose protecting spirit appears in the form of a dog is deemed bad. While even horses and cattle possess souls (kut), the dog has none. Accordingly it is not fit for sacrifice to evil spirits. The Yakut were offended when I took my dog along into the house, especially when I placed it near me in the front corner, the place accorded to guests of honor. The dog, a Yakut told me, brings into the house the evil spirits (abasy') that sit by tens on the point of the dog's tail. Hence I never saw a Yakut fondling a dog. He treats the dog with great cruelty. Among true dog-breeders we meet with a different attitude towards the dog. The Koryak often fondle them, and in caring for them, both at home and on journeys, oftener try to train them by caresses and kind words than by the stick. The Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, and also the Maritime Koryak, build on the side of the house rather

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[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 168; Sternberg, The Gilyak (The Ethnographical Review, Bulletin of the Ethnographic Section of the Society of Friends of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography [Moscow, 1904], 1, p. 18).

[2] See Murdoch, p. 358.

[3] See Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 538.

[4] See Part I, p. 110.

roomy sheds for the protection of dogs during snow-storms. These dog-ken- 231 nels are made of logs, and have roofs with two slopes covered over with bark to keep the snow of winter and the rain of summer from getting in through 774 the chinks. The back of the kennel is formed by the wall of the house. 171 The opposite side serves as an entrance. It is fenced off by a high threshold. 343 The depth of the kennel varies from a metre to two metres, and its height is about a metre. These kennels are mainly intended for bitches with puppies. Schrenck says of the Gilyak,[1] as Boas and Murdoch say of the Eskimo, that they keep the puppies in the house.[2] Owing to the plan of construction of the Koryak winter house, it would involve great difficulties to keep puppies in the house; and for this reason they are not taken inside, notwithstanding the great care bestowed by the Maritime Koryak upon their dogs.[3]

In the back part of the kennel, girls build a bed of dry grass for the 231 slut and her litter. Special nourishing food is cooked for the slut. Small or 857 even grown-up girls take the food to her by crawling into the kennel. They see to it that the dog warms, feeds, and does no harm to the pups. Often the sluts, especially if it is their first breed, display no affection for the pups, and are inclined to desert them. When the pups grow up, the girls accustom them to eat soup and finely minced fish from the trough. When the mother-dog can no longer cover the growing pups with her body, or when she begins to leave the kennel, the puppies warm one another by cuddling close together. Each pup endeavors to get to the middle. On very cold days they lie this way for days at a time, except when being fed, and they squeal on account of the cold. The pups are very timid. At the end of the second month they venture on sunny days to crawl over the kennel threshold to see the light of day; but at the merest approach of man or of a grown dog, they run back to their lair. The threshold is made principally for the purpose of confining the young puppies to the kennel.

Steller thus describes the Kamchadal method of raising puppies and 231 training them for driving:[4] "When the pups' eyes were open, they were 171 placed with the bitch in a deep hole, that they might see neither men nor animals, and there they were fed. After they had been weaned, they were placed in another ditch. On reaching six months of age, they were harnessed

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[1] Schrenck, II, p. 168.

[2] See Murdoch, p. 358; Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 538.

[3] I take occasion here to draw attention to the statements made by Kennan (p. 225) concerning Koryak dogs, and by Steller (p. 134) concerning Kamchadal dogs. Both authors state that they climb to the roofs of houses and into storehouses erected on posts. According to Steller, the Kamchadal dogs climb up ladders and steal provisions from storehouses; and Kennan relates that Koryak dogs will look into the opening from the roofs of underground dwellings and during their scuffles will roll down into the kettles in which food is being cooked. On no occasion have I seen Koryak dogs on house-roofs. They would climb over the roof of the anteroom and up the sloping walls of the house, under the cover of the storm-roof, where they found shelter from the winds. I could not teach a Koryak dog that I brought up myself to clamber from the roof of the ante-room to the house-roof by means of the holes in the post which serves as a ladder.

[4] Steller, p. 138.

231 171 to a sledge along with trained dogs, and driven over a short distance, and then put back into the ditch." Thus they were often taken out of the hole to be trained for driving. Only after they had gone a long journey, and after they had become accustomed to being harnessed to a sledge every time they were taken out of their hole, were they tied to the posts under the storehouses with the older dogs. The Koryak also begin to break pups when they are six months old. They are first kept tied to a line. Being used to running about free, they are impatient when tied up. They howl and whine, and are overjoyed when hitched to the sledge. Most of the puppies display such eagerness to run, that they are driven a short distance only to prevent over-exertion.

Pups born in spring or summer are put in harness with the coming of winter; but those born in autumn or winter are not trained for driving until the end of winter or spring, and are not used for driving until the following autumn.

231 492 According to Schrenck,[1] the Gilyak do not use female dogs in harness; but all other dog-breeders of East Siberia with whom I came into personal contact, between the Lena River and Bering Sea, prize draught-bitches very highly. They are weaker than the males, but they surpass the latter in zeal, and perform their tasks more earnestly and diligently. Sluts, in addition, often exhibit more aptitude to act as "leaders" than do the males. Often a bitch is placed among the front pairs to induce the ungelded males to try to reach her and thus pull their lines well. No special care is given to pregnant sluts. They are usually harnessed up to the moment of delivery; but very often the women watch over them, and do not allow them to be hitched up. Should a slut deliver her pups during a journey, far from human habitations, the young ones are doomed to perish. One night when in camp on the snow, on our way from the coast village Kamenskoye to the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Ridge, a slut of one of the drivers who carried my freight was delivered of pups at night while in harness. It was bitter cold and windy. The slut burrowed in the snow, and, shivering with cold, lay over her young in the hole she had made. In the morning, when we had sipped our tea by the campfire and began to prepare for the journey, the cruel master took the slut off from her puppies and harnessed her with the other dogs to his sledge. The puppies remained in the icy hole: the snow, which melted from the heat of the slut and her pups, froze. Two of the pups had died from the cold, while the remaining two were yet moving, but soon froze to death. The wretched slut lagged for a time behind the other dogs, but soon began to keep pace with them.

492 If a dog becomes so ill on a journey that it can no longer run, it is

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[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 167.

492 unharnessed and abandoned in the wilderness. Nevertheless I had occasion to see that favorite dogs whose paws had been cut by the hard snow-crust, so that they could not run any longer, were taken on the sledge until the next camp was reached.

231 In spring, when driving with dogs is no longer possible, the sledge is suspended under the platform of the elevated storehouses to prevent the summer rains from drenching it. The dogs are set free, and from that time on they are given no food. Until fishing-time begins, the dogs content themselves with hunting mice, marmots, and other small animals in the tundra. When the fish ascend the rivers to spawn, the dogs begin to hunt for them in shallow places in rivers and at low tide on the seacoast. When fish are plentiful, they eat only the heads, and leave the bodies. The small fish uyo'k enters the small bays to spawn in such masses that after high tide a thick layer of roe remains on the shore. The Koryak do not eat it, but it attracts bears. The dogs are also very fond of it. In summer, while fish is abundant, dogs also indulge in vegetable food. They pluck off berries, principally sweet ones, like the bleaberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), cloud-berry (*Rubus chamæmorus*), and the fruit of the sweet-brier (*Rosa rubiginosa*). In all probability, these berries serve rather as a laxative in case of disordered digestion induced by excessive use of food, than as nutriment. I have had repeated occasions to see dogs eat herbs as an emetic. After having chewed and swallowed a sufficient amount of grass, the dog begins to vomit. Then he chews and swallows more grass. During the summer the dogs grow fat, and by autumn they are of well-rounded and handsome form. It is hard to recognize the same dog in autumn and in spring. After the labors and privations of winter, the dog has a surly appearance. It grows so thin that the bones are seen through the skin, its movements are slow, and the hair, while being shed, hangs down in long tufts.

At this season the dog is subject to various diseases, some of epidemic character.[1] In rare cases the dog's food gives out toward spring, so that the teams are starving. In winter, if the supply of dog's food is early exhausted, the dogs have to be content with human excrement. Even well-fed dogs are fond of it, and are attracted by it as reindeer are by urine. When the dogs are hungry, it is not entirely safe to go to the privy without a stick in hand, owing to the fights among the dogs for possession of the excrement.[2]

If the dog has been poorly fed in winter, and is very lean in spring,

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[1] On the diseases of dogs, see Bogoras, The Chukchee. Vol. VII of this series, p. 104.

[2] The poor polar Yakut of the Kolyma tundra, who live on the scanty proceeds of fishing in the lakes and go hungry in winter, give hardly any food to their dogs, which carry wood and water and are used on short journeys. In summer their dogs are left to themselves and go hunting, and in winter their food consists mainly of human excrement. These Yakut felt insulted when I fed meat to my dog. "Thou givest thy dog food befitting the most honored men," my Yakut interpreter once said to me reproachfully. The dogs of these Yakut are of very small size, and are the most wretched specimens that I ever saw among driving-dogs. I have spoken before of the contempt with which the Yakut treat dogs, which are considered as unclean animals.

231 the shedding of hair begins late and proceeds slowly. Only late in summer, in July or even in August, does the dog cast off the last spears of the old, dirty, and faded hair. A fat dog begins to shed hair as early as April, and is covered with new hair in June. Pups born in autumn also shed their hair late; while those born in spring, or even at the end of winter, do not shed hair at all during their first summer. In autumn all dogs are covered with thick, long, soft, and glossy hair. In winter the hair of the fur grows long and stiff; but the fine downy fur, which is the dog's chief protection against cold and winds, becomes thicker. In autumn the color of the fur becomes darker, but in dogs of light color it grows whiter. During winter the dog's fur fades; and by spring-time the dark colors become reddish or gray, while the light colors take on a yellowish tinge.

When the rivers freeze over and the ground is covered with snow, the dogs are caught and tied to the posts on which the storehouse rests. At the end of summer the dogs that during the summer had undertaken long hunting-excursions return of their own accord to their master's dwelling. During the first days they are fed very little, that they may lose fat. If a long journey is contemplated, they are not fed at all for two or three days. While travelling, they receive only dry food, which makes them light of foot. They are fed in the evening when the camp is made. Each dog usually gets a dry skeleton of a dog-salmon. Further, in the day-time, during rests on the journey, pieces of dried fish are thrown to the dogs. When at home, soup is cooked for them after they have rested. The feeding with soup described before usually takes place in the afternoon, towards evening. On the journey, when dry food only is given them, the dogs often eat snow to quench their thirst. A short time after the beginning of winter the dogs that are quiet and not given to pilfering are left at liberty. Only on the eve of a journey are they tied up, in order to economize their strength, so that they may be swift and enduring on the next day; but the dogs that eat straps, spoil leather wallets and clothes (which, however, all dogs do during times of starvation), and steal provisions, are kept tied up throughout the winter. To prevent the dogs from chewing the straps with which they are tied up, sticks about half a metre long, with holes at both ends, are used. Through these holes short straps are passed, whereby one end of the stick is tied to the dog-collar, while the other and longer strap is attached to the post or to a taut line running from post to post at a height twice or three times that of the dog. The dog can with its teeth get at the stick only, which does not interfere very much with its motions, and does not prevent it from lying down. These sticks are going out of use, and are replaced by imported iron chains.

825 It is believed that a strong occipital protuberance of a dog indicates strength and zeal. Besides this, draught-dogs of slow gait, and dogs for fast driving, are distinguished by their appearance. The former are said to have a broad chest, short and thick paws, and a large, comparatively short head.

have a broad chest, short and thick paws, and a large, comparatively 600
short head.

Male dogs are gelded in order to make them quiet, and that they may 232
retain fat notwithstanding the hard work they have to do. Ungelded males grow thin very quickly. Usually they are gelded when one year old. As they begin to mature at the age of six or seven months, the litter is obtained mainly from males that have not yet reached their full maturity and entered into possession of their full powers. This must have an unfavorable influence on the breed. Some owners leave particularly strong dogs ungelded until they are two or three years old, and use them for breeding-purposes.

The operation of gelding is at present performed with an ordinary knife. Two men hold the dog, which is laid on its back, firmly, while a third one cuts open the scrotum and removes the testicles by severing them from the spermatic ducts. To stop the bleeding, the scrotum is filled with snow. Usually the operation is performed on a cold day in winter, which is believed to be favorable to success. Ordinarily the dogs bear the operation well, and the wound soon heals. Rarely does a dog die from loss of blood. Once I saw a dog which remained almost motionless for a whole week after the operation, frequently licked the wound, and lay down on fresh snow to lessen the inflammation. The Russianized natives on the Kolyma told me that they would not allow the gelded dogs to lie down. The dogs are gelded during a short stop on a journey. Immediately after the operation the whole team is driven full speed, and the dog which has just been operated on must run along. In this way, say these cruel surgeons, the dogs get hardened, and bear the operation well. All the disagreeable traits in the character of the draught-dog noticed by travellers seem to me to apply mainly to gelded dogs. After the operation they lose all liveliness and sprightliness, become surly, indifferent to their companions, afraid of human beings, and attached exclusively to the trough from which they are fed.

Various Uses of the Dog. — Besides driving, the dog is also used for 231
sacrifices,[1] as a helpmate in hunting,[2] and its skin furnishes material for
clothing.[3] The Koryak deny ever having used dogs for food, except in times 782
of famine. Their myths, too, refer with contempt to the custom of eating 262
dogmeat. The heroes of some myths mock the Raven-Man because he eats
dog-meat and excrement,[4] both being considered equally despicable. On the
other hand, it should be remarked that the people who sacrifice dogs to
divinities usually also eat them, as the Gilyak, Ainu,[5] and Indians; for the

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[1] Compare Part I, pp. 90—97; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 525.

[2] See Chapter VII.

[3] See Chapter IX.

[4] Compare Part I, p. 199.

[5] See Schrenck, II, p. 167; Sternberg, The Gilyak, p. 40.

782 idea of a sacrifice[1] includes the conception that the deity or spirit will make 231 the same use of the offering or of its soul as does the person offering the sacrifice. Even the many colored rags or other trifles which the Siberians 262 and also other tribes offer to the deities or spirits are given to them either as ornaments or as other utilities or as substitutes for costlier things. The Chukchee kill dogs for food, but they do not eat sacrificial dogs, says Bogoras.[2] This last statement is not in accord with the fact that in general the Chukchee do eat dog-meat, for the flesh of those sacrificial animals which [281] are commonly used for food is usually eaten. Among the Koryak I saw the carcasses of sacrificed dogs skinned and cast out on the tundra.[3] In this case it must be assumed that the dog is sacrificed as a draught-animal or for the sake of its fur, as the Siberian natives hang on trees the skins of fur-bearing animals, which serve as offerings to evil spirits, while the carcasses are thrown away. Among the Yakut, the favorite offering to those divinities and spirits to whom no bloody sacrifices are offered, is hair from the horse's tail or mane. In this case the hair cannot be a substitute for the horse, but must have the significance of an object which is valuable in itself in Yakut domestic economy, nets, cords, and rugs being knitted of horsehair.

231 CHARACTER AND NUMBER OF DOGS. — The Koryak dog is useless as a watch-dog. In the first place, it is afraid of man, and runs away even at the motion of a hand. It hardly barks at all,[4] and thus does not warn its master of danger. Three times I took Arctic dogs, that I had reared myself, to civilized regions. One of them I took as far as Yakutsk, the other two I carried to European Russia. Despite certain changes in their character owing to my method of rearing, they showed no hostility to strangers.[5]

231 It is curious that when in harness the dog's character seems to change completely. In nearly all books of Arctic travels are found descriptions of 492 the passionate excitement to which this tamed beast of prey is roused at the moment of starting on a journey. While travelling, the dogs not only attack other dogs, but even men whom they encounter. To meet a team of dogs rushing along is fraught with great danger for a person travelling on foot, who is obliged to turn off the trail. On meeting another team, the dogs engage in a fierce fight if one of the drivers does not turn aside. Should harnessed

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[1] The sacrifice of the totem animal or the divinity itself — made, according to the views held by some recent writers, in order to renew nature — must be excepted from this statement.

[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 101.

[3] See Part I, p. 95.

[4] Some dogs do not bark at all, and are as silent as if they were dumb. Those that bark do so rarely. Their bark is a drawl, and turns into a whine.

[5] Living far away from Yakutsk, I kept a horse of my own for travelling. My dog grew so attached to it that it would always lie down near it. One night when two Tatars from the Kazan Government who had been banished to the Yakutsk district for highway robbery, and who were my neighbors, stole the horse, the dog followed it in silence. The Tatars took the horse into the woods and there tied it up, intending to kill it for its meat the same evening; but, following the tracks of dog and horse, I found them and took them back home.

reindeer meet with a dog-team unawares, they are inevitably torn to pieces. 231
The dogs pay no attention to their master's shouts and club. The only way 492
of stopping the carnage is to knock the dogs on the head and stun or kill them. While in camp in the wilderness, the dogs which lie tied up near the sledge do not allow strangers to go near it, perhaps because they know that their food is on the sledge, for at home they do not attack or molest strangers.
Noticeable changes of character took place in my dogs which I had brought 231
up myself, partly due to the different treatment, partly owing to their new surroundings. It cost a great deal of trouble to train them to discriminate between domestic animals, which they had never seen, and game which they were permitted to hunt. They used to catch chickens, ducks, geese, sheep, calves, foals, and cats all in the same fashion, by the throat. More than once I had to pay for the harm they had done. Even after they had finally become accustomed to domestic animals, atavistic enmities persisted. Their feuds with cats had no end, and they would always attack hogs; but from the very start the latter would drive them off, and the dogs came to be afraid of them.

In imitation of our dogs, they learned to bark, but they never barked at a person. On the contrary, they lost all fear of human beings, and took kindly to everybody. On the other hand, their attachment to their master and his friends was sufficiently firm. The dogs recognized me after an absence of several weeks, and boisterously expressed their delight. The Koryak dogs, on passing into new hands, become indifferent to their former master in a few days, as soon as they become familiar with their new comrades and their feeding-trough. At first, when in unwonted places, my dogs would sometimes fall to howling, which casts a feeling of melancholy and despondency over a traveller whom fate brings into a hamlet where a chorus of a hundred dogs begins its interminable evening concerts. After a few months' sojourn in civilized surroundings, however, they gave up their habit of howling.

An idea of the number of dogs kept by the Koryak may be formed on 231
the bases of a census taken by me in 79 households of maritime Koryak of 592
Penshina Bay (see table on p. 522).

The average per household is 10 dogs. The figures quoted are more 511
or less constant. Although the dogs are very prolific, the number of dog-sacrifices equals or even surpasses the increase. If in spring, as frequently happens, an epidemic of hydrophobia or another contagious disease a symptom of which is an affection of the nerve-centres, rages among the dogs, many households lose all their animals. Then the people, when moving from their winter abode to their summer dwelling, have to drag their belongings along, or assist their dogs in drawing the sledges. A travelling family of this kind is represented on Plate XXVI, Fig. 2. One dog is harnessed to each sledge, and the women draw with them, while the men carry huge bundles on their shoulders.

592 Families that have poor or young workers, and who cannot lay by sufficient stores of dog's food for the winter, usually own few dogs. The
231 members of such families are deprived of the chance of making trips to the
511 Russian hamlets to buy imported wares, or to the nomad camps of the Reindeer Koryak to trade for reindeer-meat.

Number of Households.	Number of Dogs in each Household.	Total Number of Dogs.
1	2	2
4	3	12
4	4	16
4	5	20
4	6	24
7	7	49
13	8	104
5	9	45
13	10	130
3	11	33
5	12	60
2	13	26
1	15	15
1	16	16
3	17	51
1	18	18
8	20	160
Total 79		781

471 Nearly all the men who own as many as twenty dogs, — enough for two teams at the rate of ten dogs per sledge — either conduct an independent
494 trade or are employed as clerks by the Russian merchants. Almost all through the winter the senior member of such a family is journeying from one reindeer-camp to another; while at home only a few dogs remain for work around the house, for trips to get wood, for hauling supplies of food
[326] from the summer camp, and for other exigencies. The smiths of Paren and
[437] Kuel, too, own not less than ten dogs each, which enable them to carry their iron-work among the Reindeer Koryak for barter. I found the best dogs among the Itkana people.[1] Their settlements lie off the main trail, running

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[1] Around Bering Sea the best dogs are to be found on the Poqač (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 102).

494 471 from Gishiga to Anadyr and Kamchatka, and the dogs are not exhausted by the frequent trips required for carrying cossacks, officials and mail. Besides, the Koryak dwelling along the main route have to share their dogs' food with the teams of the merchants passing by, and with the sedentary Koryak of the other villages. For this reason their own dogs often suffer from lack of food, grow very thin, and are very slow.

231 489 **Efficiency of the Dog.** — Concerning the efficiency and swiftness of dogs, — mainly Koryak dogs, — I will give here only data from my own experience. The efficiency of a team depends less upon the number of dogs than upon their quality. A good team must consist of well-fed, adult dogs, that get along well with one another and know their master. Under such circumstances, even ten dogs (five pairs) are considered a complete team. The teams of the Russians or of Russianized natives are in better condition than those of the natives. Once I saw a Russian team of twelve dogs which carried about 1000 pounds, besides the dogs' food and the driver, in two days over a distance of 100 miles, from Nishne Kolymsk to the mouth of the Omolon. It must be added that the trail was good and smooth. Such feats are very rare, however. Ordinarily the Russian driver, both on the Kolyma and the Gishiga, would carry from 350 to 400 pounds a team, approximately 35 pounds per dog, for a distance of 200 miles or over. The Koryak drivers would take less, from 250 to 350 pounds; and some Koryak drivers, with teams of eight or nine dogs, would take only 200 pounds. Freight-sledges would make from 27 to 50 miles a day; while travelling alone, without freight, I made from 50 to 65 miles. Only once I covered a distance of 100 miles, from the village Paren to Gishiginsk despite a heavy snow-storm, without stopping over night. I left Paren at 8 A. M., and reached Gishiginsk at 5 A. M. on the following day. While travelling, we rested twice and drank tea by the side of a campfire. These rests consumed about three hours, and we lost nearly two hours on an elevated tundra because the snow-storm had obliterated the trail. Amid such unfavorable conditions we went at the rate of over six miles an hour, thanks to the fine quality of the dogs. The average trotting-speed of good dogs is generally from four and a half to six and a half miles an hour. Over short distances I have made between six and a half and ten miles an hour. In general, dogs are inferior in speed not only to horses, but even to reindeer; but they occupy the first place, reindeer the second, and horses the last, when capacity of running long distances with only brief rests is considered. They make long journeys without long rests provided the food is good. With a team of fresh reindeer, I once made 65 miles in six hours, almost without a stop; but before going on, I had to rest over night.

These figures, giving the speed of dogs, apply only to a well-trodden and level trail. When the journey lies over untrodden soft snow, deep snow,

489 or hummocky ice, driving, even with good dogs, is considerably slower,
231 because the sledge sinks into the snow, or on account of the necessity of
clearing obstacles.

435 The value of an ordinary Koryak dog ranges from 8 to 12 rubles. A
"leader" costs 15 rubles. A particularly bright "leader" costs from 20 to
489 25 rubles.

494 The fee for carrying freight is usually 1 ruble per pud (36 pounds) for
100 versts (66 miles); but merchants pay less, particularly to Koryak drivers, —
2.50 rubles or 2 rubles for a whole sledge-load of 5 pud.

A passenger-sledge (counting, of course, a single passenger only) costs 3 kopeks per verst, or 3 rubles per 100 versts, at the mail-carrier's rate, which has been established by the government. I usually paid 10 rubles per driving-sledge for such distances as Paren-Gishiga or Paren-Kamenskoye, approximately 150 and 200 versts (100 and 132 miles); but for long distances, without relay of dogs, the fee is lower. Thus from Gishiginsk to Anadyr (a distance of some 800 versts, or 530 miles) a sledge for a trip one way costs 25 rubles.

VII. — FISHING, HUNTING, AND WAR.

FISHING. — As fish is the principal food of the Maritime Koryak, I shall begin with a description of the fishing-industry. It is necessary to remark that my own observations apply in the main to the bays and rivers of the Sea of Okhotsk; but through inquiry I have also gathered some information concerning the fishing-pursuits of the people who live on Bering Sea. 226 136

Species of Fish. — While the fishermen of arctic Siberia subsist mainly on *Coregonus*, a genus of the family *Salmonidæ*, which ascend the rivers from the Polar Sea, the principal food of the inhabitants of the northern coasts of the Pacific Ocean consists of *Oncorhynchus*, another genus of the same family.[1] The leading position as a means of sustenance belongs to the dog-salmon (*Oncorhynchus lagocephalus*, or *O. keta*). For this reason the dog-salmon, whose proper name is qeta′ or qetäqet, is often called ḷıgi′-anᴇ′n ("genuine fish") or simply ᴇ′nēm ("fish"). Next in importance is the humpback salmon (*Oncorhynchus proteus* Pall. or *O. korbucha;* Koryak, kalᴇ′ḷm). The red salmon (*O. lycaodon* or *O. niarka;* Koryak, wiyu′wi) is less important, for only few of these enter the Koryak rivers; greater numbers of them are caught by the Kamchadal. The chawicha (*Salmo orientalis;* Koryak, a′vač or e′vič), too, belongs to the rare visitors of the Koryak rivers; but it enters the rivers of southern Kamchatka in great numbers. The kundscha (*Salmo leucomænis* Pall.) is quite as rare, but it is met with near the village of Yamsk.

Salmon of the genus *Oncorhynchus* enter the rivers in summer to spawn. They do not return to the sea, but continue to ascend the rivers until completely exhausted. Then they die. Not infrequently the river carries back to the sea the half-dead fish, which are not able to withstand the current, and they die before reaching the sea. In early spring the fry hatched in the rivers drift down to the sea, grow up there, and, having reached full maturity after several years, again ascend the river to spawn, and perish there. The migration of the salmon has been termed by Middendorf "migration of death" (*Totwandern*).

Among the other *Salmonidæ* the most important in the household economy of the Koryak is the small uyo′k (yëra) of the Russians (*Salmo socialis;*

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[1] Some species of *Coregonus* — such as *Coregonus leucichthys*, *Coregonus muksun*, and *Coregonus clupeoides* — enter the largest and longest river of Bering Sea on the Siberian side (the Anadyr), and the largest river of the Okhotsk Sea (the Penshina), in great quantities. The inhabitants of the village Markova (about 330 miles from the mouth of the river Anadyr) catch these fish every summer. I was also told of these fish by the inhabitants of the Russian settlement Penshinsk, about 330 miles from the mouth of the Penshina. *Coregonus leucichthys* appears as early as the middle of June; *Coregonus clupeoides* in September only.

226 136 Koryak, hngɪ′yɪt), which belongs to the genus of smelts (*Osmerus*). Other species of *Osmerus*, too, occur, but in small numbers as compared with the uyo′k. The uyo′k goes with the tide to the river-mouths and bays to spawn, in such dense masses that at low tide the shore is covered with a solid layer of roe. After spawning, the uyo′k returns to the sea.

The salveline (*Salvelinus malma* Walb), which belongs to the genus *Salmo*, also plays a rôle of some importance. The Koryak distinguish two kinds of salveline, — the large (uitɪ′wɪt) and the small (qai′tɪwɪt), — but these are clearly of the same species, at different ages. This may be gathered also from the meaning of the Koryak word qai ("young"). The salveline spends a rather long time in freash water. Together with other fish migrating in shoals, it reaches the rivers in summer, ascends their mountain-tributaries in autumn, and goes down to the sea towards spring.

In the rivers is found also the grayling, of the genus *Thymallus*. The catch of tom-cod (*Eleginus Navaga;* Koryak wē′gen), of the family *Gadidæ*, is also used, but not so much as the various species of salmon. Herring (*Clupea harengus;* Koryak, ukii′) enter the mouths of some rivers, but not every year, as is the case on the east coast of Kamchatka. In the river-mouths flounders (*Pleuronectidæ;* Koryak, a′lpɪ) are also procured.

Finally we must mention the eel-pout (wala′ãɪn) and the pike (tutkɪ′tɪt), which at times are caught in river-nets, but are not specially sought by the Koryak.

226 221 *Fishing-Seasons.* — The dog-salmon, the principal object of the Koryak fisheries, does not enter all the rivers at the same time, but its migration begins approximately in the early or middle part of July. The main run lasts three or four weeks, but continues, with diminished numbers of fish, until the end of August. The fish enters the rivers at high tide: therefore the fishermen, before high tide, assemble off the mouth of the river; and after high tide, higher up the river. The dog-salmon does not go far up the river. Even in the river Gishiga — next to the Penshina, the largest of the Koryak rivers — it does not ascend farther than sixty-five miles from the mouth. On my route from Gishiga to the Kolyma, however, I met with dog-salmon in the Gishiga River up to eighty or eighty-five miles from its mouth. There fish that had perished were still met with in the shallows and on the dried-up river-banks, while in the swift arms of the river dying dog-salmon were making their last struggles against the current. The last fishermen I saw engaged in catching dog-salmon were approximately sixty-five miles from the mouth of the river. They were Reindeer Tungus, who were preparing their winter supplies of fish. A little below them were Reindeer Koryak and other Tungus. Russian fishermen do not ascend the river above thirty miles from its mouth. The farther up the river the dog-salmon is caught, the drier and less savory it is.

226 136 The principal Russian fishing-stations for the capture of dog-salmon are situated between the town of Gishiginsk and the settlement Kushka (at the mouth of the river), not more than thirteen miles apart. In all the other rivers the Koryak catch the dog-salmon in the estuary or a few miles above it.

221 The humpback salmon enters the rivers nearly at the same time as the dog-salmon. As compared with the dog-salmon, the humpback salmon visits the Koryak rivers in very insignificant numbers only, but in some years it happens that the main run of fish consists of humpback salmon. In those years the dog-salmon is seldom seen.

At the end of May or in the beginning of June, *Salmo socialis* comes to the river-mouths or to the shallow bays to spawn. It does not ascend the rivers any considerable distance. The run lasts from seven to ten days, after which the fish return to the sea.

The salveline enters the rivers somewhat later than the dog-salmon, and goes rather far up the chief rivers and their tributaries. Not infrequently it spends the winter in these tributaries, and in spring descends to the sea. It is fished in the rivers in summer and until late in the autumn.

Tom-cod is caught in the river-mouths and bays chiefly in the fall; but it is sought both in summer and in winter, in the latter season in ice-holes in the rivers. Tom-cod is found all the year round in Itkana Bay, but even there the principal catch takes place in autumn. In spring, before the beginning of the salmon-run, the Koryak have such a craving for fresh fish that the inhabitants of the villages on the Paren and Kamenskoye side, and even those of the opposite side of Penshina Bay (from Ma′meč), go to Itkana to fish tom-cod. 177

226 *Fishing-Implements.* — To judge from the primitive form of fishing-implements and of the material of which they are made, the Russians have exerted little influence upon the methods of Koryak fishing. Although the salmon-run in the Koryak rivers is not so abundant and varied as in those of Kamchatka, the dog-salmon run alone is so heavy, that, with good seine-nets, the Koryak would be able to take in their whole annual supply of fish within a few days; but they are as yet unfamiliar with seine-nets. For making nets, they use nettle-fibre, which they spin in a primitive and imperfect manner.

286 226 177 On the Gishiga River the Russian settlers employ seines and other nets, which they make of imported Russian or oftener American twine. They are organized in artels.[1] From three to five families join forces, each procuring one net or part of the seine, about sixteen or eighteen metres in length, and from four to five metres in width. Such a net is from fifty-five to seventy meshes in width, and every side of a mesh measures from three and a half to five centimetres. To make a seine-net these separate nets are sewed together. The net, when in position, is about eighty metres long. For

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[1] Artel (артель) means in Russian a company of workers, also a gang of seiners.

177 sinkers, stones are employed, while the floats are made of wood or birch-bark. 226 A long seal-skin thong, the use of which has been borrowed by the Russian settlers from the Koryak, serves to set the net. At each end of the seine 286 this thong extends about fifteen metres. One end is left in the hands of the "shoremen," — that is, of the fishermen who remain on the bank of the river, — while the other end is kept in the boat in which the whole seine is placed. As the boat glides gradually away from the bank to the middle of the river, the seine is cast. Then the boat describes a semicircle against the current; then it turns slowly about towards the bank, the net having first been pursed. During this process the "shoremen", following the current, which carries along both the net and the boat, must move along the bank down the river. When the seine has been pursed, the oarsmen haul the boat ashore, and, with the help of the shoremen, gradually pull it in by both ends, and throw the fish into the boat after having stunned them with a club. The boats used by the Russians on the Gishiga River are of the Yukaghir type, and are made of poplar-wood.

[177]
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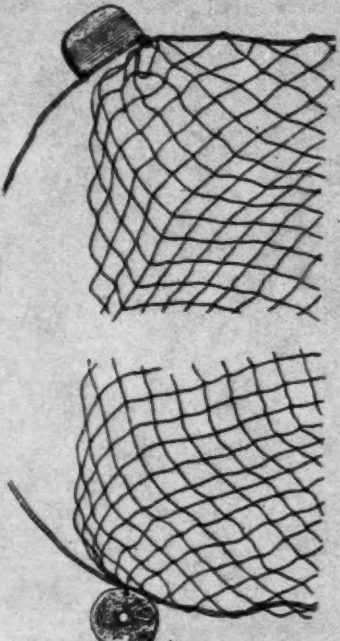


Fig. 70 ([illegible]). Outer End of Salmon-Net, with Swimmer and Sinker. Height of net, 180 cm.; diameter of sinker, 14 cm.; length of swimmer, 16.5 cm.

The Maritime Koryak have not adopted the seine-fishery of the Russian settlers. They use nets, — the same kind as they evidently employed before the arrival of the Russians, — tackle, hooks, harpoons, and traps.

Nets are made of nettle-fibre or sinew-thread. They are of the types of casting-nets, hand-nets, or dip-nets. Casting-nets for dog-salmon and humpback salmon (Fig. 70) are made of nettlethread. They are from twelve to fourteen metres in length; in width, from twenty-nine to thirty meshes, the sides of the meshes measuring from three to five centimetres. Disk-shaped sinkers are made of whale-vertebræ, and flat floats of drifted larch-wood are used. The thong to which the net is fastened is made of thong of the ringed-seal. The net is pushed into the water by means of a pole from twenty metres or more in length, (Plate XXVII, Fig. 2), made up of several pieces scarfed together, the joints being held by a winding of thong. 226 To push the net out, the end of the pole is placed in a loop in the thong, by

means of which a heavy stone anchor is attached to the lower corner of the 226
net. After the net has been pushed into the water, the pole is pulled back
and the shore end of the long top line from which the net is suspended is
tied to it. Some fishermen tie this end to a stake driven into the bank of
the river. The stone anchor is called čaqa'gin ("ground stone"); and the net,
lolai'pañin, which means "into the eyes enters [the fish]." This name points
to the casting of the net, because the fish becomes entangled in its meshes.

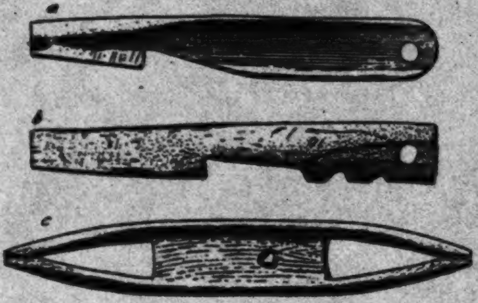


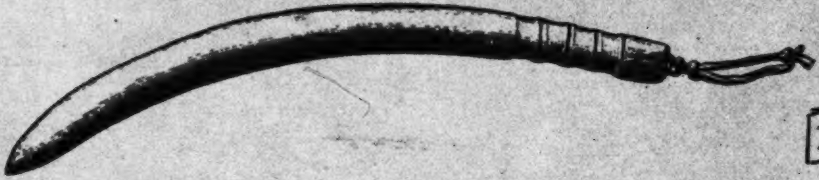
Fig. 71, a ([illegible]), b ([illegible]), Net-Measures; c, Netting-Needle. ½ nat. size.

The lolai'pañin nets are set
up along the seacoast as well
as in rivers, in the latter case
in quiet spots.

Measures for making this 286
kind of net, — one of bone
of whale, the other of the leg- 804
bone of the wild reindeer, —
and a wooden netting-needle, [412]
are shown in Fig. 71.

For catching the salveline
and grayling, nets of the same 286
type, made of nettle-thread, but
with meshes of smaller size, 226
with sinkers made of whale-
vertebræ and with wooden floats, are set in the rivers. The Reindeer Koryak, [462]
who fish the salveline and grayling in summer in the tributaries of the larger
mountain-streams, make their nets of sinew-thread, or buy nets made of
nettle-thread from the Maritime Koryak, whose women are experts in nettle-working.

The Palpal Reindeer Koryak, who fish dog-salmon, humpback salmon, 226
salveline, and rarely chawicha, in the Opuka, Po'qač, and Qayılın Rivers 237



[313]

Fig. 72 ([illegible]). Fish-Club. Length, 45 cm.

every summer, make nets principally of sinew-thread. The club for stunning
the fish (Fig. 72) is usually made of heavy stone-pine wood.

Fig. 73 represents a fyke for salveline, with hoops. It is netted of 226
nettle-thread. It is placed in shallow and swift places in the river. For this 286

226 286 purpose three stakes are driven into the bed of the river, to two of which the front sticks of the net are tied, so that the mouth of the double net is kept wide open, while the point of the net is tied to the third stake. Through the first funnel-shaped bag the fish is carried by the swift current into the second, closed bag, from which it cannot escape. The fish is taken out by untying the bottom of the net, and then shaking it out.

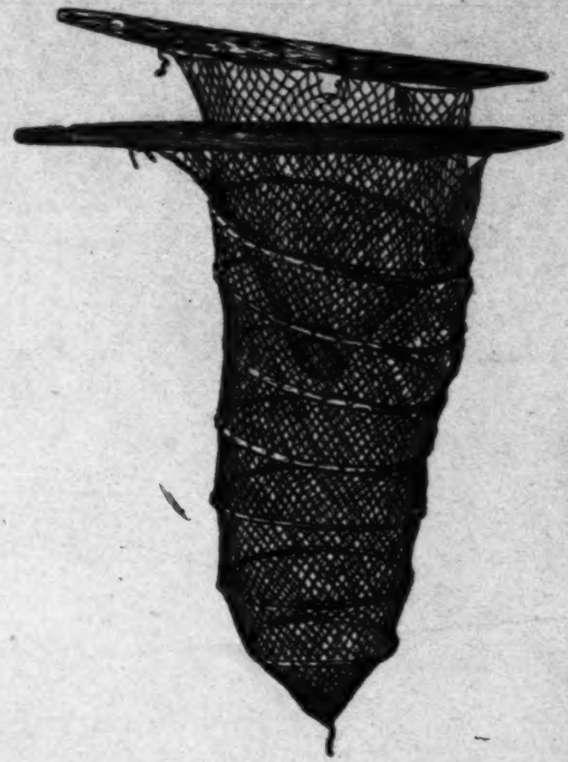


Fig. 73 ([illegible]). Fyke. Length of net, about 110 cm.

Fig. 74 represents a hand-net on a frame. As shown in the illustration, the net is strung on a stout thong which is attached to the frame, being held in place by being tied to it through a number of perforations. The free farther left-hand end of the thong passes through a perforation in a cross-bar of the frame, and it seems the net is pursed by letting go of this string. In the illustration the specimen is shown tied by strings to the cross-bar. These, however, are probably taken off when the net is in use. Plate XXVII, Fig. 2 shows how the Koryak, standing in the water, hold the hand-net. The photograph from which it was made was taken on the sea-shore, near the mouth of the Ovekova River. Just before the tide begins to come in, the dog-salmon gather near the mouth of the river, ready to enter with the tide, and in such numbers that large quantities are caught even with hand-nets. During low tide the mouth of the river dries up. Only shallow rivulets remain, through which the river-water flows into the sea. A number of families of the Taigonos Reindeer

226 286 Koryak and nomadic Tungus fish at the mouth of the Ovekova River every summer. The hand-net is netted of nettle-thread, and is called krivda (кривда) by the Russians, and čoḷpt'na by the Koryak.

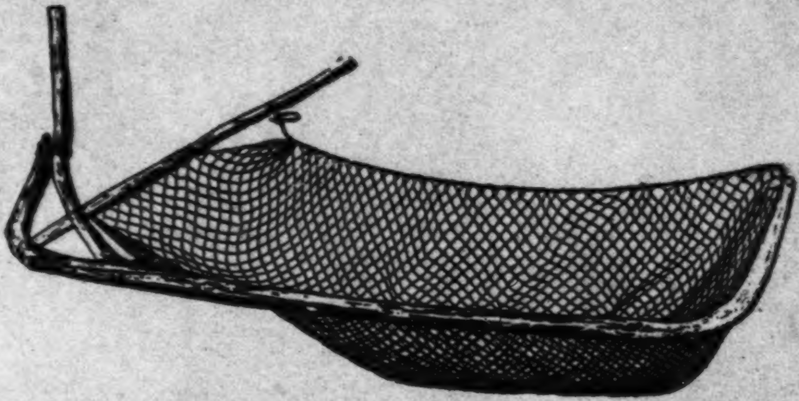


Fig. 74 ([illegible]). Hand-Net. Length, 180 cm.

The Russianized Koryak at the mouth of the Nayakhan River employ a bag-shaped hand-net, one half of the opening of which is tied at its ends to a pole. The fisherman, standing up to his knees in water, drops the net into the river, while holding the free end of the pole with [237] his hands. The Koryak make a hand-net of reindeer-sinew for the purpose of catching tom-cod in small rivers. When it is in use, one fisherman stands in the water and holds the net, while another drives the fish into it.

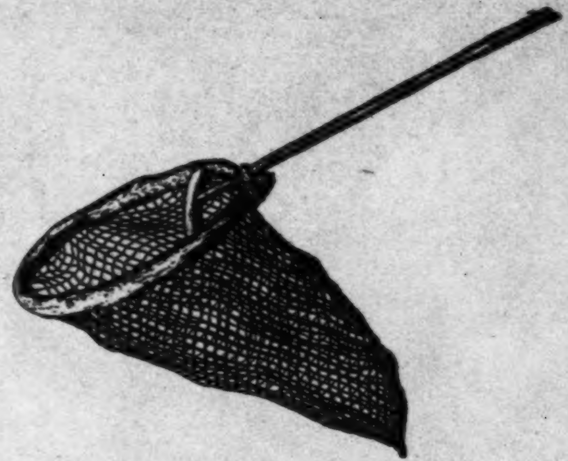


Fig. 75 ([illegible]). Scoop-Net. Longest diameter of hoop, 48 cm.

Fig. 75 represents a scoop-net for *Salmo socialis* and herring. The fish are simply scooped up with it. *Salmo socialis* comes in such dense

226 masses, that every time the net is dipped into the water and hauled out
286 again, it is full of fish. As stated before, however, the run of *Salmo socialis* does not last more than about seven days. In the years when herring enter the mouths of Koryak rivers, that fish is also quite numerous, but it does not come in such masses as *Salmo socialis*.

227 In Fig. 76, *a* and *b* represent fishing-tackle for catching tom-cod in

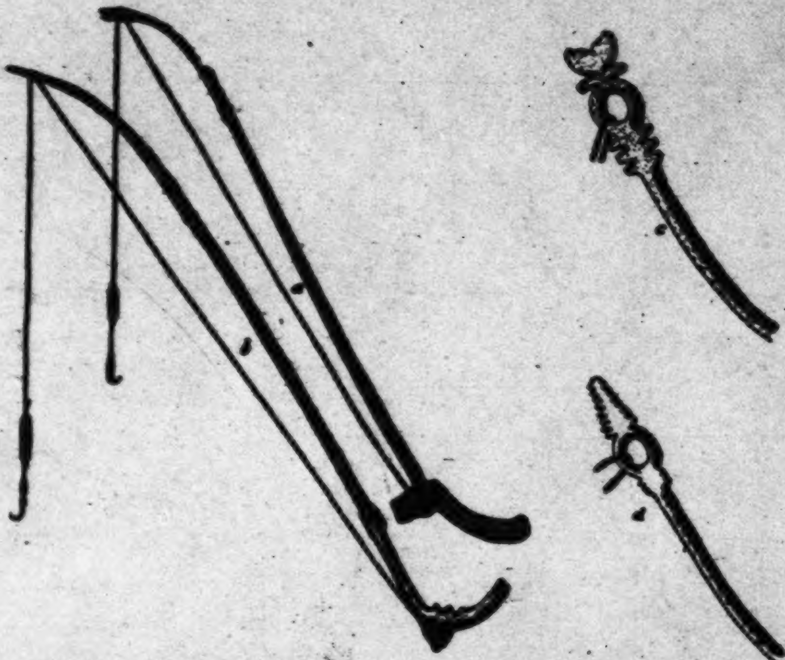


Fig. 76, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), Fishing-Tackle; *c*, *d*, Ends of *a* and *b* enlarged. Length of rods, [illegible] cm.

winter through ice-holes in the mouths of rivers and in bays: *a* was obtained
[237]' in the village Kuel; *b*, in the village Itkana. The fishing-tackle consists of a wooden rod, a wooden or bone handle, a curved tip prettily carved out of reindeer-antler, and a fish-line twisted of thread made of the sinew of the white whale. The fish-line with hook and sinker is passed through a hole made in the upper bone end of the rod (Fig. 76, *c* and *d*). The other end of the line is wound around the projection on the handle, and is paid out as needed; and in this way the angler, without rising from his place or moving the fishing-rod, can pull his line out from the ice-hole, with the fish

227 caught.[1] The sinker is now made of lead, and the hook of iron; but in olden times the sinker was of stone, and the hook of bone. Plate XXVIII, Fig. 1, represents a Koryak girl, muffled up in a winter overcoat, sitting with fishing-tackle on a bag spread out by the ice-hole. Near by lie a pile of tom-cod, a club for stunning the fish, and a ladle or shovel for clearing the ice-hole from ice.

[237] In Fig. 77 *a*, is illustrated such a shovel made of deer-antler, and fastened to a stick by means of thongs. The length of the handle enables

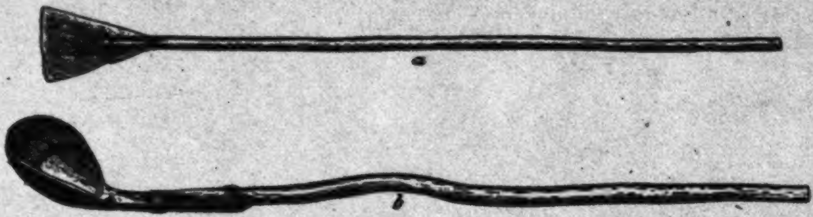


Fig. 77, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Ice-Scoops. Length 94 cm., 103 cm.

the angler to clear the ice-hole without leaving his position. Fig. 77 *b*,
represents a ladle made of the horn of a mountain-sheep, which is sometimes
used instead of a shovel. The catch of tom-cod from under ice is particularly
[462] abundant in the mouths of rivers in the beginning of winter. Women, girls,
and boys engage in angling. Thickly studded with ice-holes, and muffled
figures sitting near them, the river presents an odd appearance. At Itkana,
in the fall, men too engage in fishing tom-cod, which is then particularly
abundant in Itkana Bay.

Fig. 78 shows a tackle used for the salveline and grayling. The line is twisted of sinew-thread. Another hook used for flounder, cod, and sculpin, has a stone sinker and a bone barb.

226 Fig. 79 shows an iron hook (kıyı'ki) for dog-salmon. Its lower end is
227 tied with a strip of skin to a long pole. When the sharp end of the hook
has caught the fish, the hook slips off from the pole after the manner of a
harpoon, and remains hanging on a long line, the end of which is shown in
the illustration. Such hooks are widely used by the Tungus, from whom I
believe the Koryak have borrowed them. On Plate XXVII, Fig. 2, is shown
a boy with such a hook, on the seashore. A similar hook of smaller size is
[172] used by the Koryak for salveline. In olden times the Koryak employed
bone hooks and barbed harpoons to catch fish. In excavating ancient under-
ground houses I found fragments of such implements.

221. The Maritime Koryak build hardly any weirs (ai'pai), nor do they set

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[1] A somewhat similar contrivance is found in the fishing-tackle of the Alaskan Eskimo (cf. Nelson, p. 175).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXVIII.

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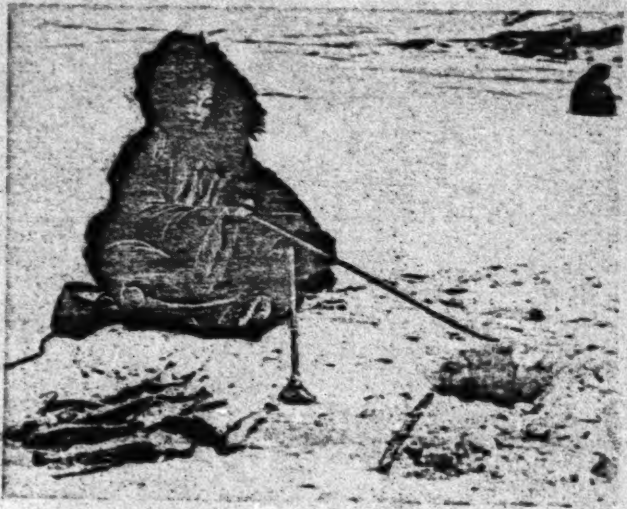

Fig. 1. Woman Fishing.

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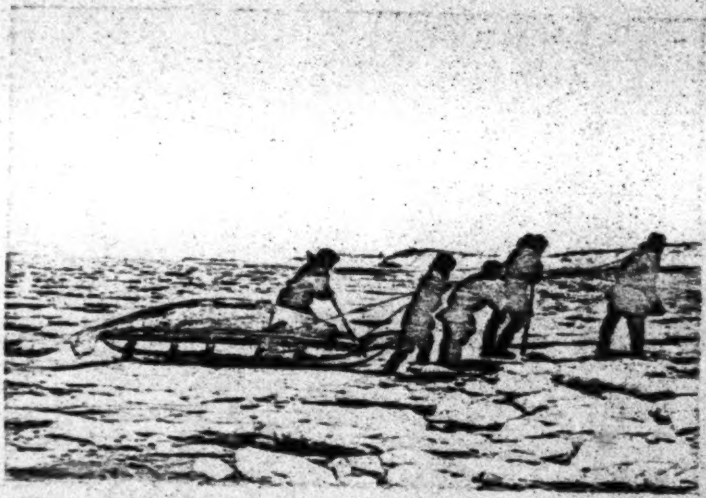

Fig. 2. Hunters bringing in White Whale.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 533]

226 traps made of willow. In the sea and in the lower parts of rivers this method of fishing is impracticable, but in mountain-rivers traps and weirs are employed by the Reindeer Koryak.

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Boats. — Before entering upon a description of the method of hunting sea-mammals, it will be well to describe the boats employed by the Koryak, as they are indispensable in sea-hunting.

Skin Boats. — The skin boat of the Koryak (Russian, baydara; Koryak, ga'twaat or ne'lge ga'twaat; literally, "of hide a boat") is constructed after the type of the Aleut, Eskimo, and Chukchee skin boat. A wooden frame, lashed together with thong and therefore possessing great elasticity, is covered with seal or walrus skin. The Koryak skin boat is distinguished from the others by several peculiarities of form and construction of the frame. In proportion to its length, it is very wide; and at both ends of the frame, bows are tied to the rails of the boat, giving both prow and stern a semi-circular shape (Fig. 80), while in the Chukchee and Eskimo skin boats the ends of the rails, converging at the prow and stern, are joined by cross-bars only.[1]

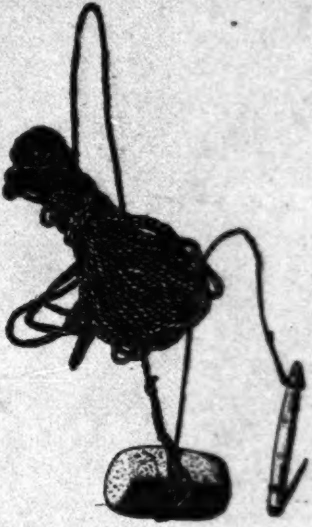

Fig. 78 ([illegible]). Fishing-Tackle. Length of hook, 6.4 cm.

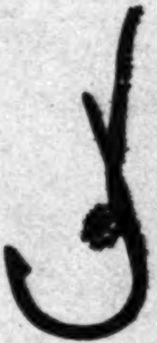

Fig. 79 ([illegible]). Fish-Hook made of Iron. Length, 12 cm.

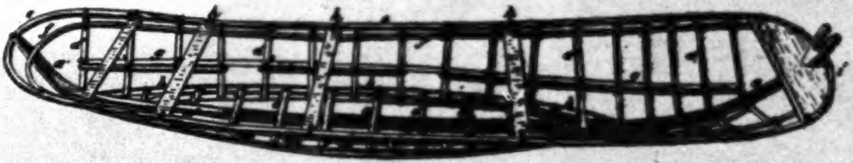

Fig. 80. Frame of Boat (drawn from a model, [illegible]). Length of model, 105 cm.

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[1] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 128; Nelson, Plate LXXIII, Fig. 38.

The keel or central timber (ĕr'laq, "backbone"), shown in *a*, is made of a single long timber bent upward in the direction of the prow, after the fashion of a sledge-runner. The fore-end of the prow terminates in a fork, through which the harpoon-line is passed when the harpoon is hurled at a sea-mammal. Sometimes this fork, on which a human face is carved to serve as a protector for the boat, is made of a separate piece of wood, and is tied with thongs to the upturned fore-end of the keel. At the stern the central timber is turned up at an angle (*a'*). Generally the stern post is made separately, of the lower part of a tree and its root, which join at a right or obtuse angle, according to the kind of tree selected. The bent stern post is then fastened to the central timber by means of thongs, which pass through drilled holes. The bottom of the skin boat is formed by the flat part of the central timber and the lateral curved double beams on either side (*b*), the ends of which are fastened to the central timber aft at the angle of the stern, and forward at the place where the keel begins to curve upwards. To the flat bottom of the frame belong also the cross-bars (*c*), which are fastened by thongs passing through holes in the central timber (*a*) and the two side-beams (*b*).

The sides of the boat are formed, in the first place, by the ribs (*d*). The mid-ribs passing from the curved side-beam (*b*) are shorter than the ribs which issue immediately from the central timber (*a*) near the prow. These also form a more obtuse angle with the bottom than do the mid-ribs. The ribs are fastened with thongs to the curved lateral bottom beams (*b*) of the boat on its inner side, and to the central timber and to the gunwales (*e*) on the outside. The wooden frame is further strengthened by the rails (*f*), which run along under the gunwales, and are fastened to the inside of the ribs, and the double longitudinal cleats (*g*), which are fastened to the ribs both on the inside and on the outside. The outer cleat is of one piece; while the inner one consists of separate pieces, and is not continuous. They serve both to strengthen the frame and as steps to avoid treading on the skin covering while boarding the boat, and to prevent the cargo from pressing against it. Both forward and aft a bow is attached to the rails (*f*), which rests on the inner side of the frame, against the upturned central timber. Thwarts for the oarsmen (*h*) rest on the rails (*f*), and are tied with thongs to the gunwales (*e*). At the prow and stern semicircular boards also rest on the rails (*f*). They are tied to the bows of the gunwale. At the stern this board serves as a seat for the steersman, while that at the prow (*i*) is the seat of the harpooneer. The model represented in Fig. 80 has the following measurements: —

Greatest width of front board (*i*)	22.0 cm.
Greatest width (19 cm. aft from the stem)	26.5 cm.
Width at 1st thwart	26.3 cm.
Width at 2d thwart	15.0 cm.

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Width at 3d thwart	23.0 cm.
Width at stern thwart	21.0 cm.
Length from stern rib (*d'*) to main rib (*d"*)	69.0 cm.
Greatest width of bottom	14.0 cm
Height from main beam to thwart	8.0 cm.

A boat in the village of Kuel that was considered large, which I measured, had a length of nine metres, and a maximum width between the gunwales of two metres and a half. The maximum width was not in the middle, but nearer to the stern. The Koryak boats of Penshina Bay are considerably wider in proportion to their length than the Chukchee[1] and Eskimo boats. The boat mentioned by me had thirty ribs on each side, approximately twenty-five centimetres apart. The usual number of thwarts is four or five for eight or ten oarsmen, — two oarsmen to each bench. Men as well as women row. The thwarts are mostly situated aft, leaving the forward part free. The freight is placed in the middle of the boat, for which purpose the thwarts are far apart at that place. The prow, where the ribs are fastened to the central timber, is somewhat narrower than the stern part, and the prow is a little higher than the stern. In Kamenskoye the prow projects upward more (see Part I, Plate VII, opp. p. 80) than in the boats on the Paren, where the model was made from which Fig. 80 was drawn.

501 281 On the coast of Bering Sea, boats are covered with walrus-hide; on the coast of Okhotsk Sea, owing to the absence of the walrus there, the boats are covered with skins of the thong-seal. The skin of the walrus is first split, as it is too thick. At present, even in Bering Sea, the practice of covering boats with the skins of thong-seals is spreading, largely owing to the disappearance of the walrus. The skins of the thong-seal are dressed and the hair is removed. The cover is sewed together with very close stitches. Before being drawn over the frame, it is soaked in the river or in the sea. Then it is pulled over the frame so that the edges extend upward over the gunwale. Then the edges are folded over the gunwale. Not far from the edge a number of slits are made, through which stout thongs are passed by means of which the cover is tied to the rails (*f*)[2] (see Figs. 81 and 82). After the cover has been put on, the boat is turned upside down and dried, so that the contracting cover presses the wooden frame tightly together. Then the seams are filled with fat, and the whole cover is greased with seal-oil, so that it may not get wet in the water, and the skin boat is launched into the sea.[3] Fig. 81, drawn from a model, represents the side-view of a skin boat 501 with cover on. The oars have long rounded blades. Instead of the rowlock,

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[1] The exact measurements of the length and maximum width of the large Chukchee skin boat brought by Mr. Bogoras are 11.5 metres and 1.5 metres respectively (cf. Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 127).

[2] Compare the same process in Boas, Central Eskimo, Fig. 480, p. 528.

[3] On the festival of the launching of the skin boat, see Part I, p. 79.

they have an ingenious device, which is also found among the Central Eskimo.[1] 501 The oar is placed in two crossing thong loops, which are attached to the rails. To prevent the oar from slipping in the loops, it has two wooden projections with notches, into which the loops are laid. One loop lies in the upper, the other in the lower notch. The loops are fastened to wooden guards, which cover the gunwale and protect the skin from the friction of the oars (Fig. 82). Among the Eskimo the guards are made of bone.[2]

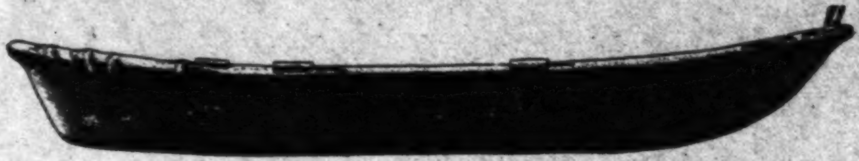

Fig. 81 ([illegible]). Model of Boat. Length, 105 cm.

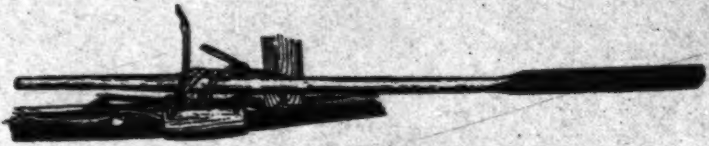

Fig. 82. Details of Rowlock (from a model, [illegible]).

The Koryak have not as yet adopted the rudder, but steer with an oar. The blade of the stern oar is shorter but wider than the blades of the ordinary oars. Usually one half of the blade of the stern oar is made of bone of whale, [321] which is sewed to the wooden half by means of small thongs.

The Koryak are better sailors than the Kamchadal, but still they cannot 502 be called real seamen. They do not undertake long voyages, and rarely sail far away from the shores. In summer they often cross Penshina Bay (the inhabitants of Kamenskoye sometimes sail on to the Itkana), but such trips are made in calm weather only. With all their elasticity, the skin boats cannot withstand stormy seas. In times of stormy or foggy weather the men do not venture out, because the danger of tearing the skin cover on rocks is too great. When a rent of considerable size is torn in the skin cover, the boat sinks instantly. Small holes or openings that are caused during the voyage, near the water-line, are caulked with grease, and the travellers try to reach the shore as quickly as possible. Wooden scoops are employed for bailing out the water.

The Koryak have a rectangular sail made of dressed reindeer-skins sewed 000

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[1] Compare Boas, Central Eskimo, Fig. 481, p. 528.

[2] Compare Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 529.

501 The Koryak have a rectangular sail made of dressed reindeer-skins sewed together. Instead of a mast, they employ a more primitive contrivance. 281 Three long poles are tied together at one end with a thong which passes through drill-holes, and are set up in the manner of a tripod. On one side the whole length of the sail is sewed to a yard the middle of which is slung from the top of the tripod by means of a stout thong. The tripod is set up in the middle of the boat by tying both ends of two of the poles to the ribs on one side of the boat, while the third pole is fastened on the other side of the boat. The sail can revolve around the top of the tripod, and is set in the direction required by the wind by means of braces and sheets made of thong, which are fastened to the rails (Fig. 80, *f*).

The care of the skin boats is the same everywhere. On returning to shore from a trip, the boat is pulled ashore and turned bottom up to let the skin dry. After a few days, when it is dry, it is oiled anew. About the middle of October, when the hunting-season is over, the boat is taken out of the water, the skin cover is taken off, and, when completely dry, is put away for the winter in a storehouse,[1] that the dogs may not get access to it. I have been told that the people of Karaga and Kičhin, on Bering Sea, do not remove the walrus-skin cover from the frame for the winter, but turn the boat keel upwards and hang it on posts, that the dogs may not get at it.

501 The Koryak skin boat can carry fairly heavy loads. In the autumn of 1900 we crossed in two boats from the settlement of Paren to Kuel. As the 505 former place is about seven miles from the mouth of the Paren River, the boats entered the river at high tide, and with the ebb-tide we sailed out into the open sea. We carried about two thousand pounds of cargo, and our party consisted of twenty-five members, — myself with four companions, and ten Koryak to each boat. In each boat there were eight oarsmen, among whom were women and lads. In addition, each boat carried eight dogs in harness, which lay in the stern. Notwithstanding this heavy load, the boats were not more than half in the water. We went on fairly fast, and covered a distance of twenty miles in three hours and a half. When we had turned the islets and the rocky shore at the mouth of the river, and had reached a low strip of coast covered with sticky clay, which had run dry with the receding tide, the skin boats approached the shore. The dogs were taken ashore and harnessed to the sides of the boats. They were driven by two lads, who ran behind them on shore. The oars were laid along the sides of the boat inside. The steersmen alone directed the boats so as to keep them within from six to nine metres from shore. Whenever a stone or a drift-log would catch the traces, the drivers would clear them.

501 511 422 Not all families possess boats, as this involves a great outlay of seal-skins, which are needed for clothing, barter, sale, and fur-tribute (yasa'k). Only

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[1] See Plate XXI, Fig. 1. The skin cover is hung up near the storehouse, to be put away when dry.

good hunters, or families to which several hunters belong, can keep boats. 422
Every year the cover of the skin boat requires mending, and must be replaced 511
in parts. A large boat requires from fifteen to twenty seal-skins, each of 501
which has a market-value of from five to six rubles. The ratio of the number 435
of families possessing a skin boat to the number of those without one is not
the same everywhere. For instance, on the Itkana, out of seventeen families,
eight had no boats; while in Kamenskoye out of thirty, nine had none. The
hunters of families without boats go hunting with the owners of boats, and
then share the game with them.[1]

Kayaks. — Small skin boats for one man are made by the Koryak of 501
Penshina Bay. They are of the kayak type, like those of the Aleuts and of 171
the Eskimo from Greenland to Alaska. Mr. Bogoras says that kayaks are
unknown among the Chukchee on the coast of the Pacific Ocean.[2] The
Koryak kayak (mưto) differs from that of the western Eskimo in some respects.
It is shorter; the round manhole is not covered, and occupies the entire width;
and prow and stern are of the same shape (Fig. 83). The skeleton of the 501
kayak is made as follows: A strip of wood curved upward somewhat both fore and aft serves as the "keel." To both ends of the keel the ends of curved poles, which serve as rails, are tied with thongs. As the keel is curved in a vertical plane, with its convex side downward, while both rails are in a horizontal plane, the rails lie on a level with the keel only at their points of junction, while at all other points the rails lie higher than the keel. For

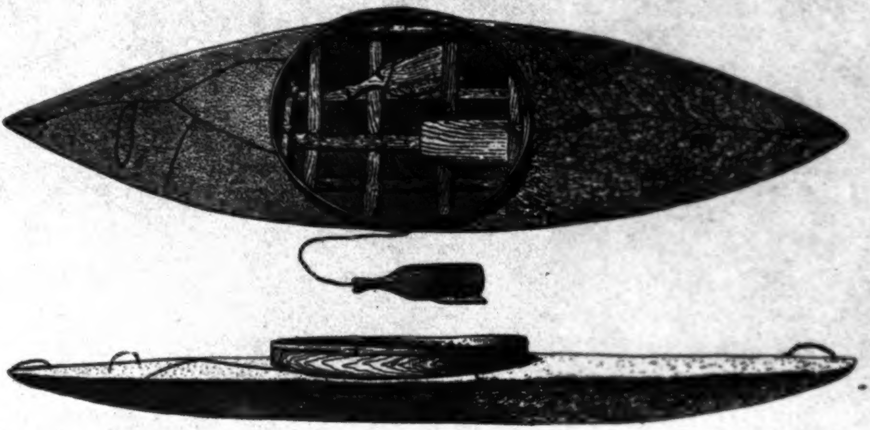

Fig 83 ([illegible]). Kayak, Top and Side View. Length, 269 cm.; width, 75 cm.; height, 28 cm.; weight, 32 lbs.

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[1] See Chapter XIII.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 136.

501 this reason the ribs which join keel and rails slant upward. Thus the cross-section of the bottom of the kayak has the form of an obtuse angle. Thin boards fastened with thongs to the inner sides of the ribs, and running the full length of the kayak, between the rails and the keel, give additional strength. The deck is formed by cross-bars running from one rail to the other. The manhole is near the middle of the deck, which is also strengthened by longitudinal strips. The manhole is formed by an oval hoop. A
[281] broad board lying at the bottom of the boat under the rear end of the manhole serves as a seat, which is usually covered with a piece of sealskin. Like the skin boat, the kayak is covered with thong-seal skins. Ordinarily two skins, the hair of which is not always removed, are sufficient. After the kayak has been covered with skin, the manhole is placed in position. The cover is so cut at the manhole as to leave enough material to turn in the edges, which are sewed around the hoop by means of thongs.

The kayak is very light, so that it can easily be lifted with one hand. The weight of one is 32 pounds. Its length is 269 cm. and its maximum width (i. e., the diameter of the manhole) is 75 cm. Its height is 28 cm.

Near the prow and the stern of the kayak, skin handles are sewed for pulling it out of the water, either upon shore or upon floating ice, or for carrying it across promontories. In certain settlements only a double-bladed oar, like that of the Eskimo, is used with these kayaks. It is held with both hands, in the middle, and the two terminal blades are used alternately. In Itkana and Paren two paddles with short handles are used, the blades of which have on one side pieces of bone of whale sewed on, which look like fins. These small oars are 41 cm. in length. They are tied to the rim of the manhole with a thong one metre in length, so that they can be dropped into the water or placed within the kayak while casting the harpoon or while shooting. With these short paddles they row alternately with right and left hand, bringing their hands down almost to the level of the water.

501 Sitting in the manhole, the hunter can stretch his feet under the deck of the kayak. In the kayak he places the harpoon-heads, the throwing-board,
225 the bag with the harpoon-line, and his arrows. In the hold of the kayak are kept the harpoon-shaft, spears, and gun. When making ready for an attack on sea-animals, the hunter places the harpoon on deck, first thrusting the end of the shaft into a skin loop which is sewed to the deck of the kayak near the prow.

502 The progress of the kayak in calm weather is extremely fast; but its use is not without danger, as it is easily upset by wind or waves, and it is necessary to balance it carefully while paddling. In stormy weather the Koryak do not venture upon the sea in kayaks.

501 *Dug-Outs.* — In the settlement of Kamenskoye and in northern Kam-
322 chatka dug-out canoes are also used, like those employed by the Yukaghir

and Kamchadal, who have no skin boats. These canoes are called struzhok (стружокъ) by the Russians, and yañča′atwat or yañrya′atwat by the Koryak. They are hollowed out of poplar or aspen trunks by means of an adze, and are so well made that they are not heavier than skin canoes.[1] The dug-out is propelled with a double-bladed paddle, while in shallow and rapid rivers it is punted with two short poles. The dug-out is rather a river-boat; but the inhabitants of Kamenskoye, and the maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka, go out in them on the bays to hunt seals, like the Kamchadal. 501 322

Another kind of dug-out, but for river use exclusively, is that called bat (батъ) by the Russians, or eḷḷi′ut by the Koryak. It is about twelve metres long, or longer, narrow, and heavy, roughly hewn, and hollowed like a trough. It is in use also among the Kamchadal, but is not met with among the Yukaghir. This boat is used mainly for crossing rivers and for trips up and down rivers. It is built for two persons on the prow and one at the stern, who use long poles for punting. When fish are caught on the bank opposite a village, they are taken across in such boats. For ferrying cargoes and men across the river or floating them down the river, a catamaran is made of two such boats, which are joined by means of a bridge (Fig. 84). A double boat of this kind is very convenient for freighting, and is quite safe. Whenever the Koryak fish in the river, above their village, they descend with their families and their catch in such crafts when the fishing is over. 501

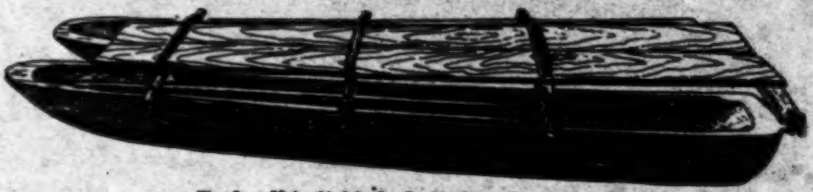

Fig. 84 ([illegible]). Model of a Double Boat. Length, 61 cm.

Hunting of Sea-Mammals. — Among the palæasiatic tribes, the sedentary Yukaghir alone live by fishing exclusively. The Kamchadal engage in fishing principally, and hunt very little for sea-mammals. Among the Maritime Koryak, as among the Gilyak, the hunting of sea-mammals is of great importance, although at present in most of the Koryak settlements fish is a more important staple food than sea-mammals. In former times the hunt for sea-mammals was more important among the Koryak than it is at present. Like the Eskimo, the Maritime Chukchee continue to hunt principally sea-mammals, and fishing plays a secondary rôle in their household economy. 225 171

Seal-Hunting. — Seal is the mammal most extensively hunted, especially 000

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[1] Further details concerning dug-out canoes will be found in the monograph on the Yukaghir.

225 136 Seal-Hunting.—Seal is the mammal most extensively hunted, especially in Penshina Bay. The following species are found in Koryak waters: (1) ground-seal, or bearded seal (*Erignatus barbatus;* Koryak, mémel; Russian, nerpa or lakhtak), the largest of seals, measuring from 2 metres to 2.6 metres in length; (2) spotted seal or Okhotsk seal (*Phoca Ochotensis;* Koryak, keli'lın; Russian, larga); (3) ringed-seal (*Phoca hispida;* Koryak, wı'twıt; Russian, akipa), the smallest of seals; and (4) ribbon-seal (*Histriophoca fasciata;* Koryak, eŋgı'es; Russian, krylata). The last-named seal inhabits only Bering Sea; but an old man from the settlement Kuel told me that once he had caught a ribbon-seal which had incidentally entered Penshina Bay.

Ground-seal and ringed-seal are hunted the greater part of the year, except during the winter months. When the coast-ice breaks up, early in June, and the rivers carry masses of ice into the sea, thong-seals and ringed-seals are fond of lying on ice-floes, on which they are killed from skin boats and kayaks. When the river-banks are clear of ice, the thong-seals like to go ashore in bays and river-mouths and bask in the sunshine, or they lie on the banks after high tide. But the principal hunting-season for thong and 221 ringed seals is in autumn, — in September and in the beginning of October. 225 Then the seals enter the river-estuaries, evidently in the wake of the fish which ascend the rivers to winter there. In autumn, when the coast-ice begins to form in the gulfs, thong and ringed seals again enjoy floating on ice torn away from the coast by the tide or the wind.

The spotted seal appears early in June, soon after the rivers are clear of ice, near the shores, and enters the estuaries, ascending in small numbers with the flood-tide, and returning with the ebb-tide; but with the beginning of the dog-salmon run, after the 14th of July, the spotted seal, at flood-tide, follows the salmon into the rivers in shoals, in pursuit of the fish, which, in their endeavors to escape them, jump out of the water. Here and there the seals are seen thrusting their heads out of the water, quite often holding a fish in the mouth. In the month of June, when the run of the dog-salmon begins, I made a boat journey from the Gishiga River to the Nayakhan River, and saw all the rocks in this part of Gishiga Bay covered with spotted seals basking in the sun. We approached in our boat quite close to these little islands. Though the sea was perfectly calm, the incessant deafening cries of seabirds, particularly of the numerous varieties of gulls, drowned the noise of the oars, and the seals noticed us only when we were at a distance of some thirty metres from them. As soon as they saw us, however, in an instant they rolled, grunting, off the rocks into the sea. In autumn the spotted seal leaves the coast. The main hunting-season thus coincides with the run of the dog-salmon.

In winter, beginning with the middle of October, the hunting of seals ceases. The Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay and Bering Sea do not resort to the method practised by the Eskimo, Chukchee, and also by those Gilyak who live between the mouth of the Amur and Saghalin, of watching for 221 seals on the ice near the breathing-holes, or of placing nets near these holes. 225 The sea does not freeze over in winter to any extent, and the narrow strip of coast ice is often torn away by the wind. The violent winds of winter and the floating ice make trips in boats in winter dangerous or impossible. For this reason there is no seal-hunting in winter either in the open sea or on the ice. It is only by chance that every now and then a thong or ringed seal is killed that goes astray on the coast ice or crosses over an isthmus between two bays. In Gishiga Bay, where many coves freeze over to a much greater extent than the open coasts of Penshina Bay, seal-hunting in winter at breathing-holes would probably be possible. In excavating old [172 underground houses of the Maritime Koryak south of Gishiga I found, among other fragments of bone implements, a round piece of antler of a fawn. According to my Russianized Koryak companions, it might have served as an ice-scratcher, such as are employed by the Chukchee and Eskimo in seal-hunting in winter.[1] At the present time, with the exception of the Russianized Koryak of the settlement Nayakhan, there are no Koryak villages on the coast of Gishiga Bay; while the Russians and the Russianized Koryak hunt for sea-mammals only incidentally, even in summer.

At present, guns, nets, and harpoons are employed in hunting thong-seal. 177 Though guns, as will be seen later, are nowadays common enough among 225 the Koryak, they are used but little in seal-hunting. In deep water a seal, if it is not very fat, sinks immediately when killed by a bullet; if only wounded, it escapes. In shallow water, when hunted with the gun, it must be killed on the spot, else the wounded seal will succeed in getting away to the sea. Not infrequently even a seal killed outright is carried out to sea by the current of the river or by the tide, and cannot be found after the water has receded.

When detained by a gale in Atykino Bay[2] for five days, we hit spotted seals many a time with our Winchester and Berdan rifles, but only two of them were found at low water. The gun is of service only when the seal is ashore and far away from water.

In summer and autumn, when seals enter the river-mouths and bays, 225 they are hunted with nets. In autumn, seal-nets are set up mainly to catch 237 thong-seals. The net is netted of thongs made of the hide of thong-seals. Fig. 85, *c* shows three meshes of such a net and the method of making the knots. The length of the side of a mesh is 23 cm.; the length of the whole net, 13 metres; its height, 14 meshes. These nets are placed in riverestuaries or on the beach. They are set at low tide by driving into the ground a row of stakes (Fig. 85, *b*), to which the nets are tied. The floats (Fig. 85, *a*,

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 38, *b*, *c*, p. 199.

[2] Atykino Bay lies midway between the mouths of Gishiga and Nayakhan Rivers (See Plate XXIX, Fig. 2).

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225 are made of wood. Thong-seals become entangled in the nets when returning to the sea at ebb-tide. The hunters go to the nets before low water, and with bone mallets or clubs hit head and nose of the seals that are entangled in the meshes.

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[177]

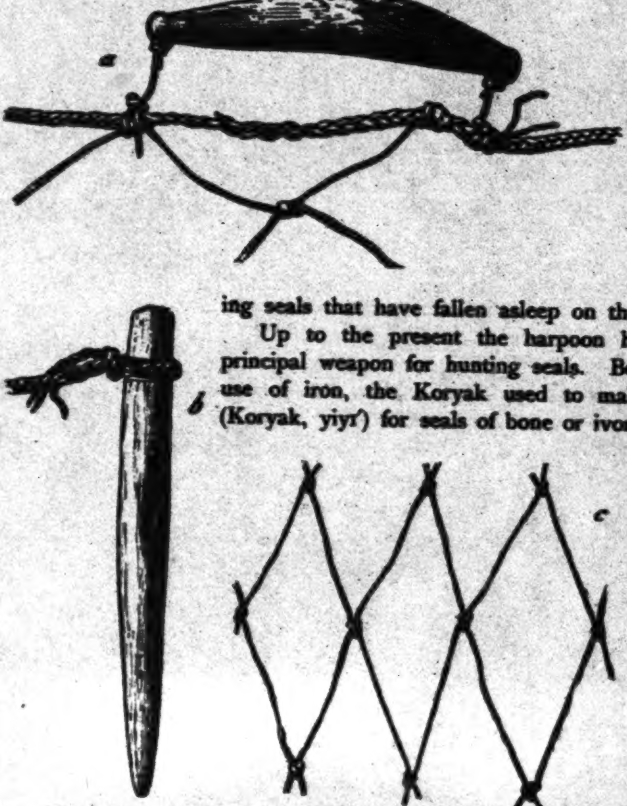

Fig. 85 ([illegible]). Details of Seal-Net. Size of mesh, 47 cm. *a*, Swimmer; *b*, Stake; *c*, Part of net.

Fig. 86 represents a mallet used for stunning seals. It is made of bone of whale, and the handle is of wood. Its length is 52 cm. This mallet is also used for killing seals that have fallen asleep on the shore.

Up to the present the harpoon has remained the principal weapon for hunting seals. Before learning the use of iron, the Koryak used to make harpoon-heads (Koryak, yiyr') for seals of bone or ivory. Fig. 32, *a–c*, given by Mr. Bogoras,[1] represent types of harpoons similar to those of the Eskimo. Closely related to these is the type of Koryak harpoon shown in Fig. 87, *c*, and in Fig. 92. The principle of both of these specimens is the same as that of the Eskimo harpoon-head with blade parallel to the barbs. The back of the large harpoon-head is slightly keeled, and the barb is strongly curved and provided with a notch. An ornamented specimen of this kind is shown in Fig. 191, *c*. It is a characteristic trait of these specimens that the loop by which the harpoon-

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 116.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

point is attached to the line is tied firmly to the foreshaft. In all specimens 411
the barb of the harpoon-point is held to the foreshaft by a loop which 225
passes over the harpoon-head and over the thong loop by means of which the harpoon-head is attached to the harpoon-line. The latter loop is also attached to the foreshaft, which has a perforation for this purpose near its lower end. When the harpoon strikes the animal, the small loop which holds the barb to the foreshaft slipps off and the toggle-head comes off; without, however, being disengaged from the foreshaft, to which it is held by the small loop which passes through the perforation near the base. Two of the small harpoons here described have a screw cut into the base, evidently to give to the point a better hold in the end of the harpoon. The occurrence of the screw in [171]
this position is interesting when compared to the screw devices used by the Eskimo in similar positions.[1]

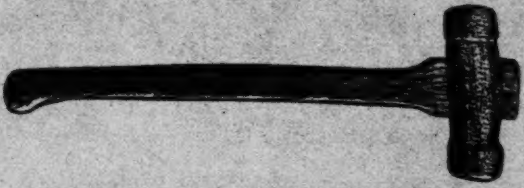

Fig. 86 ([illegible]). Mallet for stunning Seals. Length, 52 cm.

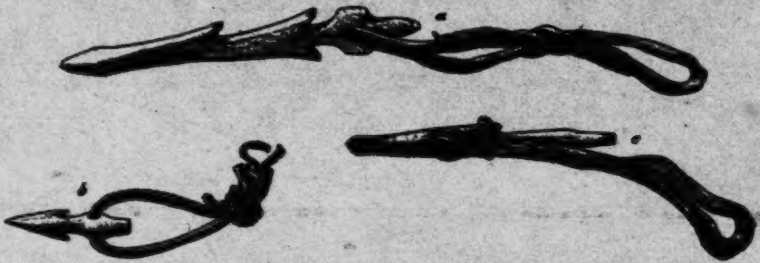

Fig. 87. Harpoon-Heads. *a* ([illegible]), Barbed bone harpoon (length of point, 16.5 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Small barbed bone point (length of point, 5.8 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Bone harpoon with iron blade and foreshaft (length of point, including foreshaft, 12 cm.).

The bone harpoon shown in Fig. 87, *a*, is evidently related to this type, from which it differs in not having a separate harpoon-head and foreshaft. It is evident, however, that the perforation at the base, through which the line loop passes, corresponds to the small perforation in the type of harpoon described before. The modern iron harpoon shown in Fig. 88, *c*, is closely related to the bone harpoon just described, from which it differs only in the arrangement of its barbs. To the same type belong the iron harpoons figured by Bogoras.[2]

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[1] See Globus, Vol. 79, p. 8; Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XV, p. 307.

[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 32, *f*, *g*, p. 116.

411 225 Related to this type are also the round barbed points shown in Fig. 87, *b*, and the one shown by Bogoras,[1] the attachment of which is the same as that of the preceding specimens, while the barbs are arranged symmetrically all around the round point. The model shown in Fig. 88, *a*, is an imitation of a harpoon that has been in use for some time among American whalers, and which is characterized by its movable hinged joint.

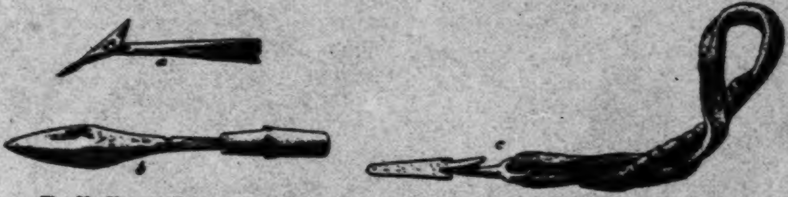

Fig. 88. Harpoon-Heads. *a* ([illegible]), Imitation of whaler's harpoon-head, of sheet-iron (length, 9.5 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Point of bone, with iron blade (length, 15 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Harpoon-point of iron (length, 9 cm.).

411 The use of the remaining specimens shown in Figs. 88 and 89 is not quite certain. Fig. 88, *b*, represents a head that has probably been used with an arrow or a lance. The base of the bone part is hollow for a distance of a little over one centimetre, and would fit the end of a wooden shaft. The four barbs on the bone end have their sharp points turned forward, and therefore do not hold the head in the wound, but would only tend to tear the sides of the wound. The two specimens shown in Fig. 89 also seem to be heads of arrows or lances.

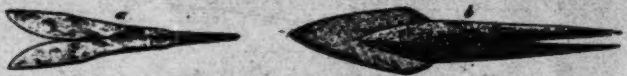

Fig. 89, *a* ([illegible]), Double-Pointed Arrow-Head made of Iron (length, 11 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Lance-Head of Bone and Iron (length, 17 cm.).

At present bone harpoon-heads are not infrequently made use of, but most heads are of iron or consist of two pieces, — an iron blade inserted into a bone point.

225 237 The harpoon-line, which is about 18 metres long, is made of the hide of a thong-seal. It is coiled up and kept in a small round basket woven of grass or nettle-thread. The free end of the line terminates in a loop. Before hurling the harpoon, the line is taken out of the basket, and the loop is put on the hunter's left hand; or it is tied to the stern of the skin boat, if the harpoon is cast from the boat.

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[1] The Chukchee, Vol VII of this series, Fig. 32, *i*, p. 116.

There are two kinds of harpoon-shafts, — the simple shaft (Fig. 90, *a*); and a longer one, used with a throwing-board (Fig. 90, *b*, *c*). It is curious that the Chukchee employ a throwing-board only for casting the bird-dart.[1] On the other hand, the Eskimo of Baffin Land and of Alaska make use of the throwing-board both for the seal-harpoon[2] and for the bird-dart. 411 225 [171]

The method of attaching the foreshaft and the harpoon-head to the harpoon-shaft is shown in Fig. 90, *a*. It will be noticed that the line passes through a loop which is inserted in the shaft near its point. The loop consists of a small strap, and is closed by a button. It will thus be seen that the harpoon-point, after the animal has been hit, remains attached to the short shaft, which acts as a drag and float.

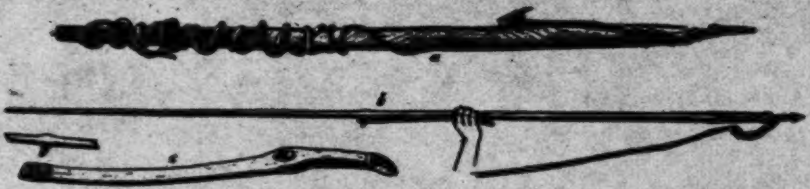

Fig. 90, *a* ([illegible]), Harpoon (length, 119 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Long Harpoon with Throwing-Board (length of harpoon, 211 cm.); *c* ([illegible] b), Throwing-Board (length, 45 cm.).

At its tip, the shaft of the long harpoon has a head made of bone of whale, with a hollow in its upper part, into which the lower end of the harpoon-head is inserted. The shaft tapers down to its butt-end. The throwing-board has two holes. Into one of these, in the handle part, the index-finger of the right hand is inserted; while into the other, in the back, is inserted a bone peg, which is driven into the harpoon-shaft a little behind the middle (Fig. 90, *c*). The thumb grasps the shaft on the left side, while the other three fingers support it lightly on the right. The bone peg is curved back somewhat toward the butt-end of the shaft to prevent it from slipping off the throwing-board by the weight of the forward part of the shaft and head. It is specially liable to do so, owing to the inclination of the harpoon when hurled from the skin boat. When the harpoon is hurled forward with great force, by means of the impetus given by the swing of the throwing-board, which acts against the peg, the hand quickly lets go the shaft and at once makes a backward movement. The peg is set free, the shaft with its head darts on in the desired direction, and the throwing-board remains in the hunter's hand. After the harpoon-head has been driven into the animal's body, the shaft is set free by the shock, and falls into the water, from which the hunters take it back after the animal has been killed. The seal immediately dives, drag-

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[1] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of the series, pp. 145, 146; Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 496.

[2] See Boas, Eskimo of Baffin Land, p. 80; Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, p. 136.

411 225 ging the line along, but the necessity of breathing compels it to emerge. Then the hunters endeavor to harpoon it again; but if the seal has been killed outright or severely wounded, it is dragged to the boat and lifted into it by means of hooks.

Whenever a hunter has caught a seal on shore, and has not succeeded in cutting off its retreat, he sends a harpoon after it without using a throwing-board. When hunting in kayaks, and in the pursuit of seals basking on ice-floes, both kinds of harpoons are employed, without the throwing-board, or with it; but the former method is in much more frequent use.

On floating ice, seals are hunted both at the beginning of summer and in autumn, when the ice, freezing near the shores, is torn off and carried out to sea. The hunters go out in a skin boat. On noticing one or more seals on a floe, one or more hunters are lowered into kayaks, and endeavor to approach the seal from under the wind, until within range of the harpoon. During this operation the hunters have bags made of the white skins of fawns over their heads and shoulders. If the seals notice the kayak, the hunter stops paddling and lets his white hood still farther down, so as to look like an ice-floe. As soon as the seals have become quiet, the hunter continues his approach. Grasping the harpoon with his right hand, ready for action, he tries at the same time to take hold of the floe, and to pull himself toward it with his left hand by means of a bone hook attached to a long pole (Fig. 91). In case the seal is asleep, the hunter may go up to the ice-floe in his skin boat, and even climb up from the kayak. In the same manner rocks and islands on which seals lie are approached in kayaks.

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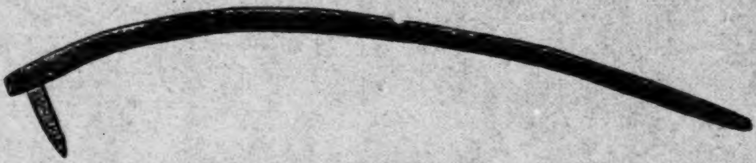

Fig. 91 ([illegible]). Ice-Hook. Length, 160 cm.

225 221 Hunters in kayaks cut off the retreat to the sea, of seals which have remained in shallow bays and river-estuaries during ebb-tide.

Winter supplies are principally obtained from the hunt in autumn. The seals caught from early until late in summer, and principally the spotted seals killed during the dog-salmon run, serve for immediate use only. It is impossible to lay by supplies at this season, because the meat decomposes rapidly. Besides, the seals are not very fat in summer.

During the fishing-season the hunters pay little attention to seal-hunting. They are too intent upon catching fish and preparing it for the winter supply. Besides, there is plenty of food in summer. It may happen that from a lean seal only the skin is taken, while the carcass is cast into the sea. In many cases the spotted seal is hunted in summer for its skin only. The whole winter supply of seals is obtained in autumn by means of net and harpoon. At this season the temperature is so low that in the night, or even by day, the dead seals freeze and can be left in their skins. In autumn the seals are very fat, and when shot with a gun do not sink so easily. The hunters usually make two autumn expeditions out to sea for hunting seal (mainly thong-seal, in part ringed-seal, and very few spotted seals), each expedition lasting several days. Each boat is accompanied by several kayaks, which are either taken aboard or follow on independently. 225 221

In Kamenskoye and Itkana I collected some information concerning the numbers of seals killed for winter supply by the hunters in the autumn of 1900. The hunters keep no account of the number of seals killed and eaten in summer. In Kamenskoye the inventory made by me, of the autumn hunt of nineteen families, gave a total of 272 thong-seals, or an average of 14.3 to a family; the minimum catch of a family being 3, the maximum, 27. They had hunted ringed-seals as well, but kept no account of them. They were few in number, and part of them were eaten during the hunt. In general, during the autumn hunt attention is paid to the large seals only. 225 433

In Itkana I recorded the results of the autumn hunt of seals for the winter supply of seventeen families. There were, in all, 292 thong-seals and 89 ringed-seals, with an average of 17.2 thong-seals and 5.2 ringed-seals to a family. I also learned that 112 thong-seals were caught by means of nets, and 180 were killed with harpoons. It is clear from this that the inhabitants of Itkana were more successful than those of Kamenskoye. This is explained in part by the fact that very little salmon is caught at Itkana, which is situated on a bay with a small river in which the dog-salmon does not run; and therefore they have to content themselves mainly with catching such small fish as the salveline, tom-cod, smelt, and uyo'k *(Salmo socialis)*.

The inhabitants of Kuel and Paren, who obtain large supplies of dog-salmon on the Paren River, are much less occupied with seahunting than those of Itkana, and also less than those of Kamenskoye, who obtain dog-salmon in great quantities. The inhabitants of these settlements live principally on fish.

Whale and Walrus Hunting. — In former times whaling played a very important part both in Bering Sea and in the Sea of Okhotsk. To judge from the stories told by the Koryak, Penshina Bay used to be rich in whales, which were hunted frequently. This is sufficiently proved by the pre-eminence of the whale festival over other festivals. It is known from ancient records that American whalers visited Penshina Bay as early as the beginning of the last century. Old Koryak still relate how they themselves used to go whaling, but this industry came to an end many years ago. The 225 177

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Koryak say that until lately three American whalers used to go to Penshina Bay every summer, but in the last two or three years only one went. Evidently the whales have left for the open sea to escape being hunted in the bays. While entering Nayakhan Bay[1] in a boat, we saw a great number of whales blowing far away in the mouth of Gishiga Bay. The Koryak do not venture to go whaling in their skin boats in the open sea. During their expeditions they do not go far from shore. In calm weather they cross Penshina Bay only at its narrow part, from Ma'meč to Itkana or from Ma'meč to Kamenskoye. If the Koryak have obtained any whales during the last few years, they have either been dead ones drifted ashore — whales wounded by whalers, but not caught by them, or those that perished from the attacks of the killer-whales — or whales killed by the American whalemen and left to them. In the latter case, the whalers take off the skin, blubber, and whalebone, and, after informing the Koryak, throw the rest of the body ashore, or even tow it to the nearest settlement. The Koryak speak with gratitude of these acts of the American whalers or at-ayim (i. e., "chiefs of the boats"); but probably the rapacious pursuit of whales by whalers is the principal cause of their disappearance from the Koryak bays. In the summer of 1900 the Koryak of Penshina Bay had two dead whales. One was cast out by the sea near the settlement Ma'meč, and the other was taken to the village Itkana by an American whaler, — the only one that year in Penshina Bay. It goes without saying that whaling by foreign whalers in Koryak waters is considered illegitimate by the Russians, and is possible only because of the absence of a Russian cruiser.

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Exactly what species of whale the Koryak hunted is difficult to say. The whale which they honored with a festival is called by them yū'ñın. According to their description, this is the largest of all whales, with a skin of dark color and with black whalebone. When killed, the whale does not sink, owing to its blubber. This is evidently the Greenland whale (*Balæna mysticetus* L.). Another whale is called "diarrhœa-whale" (poqlä'-yū'ñın). It is small, and has white whalebone. The Koryak never hunted it, but ate it when washed ashore by the sea. A third kind of whale is called lu'kulaʻn, and is met with in the ocean, but never enters the bays. Finally the Koryak are also familiar with the killer-whale *(Orca gladiator Gill)*, which they call "wedge-whale" (wu'li-yū'ñın); but I did not observe that it is an object of cult, as among the Gilyak, who consider it a beneficent spirit, that kills large whales for them. Krasheninnikoff says that the Kamchadal dread the killer-whale so much, that they not only do not kill it, but do not even approach it, for fear that it will upset the boat of the hunter. Whenever they saw a killer-whale approaching their boats, they sacrificed to it, praying that it might do them no harm.[2]

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[1] Compare p. [illegible].

[2] See Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 426.

Several skin boats joined in hunting the whale. The greatest chance 225
for success was during the spawning-season of small fish, like the uyo'k 411
(Salmo socialis) and other species of smelt, which were pursued by the whales into bays and rivers. Whales were hunted exclusively with a harpoon with stone head. Heads made of bone were not in use. According to the Koryak, the painful wounds inflicted by bone heads did not cause any particular harm to the whale. The rifle-bullets which the Koryak tried to use in whale-hunting, after they had become familiar with fire-arms, would stick in the layer of blubber without causing the whale any injury. Only stone heads, with their numerous irregular facets and saw-like edges, cause deadly, lacerated wounds. It is plain that the perfected methods of hunting resorted to by civilized whalers were unknown to and beyond the reach of the Koryak.

Fig. 92 represents a stone harpoon-head for whaling (yiyi'). It consists of a flint blade *(a)*, the lower part of which is inserted in the head *(b)*, made of the antler of a wild reindeer. The blade is fastened to the head by means of gum of the larch-tree. Attached to the head is a thong *(c)* of walrus-hide, forming a loop below for tying on the harpoon-line. As in the harpoons for seal-hunting, the loop passes through a hole of the harpoon-head. The wooden foreshaft of the harpoon *(d)* is inserted in the hole at the bottom of the head, while its butt-end is inserted in the point of the harpoon-shaft, which is made of bone of whale. Into this the wooden end of the harpoon-head is inserted. These parts are joined by a lashing of whalebone, as shown in *e*. The length of the whole harpoon-head here figured is 113 cm.

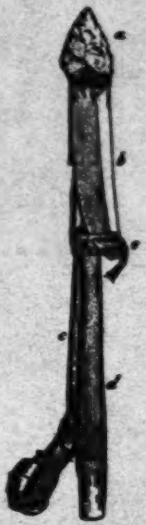

Fig. 92 (1/11).
Whaling-Harpoon.

When going out on a hunting-expedition, each skin boat carries one or two harpoon-shafts, one or two harpoon-lines coiled up in grass bags, about half a dozen harpoon-heads placed point upwards in a tall wooden pail, from four to six stone spears, seal-skin wallets containing a change of clothes for the hunter, and a tripod with a sail.

The most skilful hunter is stationed in the bow of the boat. When near to the whale, he hurls the harpoon with all his might. Immediately the whale dives, carrying with it the harpoon-line and the boat to which the end of the line is fastened. When the whale comes up again to blow, — sometimes after a long time, — the hunters in the boats that happen to be nearest endeavor to drive another harpoon into it. When it is tired and worn out from the wounds received in this way, the boats advance nearer and despatch the whale with stone spears (a'uta-qa'mvın) such as represented in Fig. 93. A separate stone

225 411 head of such a spear (a'ut) is shown in Fig. 136, *a*. It is 15 cm. in length. The lower narrow part of the a'ut is fitted into a hollow at the thicker end of the wooden spear-shaft, which is wound with a thong. When the whale is dead, its carcass, which is studded with harpoons and spears, is taken in tow by all the boats that have participated in the hunt, as shown in Fig. 247, and is hauled to the village.

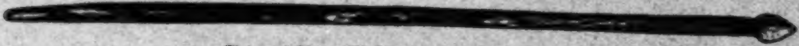

Fig. 93 (70/48). Whaling-Spear. Length, 204 cm.

Krasheninnikoff relates[1] that in his time the people of Alutor caught whales in the bays in enormous nets made of smoke-dried walrus-hide thongs as stout as a man's arm.[2]

[136] White whales *(Delphinapterus leucas)* are hunted in the same way as thong-seals. The white whale (Russian belukha [бѣлуха]; Koryak, yiyi'ñın), too, comes into the bays and river-estuaries with the flood-tide in pursuit of fish, and goes back to the open sea with the ebb-tide. The full-grown white whale measures four metres and upward in length. Not infrequently it runs into the nets set for catching thong-seals. Both sealing-harpoons with iron heads and whaling-harpoons with stone heads are used in hunting white whales. When the white whale is worn out from wounds, it is despatched with a stone spear in the manner described above. If the white whale does not hurry to return to sea with the ebb-tide, while the water is still high, the hunters block the river-mouth in their kayaks, and drive them back into the river by means of shouts and by striking the water with their oars until the estuary becomes shallow and the white whale remains almost high and dry. 133 It is then easily killed with rifles and spears. In this way the Koryak sometimes shut whole shoals of white whales within the river-mouths, 125 as was the case in the summer of 1899, when the Koryak hemmed in sixteen white whales in the estuary of the river Ovekova. Still the number of these animals caught is insignificant in comparison with the enormous quantities found in the Koryak waters. Thus during the summer of 1900 the inhabitants of Kamenskoye caught nine white whales; those of Itkana, six; and 492 those of Kuel, only two. Plate XXVIII, Fig. 2, shows how the inhabitants of Kuel haul a white whale caught in seal-nets on dog-sleds over the coast-ice to the settlement. This photograph was taken in the beginning of October.[3]

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[1] See Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 421.

[2] In looking over the annual reports of the commander of the district, in the Gishiga archives I found some data as to the number of whales killed by the Koryak in certain years. Judging by other statistical data contained in these reports, these numbers are doubtless also below the actual. A catch of two whales is recorded for 1848 in Paren, and of two whales in Kamenskoye; for 1856, three whales in Kamenskoye; for 1886, six whales in the whole of Penshina Bay.

[3] See description of festival, Part I, pp. 69—77.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

I will remark here that seals are hauled from the shore to the village over the ground or ice by means of a thong, which is usually passed through a slit running from under the lower jaw through the mouth. I did not see among the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay any small sleds such as are used by the Chukchee and Eskimo for conveying home seals.[1] 492

In the Bays of the Sea of Okhotsk there are no walruses and sea-lions, nor any ribbon-seals *(Histriophoca fasciata)*. Old people in the village of Itkana told me that they knew of one case of a walrus being caught in Penshina Bay. How reliable this information is I do not know. The walrus in Bering Sea has decreased very much in numbers owing to its incessant unlawful pursuit. They are hunted by the Koryak in the same way as seals, — mainly with harpoons. In former times the Karagha estuary and the bays of Karagha Island were favorite localities for walrusing. 225 [136]

HUNTING OF LAND-GAME. — The wild reindeer and the mountain-sheep or Kamchatka big-horn (*Ovis nivicola* Eschholtz) are the only wild land-animals killed by the Koryak for food. The elk and the musk-deer, which are met with on the southern coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and west of the Stanovoy Mountains, are unknown in the Koryak territory, at least nowadays. 224 136

The hunt of wild reindeer is unimportant; and there are few hunters who make a specialty of this pursuit, as is the case among the Yukaghir and Tungus. Besides, the wild reindeer in the Koryak territory are not numerous. The domestic reindeer, for which the best pastures are selected, has pushed the wild herds to the north or to the less favorable pastures of the mountain-chains. They are found in small herds only, on mountain-tops in summer, and in the tundras and river-valleys in winter. On the Palpal Ridge a wild reindeer is found which crosses the Anadyr River and lives in summer on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. Small herds of the migratory wild reindeer reach the most southerly parts of the Koryak territory. The Maritime Koryak rarely hunt the wild reindeer. It is pursued principally by the inhabitants of northern Kamchatka and of the Parapol Valley, and particularly by the Koryak on the Palpal.[2] Still the hunt is not carried on regularly. In domestic life, as well as in trade, the wild reindeer is of slight importance only. Skins of wild reindeer are not exported from Gishiga; while among the number of reindeer-skins exported from the Anadyr and the Kolyma Rivers the skins of wild reindeer occupy an important place,[3] since on these rivers many are killed during their migrations to the north and back. [439

Like the wild goat, the mountain-sheep is fond of rocky mountain-tops, where it feeds on alpine marshes. It is especially numerous in the Kam-

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 107.

[2] In regard to the methods of hunting wild reindeer compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 132–136; Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting Pursuits and Peltry Trade in the Kolyma Country (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 41–48.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting Pursuits and Peltry Trade in the Kolyma Country, p. 38.

224 chatka Mountains. It is hunted in the mountains of northern Kamchatka,
the Ma'meč Ridge, the ranges of the Alutorsk region, farther to the north,
13b and in the mountains of the western coast of Penshina Bay and the
Taigonos Peninsula. The meat and fat of the mountain-sheep are considered
a very toothsome dish. The hunt for the animal takes place principally in
autumn, when the sheep take on a thick layer of fat, and their skin is
covered with new and strong wool. The fur of the mountain-sheep is considered
warmer than that of the reindeer. Occasionally the animal is killed
in other seasons also. Among the Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka
there are special hunters who go out into the mountains in autumn and in
the beginning of winter to hunt sheep. Some of the Taigonos Reindeer
Koryak hunt it succesfully in winter. During my stay on the Topolovka
River, in the latter part of April, 1901, two Koryak of the camp in which
I lived killed four mountain-sheep. In Kamenskoye I saw a Maritime Koryak
from the village Ma'meč who had killed twenty sheep during the winter of
1900–01. The skin of the sheep, like that of the wild reindeer, is not
exported. In olden times the sheep was hunted with the bow, but now
237] it is pursued almost exclusively with the gun. Besides its meat and skin,
the sheep yields splendid horns (from half to three-quarters of a metre long,
following the curvature), which are used for the manufacture of various articles,
like spoons, ladles, and cups, and also for carvings.

Hunting of Fur-Bearing Animals. — I will begin my description with
the hunt of the bear, for, like the wild reindeer and the sheep, not only its
skin is used, but its meat is eaten as well, especially in autumn, when the
bear is fat. The brown bear (*Ursus beringianus* Middendorf; Koryak,
koi'ñın) is abundant in Kamchatka, where the rivers are rich in fish. In the
429] Koryak territory bears are also quite numerous. In 1899, 380 bear-skins
were exported to Vladivostok from Gishiga and Alutorsk.[1] In summer, bears
are killed when they come down from the mountains to the river-valleys and
the seacoast to hunt fish; in autumn, when feeding on berries or when
visiting the storehouses of the Koryak to steal the fish stored there for
winter use; and in winter they are killed in their lairs. In the spring, when
the bear leaves its lair, it is killed only in self-defence. The bear is then
lean, and its skin useless; but an encounter with it at this season is not safe
for man. In summer and autumn the bear rarely attacks man, usually taking
flight on meeting him. It is said that in autumn, when a bear happens to
surprise women while picking berries, it merely takes the berries away from
224 them, letting them go unharmed. In summer and autumn the Koryak kill
bears mainly with the gun; in olden days they used the bow for this purpose.
Not infrequently they attack the bear with the spear. In both cases,

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[1] See Chapter XIII, Trade.

hunting-dogs are used, which attack the bear from the rear, make it turn 224
around for self-defence, and prevent it from rushing at the hunter, who is thus enabled to take good aim or to choose an opportune moment for his attack. There are hunters among the Maritime Koryak who train dogs especially for hunting. These are not used in harness. Many of the dogs used for hauling sledges are not only of no help in bear-hunting, but are even a hindrance, owing to their cowardice, since they will hide behind their master. In winter the bear is attacked in its den in the manner common throughout Siberia. The opening of the den is blocked with logs, so that the animal, when awakened, cannot get out. The roof of the den is broken through, and the bear is stabbed to death with a spear or killed with a gun. Snares made of stout thongs are placed near the storehouses. I did not hear of other bear-traps, such as are employed in other parts of Siberia. I have described before the festival in honor of the bear.[1]

Foxes, particularly red foxes, are caught in great numbers, and their skins constitute the greatest part of the furs exported.[2] Fox-hunting is carried on in various ways, — with dogs, which the hunter sets on the track; by the Reindeer Koryak with reindeer-sledges. It is overtaken, and killed with clubs. Still another method is to drive the fox into its own den or into a hole, from which it is either pulled out by means of a cleft stick, or smoked out. Traps are also employed. These are the self-acting bow, the dead-fall, and the edge-trap with a spring of twisted sinew.[3] Shooting foxes with guns is seldom successful. Quite recently foxes have been poisoned by means of strychnine pills, which are scattered about. This method is in use near Russian settlements.

Krasheninnikoff asserts that all traps of the Kamchadal were introduced 224
by the Russians. He states that previous to the arrival of the Russians the 177
Kamchadal did not care for fox-skins, but preferred dog-skins, and that when they wanted to kill foxes, they did so by means of clubs. Foxes were so common that they would come to the troughs when the dogs were fed.[4] I believe that the same conditions prevailed among the Koryak. Even at present they set fewer traps by far than the Yukaghir and the Russianized tribes of Siberia. The Eskimo and Indians, too, employ various traps for the capture of animals;[5] but the traps with sinew spring,[6] found in Alaska, are probably of Siberian origin. The Koryak have evidently adopted the self-acting bow either from the Russians or from the Yakut and Tungus, who use it widely.

In the fur trade the red foxes of the Koryak territory, on account of 224
their gorgeous and soft fur and its fiery-red color, are considered among the 136

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[1] See Part I, p. 88.

[2] See Chapter XIII, Trade.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting-Pursuits, etc., Figs. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, pp. 6, 7, 11, 15, 18; Bogoras, The Chukchee. Vol. VII of this series, Figs. 48–50, pp. 138–140.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 340.

[5] See Mason, Traps of the American Indians.

[6] Ibid., Fig. 5, p. 472; Nelson, Fig. 37, p. 122.

224 136 very best. They are equal in value to those of Kamchatka and the Anadyr. Since the arrival of the Russians in this region, the number of foxes has considerably fallen off, and they are now nearly extinct. In the neighborhood of the Russian villages they are not seen at all. Their number varies considerably from year to year. Their migration northward or southward depends on the presence of mice or hares, which foxes follow.

The Arctic fox *(Vulpes lagopus)* occurs in much smaller numbers than the red fox. It is a tundra animal *par excellence*, and is found more often in the treeless eastern part of the Koryak country than in the western district. Blue foxes are very rare: their number constitutes about one per cent of that of the white foxes. The methods of hunting the polar fox are identical with those used for the red fox.

The squirrel *(Sciurus vulgaris)* is hardly hunted at all. It is found in small numbers on the upper course of the Gishiga and Penshina and of their tributaries, but is absent in the treeless and maritime region. In Kamchatka the squirrel does not occur at all, even in the wooded localities of the central ridge. A small number of squirrels are obtained in the Gishiga district by the Tungus, but by far the greater part of squirrel-skins which are exported by way of Gishiga is obtained from nomadic Tungus in the Kolyma district and partly in the Okhotsk district. In former times the Tungus killed squirrels by means of the bow. They used blunt arrows made of bone, so as not to spoil the skin. The hunters would aim at the head of the animal when it was sitting in a tree. The blunt arrow would only daze it, and it would fall to the ground, where it was picked up by the hunter. If still capable of running, the squirrel was caught by the hunting-dog. Nowadays the place of the bow has been taken by the flint-lock gun with thin bore for bullets of the size of a pea, which do not injure the skin.

[439] The sable (*Mustela zibellina*, Linn.), the most valuable fur-animal of Siberia, was undoubtedly at one time more widespread than it is now. At present only a few dozen sable-skins are exported annually from Gishiga. These are caught in the river-valleys of Penshina and Opuka, and partly in northern Kamchatka. In southern Kamchatka the Kamchadal even now kill nearly two thousand sables annually. The highest value is placed on those from the valleys of the Olekma and the Vitim, tributaries of the Lena, and from Nerchinsk in Transbaikalia. They possess a down which is entirely dark and of bluish tinge, and long, soft, glossy black hair. The finest sables have silver-tipped hair. The sable of Kamchatka is not inferior to that of Olekma in thickness of down and softness of hair; but, since it has a russet color, the fur is of inferior quality, resembling marten-fur. The Koryak sable is somewhat darker than that of Kamchatka. The sable is hunted with the gun, in the same way as the squirrel. It is a good climber, and in time of danger takes to treetops for safety. The flintlock gun used for hunting

sables is of larger caliber than the one used for squirrels. Oftentimes the Kamchadal shoot sables with shot. If the animal runs into a hole, the hunter sets a nettle-thread net near the entrance, and drives it out either with the help of a dog, which digs the hole open, or by means of smoke. In our Koryak collection there is a sable-trap with sinew spring from the Opuka River. It is one-third the size of similar traps used for catching wolves. In Kamchatka a dead-fall is set for sables. Sable-hunting is a most difficult pursuit, because the animal is very quick and cleverly escapes its pursuers. It vanishes in the snow, and makes passages under it; it conceals itself under stones, dry boughs, and roots of trees, and leaps from tree to tree, making it difficult to take good aim at it. 224 136

The gray wolf (*Canis lupus* Linn.) inhabits the tundra. It is hunted mainly by the Reindeer Koryak, who have to protect their herds against its ravages. Besides, wolf's fur is considered handsome, and is used for manufacturing caps, mittens, collars, and trimmings of clothing and foot-wear. Part ot the wolf-skins are exported. In 1899 one hundred and twenty were taken out of the Gishiga district. The Koryak hunt for wolves in the same manner as do the Chukchee.[1]

Only a few skins of ermine (*Putorius ermineus* Linn.) are exported, and it seems probable that the Koryak do not hunt it much. It would also seem that this animal is not common in the Koryak territory.[2] Ermine is hunted by the Russians and by the Maritime Koryak, who set near their store-houses traps based on the principle of the self-acting bow, in which the animals are strangled.[3] The Koryak have undoubtedly borrowed this device from the Russians. In Siberia it is specially favored by the Yakut, who employ it for all small animals, and I think it is a Yakut invention. [177

The otter *(Lutra vulgaris)* and wolverene *(Gulo borealis)* are rarely met with, and are therefore merely casually hunted. Formerly the skins of both of these animals were used for trimming festive garments. That of the wolverene served for adorning the finest clothes among the Koryak as well as among the Kamchadal and Chukchee. Even now wolverene-skins obtained by local hunters are not exported from the extreme northeast of Siberia, but they are imported by merchants as one of the most attractive articles of barter. At present the Chukchee are the principal consumers of wolverene-skins, and the wolverenes killed by the Kamchadal are also exported by merchants to the Chukchee. [294 437

Bird-Hunting. — Birds of passage, like ducks, geese, and swans, were formerly shot with bow and arrows, but are now shot with rifles. However, 223

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[1] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 137, 139. On the wolf festival see Part I, p. 89.

[2] In 1899, 124 skins were exported via Gishiga, while from the Kolyma district 6000 ermine-skins were exported via Yakutsk.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting, etc., Fig. 8, a, b, p. 17; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 52, p. 143.

223 the Koryak are rather poor shots, and do not care to hunt birds. In spite of the abundance of birds in spring and autumn, during the season of their migrations north and south, they kill very few, and do not lay by any stores of bird-meat. The birds are eaten fresh only.

Sea-fowl are caught by means of snares made of whalebone or sinew-thread. Winter birds, like the ptarmigan, are caught with nooses made of sinew-thread, which are tied to a board that has been placed in the snow. They are also driven into nets made of nettle-thread and killed with sling-stones that are hurled with slings of seal-skin (Fig. 94).

223 411 If there happens to be a nesting-place of ducks or geese, or other birds of passage, not far from the village, the Koryak drive them ashore and kill them with clubs during the moulting-season, which is late in July or early in August. In the village Talovka, bird-darts (Fig. 95) were used for killing moulting birds. Within a few miles, up the Talovka River, lies the favorite breeding-place of the geese. In August the villagers go there in kayaks to hunt them while moulting. They use bird-darts exactly like those employed by the Russianized tribes on the Anadyr and the Kolyma. The Koryak, however, do not employ the throwing-board, but hurl the dart with the hand.

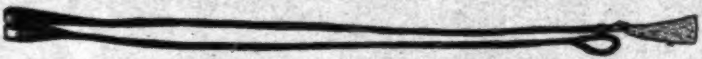

Fig. 94 ([illegible]). Sling. Length, 100 cm.

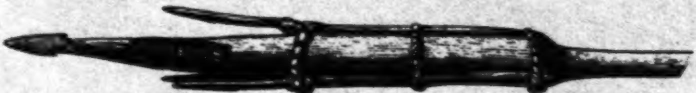

Fig. 95 ([illegible]). Point of Bird-Dart. Length of point, 30 cm.; total length, 186 cm.

[721] 411 War. — At the present time the Koryak wage no war. The weapons which were used in days of old for war and hunting alike, as bow, arrows, and spear, have been preserved to a certain degree as hunting-weapons; while the weapons that were used in war only, have now either entirely disappeared or are retained als keepsakes.

Weapons. — Previous to the introduction of iron, stone and bone, and partly also wood, were used as material for arrow-heads. We have seen before that stone harpoon-heads are still in use; but stone arrow-heads (auta′ma′xem) are now hard to find. I never saw a complete arrow with stone head. They were evidently superseded more quickly by iron-pointed arrows than were those made of bone. Stone arrow-heads may be found in excavating ancient dwellings, but they are also preserved by some of the people as keepsakes or as amulets. Three stone arrow-heads are represented in

411

Fig. 135. They were inserted in the arrow-shaft, to which they were tied with sinew-thread. Bone arrows made of bone of the whale, reindeer, and walrus and mammoth ivory have been preserved by many Koryak, but they are not often used in hunting. Bone of whale was employed principally for bird-arrows. The bone arrow-head was inserted in a split in the shaft, or it was fitted on like a head, or fitted into a groove in the shaft.

Wooden arrows were made of one piece. Iron arrow-points were either fastened directly to the wooden shaft, or were inserted into a bone foreshaft. I have collected about thirty different types of arrows. The shape of most of them is the same as that of the Chukchee arrows described by Mr. Bogoras.[1] Five arrows of somewhat different shape are illustrated here (Fig. 96). That marked *e* represents a long arrow with a three-edged head of mammoth-tusk. Like the lancet-shaped bone arrows, it was employed both in war and in hunting big land-game, such as reindeer and elk. These arrows are distinguished by their long head thin and long shaft, and by the feathering and were used at long range. At *d* is shown a bird-arrow of bone of whale. The one marked *b* represents an arrow for a self-acting bow for killing otters, with a barbed detachable iron point. Like all arrows for self-acting bows, which strike at short range, this harpoon-arrow (uke'lwe-ma'xem) possesses a short, thick and unfeathered shaft. Its cross-section is oval. At *c* is represented an arrow with a head of antler; and at *a*, an arrow with an iron head resembling the head of a bird-dart. Both are used for shooting birds. They are interesting on account of the imitation of feathering in wood.[2]

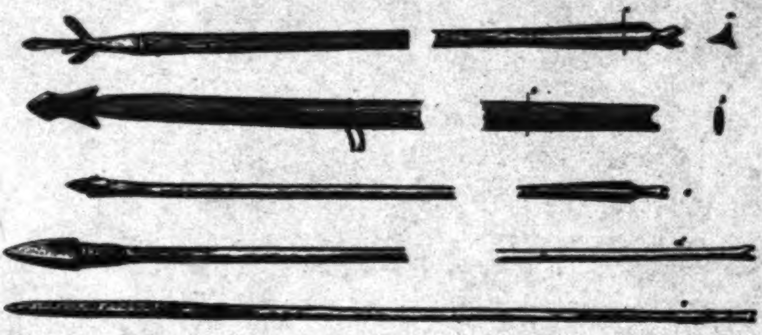

Fig. 96. Arrows. *a* ([illegible]), length of complete arrow, 63 cm.; *b* ([illegible]), 63 cm.; *c* ([illegible]), 57 cm.; *d* ([illegible]), 87 cm.; *e* ([illegible]), 77 cm.

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee. Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 74, p. 156.

[2] Such arrows have been found also among the Aino and Gold (See Adler, Plate II, Figs. 1—4). I have collected several iron arrows with pseudo-feathering of the type Fig. 96, *a*, made entirely of one piece of iron. They are too heavy for shooting and were probably used as offerings. (See Part I, pp. 43, 89).

411 At present the bow is used in hunting only when a rifle is not available,
which is seldom the case. In certain families old bows and arrows are
preserved with great care, and pass on as heirlooms. The bow is still
[526] common in children's games. Boys practise shooting, and have contests in
which they use as a target a mitten suspended from a stick driven into the
764 snow. Bow and arrows are burned on the funeral pyres of men; but in the
majority of cases the funeral bow and arrows are not genuine weapons, but
only imitations. The funeral bow consists of a somewhat bent stave, with
a grip in the middle. At the ends a thong is attached, which represents
the bowstring. The arrows,[1] too, are imitations, with pseudo-feathering at
the butt-end.

237 The Maritime Koryak were considered master bowyers. Simple and
411 compound bows were manufactured by them. The stave of the simple bow
322 was made of larch or alder; and its concave side was lined with a broad
dorsal sinew of a reindeer, which gave it additional elasticity. The stave of the compound bow was made of two strips glued together, — one of larch and one of birch, — which gave the bow special strength. The concave side of this bow, too, was usually lined with sinew, and the convex back with birch-bark. The grip of a good bow was bent in (Plate xxix, Fig. 1) so that the general form recalled to a certain extent the ancient Greek bow with its two curves joined by a straight short grip. The two horns of the bow, to which the bowstring was fastened, consisted usually of separate pieces, and were glued to the ends of the bow-tree, to which they were also tied by means of sinew.

[237] Bowstrings were made chiefly of thongs of thong-seal hide. One of the bows in our collection has a bowstring of sinew of the white whale. Krasheninnikoff says that the Kamchadal used to make bowstrings of whale-sinew.

411 The bow was held vertically, with the belly towards the archer; it was spanned with the index-finger of the right hand, the three other fingers being bent in; and the nock of the arrow was held from above with the thumb. The left hand held the grip of the bow, index-finger and thumb lightly supporting the arrow-shaft, while the other fingers clasped the bow. Great strength and skill were required for spanning the bow, and constant practice was necessary. The bow of strong men was so stiff that a weak man could not span it.

411 I have mentioned before that long and thin arrows were intended for long
range shooting. These arrows were always feathered to steady their flight. On
322 the other hand, the feathering suggests the idea of an analogy between the
flight of the arrow and that of birds. The arrow-shafts were planed and
smoothed with great care. To remove all crookedness a bone instrument of

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[1] Compare Part I, Fig. 49, a, b, p. 107.

1; Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R/4 Koryak R44

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXIX.

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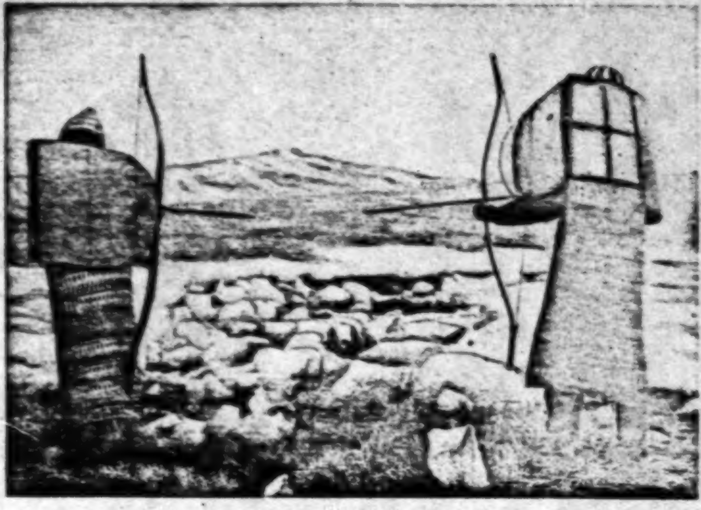

FIG. 1. KORYAK WARRIORS.

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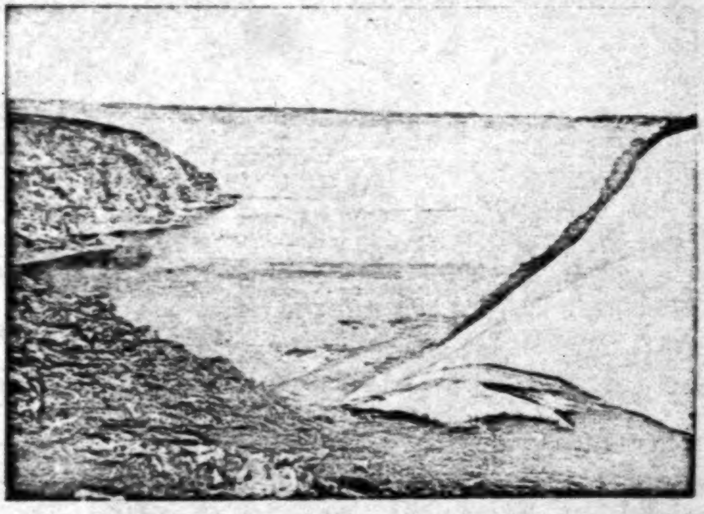

FIG. 2. ATYKINO BAY WITH REMAINS OF FORTIFICATION.

The Koryak.

[facing p 560]

411 semicircular cross-section (Fig. 97) was employed, which served as a plane,
322 knives being inserted into the blade-holes.

Previous to the introduction of iron, spears were made of bone and
411 stone. The stone spear is still in use, but only for hunting whales (see
177 Fig. 93, p. 552). Traditions are still handed down concerning the bone spears which were used both in
[412] war and in hunting. Krasheninnikoff mentions the threepronged spears of the Koryak.[1] Presumably the iron spear superseded the old bone spear, at an early time. The spear played an important rôle in hand-to-hand fights. Tradition relates how the heroes, wielding only a spear, overcame their enemies. In olden times there were also contests with spears. Iron spears[2] are nowadays employed only in bear-hunting and in killing reindeer and dogs for sacrifice.[3] Every herdsman owns an iron spear, which is tied to the right side of the riding-sleigh, which is usually provided with bone rings for suspending it.

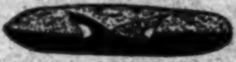
Fig. 97 ([illegible]). Bone Plane. Length, 7.5 cm.

Another weapon used in hand-to-hand fights was the big knife (mainowal). It was about 50–60 cm. long, with a short handle of bone. It was carried in a sheath on the left side, like a short-sword, suspended from a shoulder-strap. It is not known what kind of weapon was supplanted by the iron knife. The Yukaghir, according to tradition, used long battle-knives made of elk-ribs. The big knife is used at present chiefly by the Reindeer Koryak, who carry it on journeys and use it for chopping wood for the fire and for cutting frozen meat; but even in quite recent times this knife served as a weapon.

174 Judging from accounts of the customs of former times, the slung-shot
411 must have been used in war. In consisted of a long thong of thong-seal hide, with a stone at its end. In one tradition which I recorded in Nayakhan, in which a battle between two heroes is described, it is related that the warrior from Nayakhan — who was known under the name of "Woman-Snatcher," because he took by violence all the women who pleased him — was once surprised by a hostile hero when he had no bow and spear, but only a slung-shot, which he wore like a belt. While dodging his adversary's arrows, he hurled his slungshot at the latter with such force that the line encircled his body several times and cut him in twain.

411 The Russians early introduced a wide-bore flintlock gun for hunting sea-
177 mammals.[4] Powder and lead are supplied by the government and are sold at cost price. The lead bullets are made by the hunters themselves.

Some Koryak own Winchester rifles, which are obtained either directly

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 51.

[2] See Fig. 143

[3] See Part I, Plate VII, Fig. 2, opposite p. 80; and Part I, Plate X, opposite p. 96.

[4] For description compare, Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 159.

411 from American whalers or through barter from the Chukchee. During the last few years many Koryak have acquired Berdan rifles, with which the 177 Russian Army was equipped until 1895. When the army was equipped with magazine-rifles, the government sold the old rifles at low prices. Thus the Berdan rifle reached the Koryak. I took fifteen of these rifles along from Vladivostok, and exchanged them for articles for our collection, or gave them away in return for services.

714 *Armor.* — The Chukchee and Koryak coats of mail collected by us have been described by Mr. Bogoras.[1] I merely wish to add that in my opinion the upper part of the armor had two wings. The absence of one wing from our specimens proves only that they are not complete. This is confirmed not only by the presence of thong-holes on that side of the head-protector on which the wing is missing, and by the fact that in some pieces of armor the right wing is missing, in others the left, but also by the information gathered from men acquainted with the old customs of the tribe. At first some Koryak explained the absence of the left wing on suits of armor by the fact that they had belonged to lefthanded warriors, and that the wing was left off that the left hand might be free. This statement is mentioned by Mr. Bogoras;[2] but subsequently, on further inquiry, some old men, who knew how armor had been worn, denied this, and asserted that the complete armor had two wings, protecting the two arms. I was told, further, that the Reindeer Koryak in the northern part of Palpal, where I could not go owing to lack of time, still preserved several complete coats of mail which at present are worn at sacrifices on the occasion of the festival of reindeer-races.[3] A Reindeer Koryak of Palpal, whom I saw in the village of Kamenskoye, promised to bring me a complete suit of armor, but he did not keep his promise. Even the incomplete ones were obtained with great difficulty. For a long time the owners would not agree to sell them. The arms, which were passed through the loops inside the wings on the side of the head-protector, held the armor in place on the shoulders; while the fingers or hands were thrust through the small loops at the edge of the wings when it was desired to cover the arm entirely. Fig. 98 shows a Koryak clad in armor, with his left arm free,

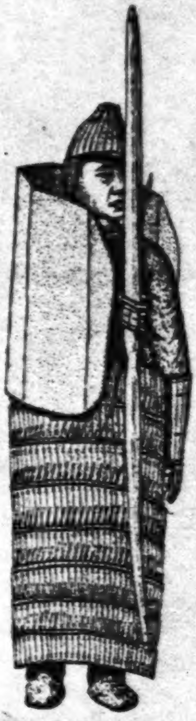

Fig. 98. Koryak Warrior.

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of the series, pp. 161–168.
[2] Ibid., p. 165.
[3] See Part I, p. 88.

which, however, may be protected by the left wing, like his right arm, by 714
putting a wing-loop on his hand. How much strength, agility, and exercise must have been required to fight in so heavy and uncomfortable a costume! In one myth,[1] when Big-Raven offered his son Ememqut an armor for a battle with the Chukchee, the son declined the offer and went to battle armed only with his spear.

Fig. 98 also shows how the helmet and arm-guards made of small iron plates were worn.[2] The warriors wore a fur band under the helmet to protect the forehead against the hard iron. The lower part of the armor, which consists of small iron plates tied together with thong, resembles a skirt. It was closed at the side by means of short straps.

Plate XXIX, Fig. 1, represents two Koryak in armor, with bent bows. The plate is the reproduction of a photograph taken by me, except that the artist, Mr. Rudolf Cronau, sketched in under my direction the missing wing of the armor.

Prior to their acquaintance with iron mail-coats, — which I suppose were [177]
introduced by the Tungus,[3] — the Koryak wore mail-coats of walrus-skin or of small plates of bone joined by means of straps. Krasheninnikoff says that "the Koryak armor consisted of oblong bone pieces sewed together with thongs".[4]

Fortifications. — The maritime Koryak fortified their villages in order 361
to prevent sudden attacks by the enemy and to withstand a siege. Whenever
possible, they built their villages on islands near the coast, to which they 722
resorted to fish and hunt sea-mammals. They had temporary dwellings at 712
the mouths of rivers. At the approach of a foe, they would take to their boats and disappear in the natural forts formed by the rocky islands. At present these islets are uninhabited, but it is said that on many of them traces of ancient dwellings may still be seen. To my regret, during the first half of the summer of 1901, which I spent in the Russian settlement Kushka, at the mouth of the Gishiga River, it was impossible to venture out in the wooden boats of the Russian settlers to the islands of which the Koryak spoke to me.[5]

Where no islands were near the coast, the maritime Koryak fortified their villages. The islanders, too, fortified their temporary coast settlements. All the coast villages were built on hills with a steep descent to the sea. On the land side the settlement was surrounded by an embankment, a stone wall, or a stockade. When an attack was expected, sentinels were stationed on

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[1] See Part I, p. 138.

[2] See Chapter X.

[3] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, pp. 167, 168.

[4] Compare Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 51.

[5] During that summer I succeeded in making two trips in wooden boats from the mouth of the Gishiga River, — one to the Koryak at the mouth of the Ovekova River, a distance of about fourteen miles; and the other to the Koryak at the mouth of the Nayakhan River, a distance of a hundred miles. The latter trip was considered so dangerous that the Russian settlers advised me not to undertake it. But luck favored us, the weather was fine, and I covered the distance in two days, but on the return trip we were detained in the uninhabited Bay of Atykino (See Plate XXIX, Fig. 2) for several days by stormy weather.

722 the roofs of houses or storehouses; for, in case of a sudden attack by the
361 enemy on the hamlets of the sedentary Koryak, the inhabitants of underground
houses found themselves, as it were, in a trap. For this reason, at least
one guard was always kept in the settlements of warriors. In case of an
attack, the women and old people would launch the skin boats, if the sea
was open, so as to be ready to flee, in case of defeat, with the surviving
warriors. I was told that the inhabitants of the old settlement near the mouth
of the river Gishiga, having lost a battle with the Cossacks, took to their
skin boats, and succeeded in escaping to the Yamsk Koryak. At the mouth
of the river Nayakhan I saw traces of a fortified settlement. It was situated
on a rocky promontory, with cliffs on three sides rising abruptly from the
sea. On the fourth side there is a steep descent to the river-valley. This
slope had been protected with a stone rampart. Piles of stones which once
726 formed the wall are still visible. Tradition relates that the Russians were led
there by Tungus who were hostile to the Koryak. The latter stubbornly
17 defended the approach to the village. It was winter, and they poured water
on the slope to make it slippery. During one night the Russians forged
sharp iron ice-creepers, tied them under the soles of their fur boots, and
stormed the fort. Many of them perished from the arrows of the Koryak
and from stones which they rolled down; but as they were many, their fire-arms
gave them the victory in the end. Thereupon the Koryak warriors
slew all the women and children in their houses. Many of them committed
suicide, and only a few found safety in flight by sliding down the cliffs to
the sea, and reaching Parén over the ice. I found traces of a fortified settlement
also in the Bay of Atykino (Plate XXIX, Fig. 2).

At sight of an enemy, the Reindeer Koryak drove their herds up the mountains and defended the approach. In the open tundra they would surround the camp with a wall of sleighs placed upright and tied together with thongs, having first driven the reindeer into the corral. From this fortified corral the warriors would make sallies or go out to accept a challenge to single-handed fights with the champions of the invaders.

VIII. — HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

Household Utensils. — The ancient method of making fire, by means of a drill, is at present employed only in religious ceremonies. Since the fire-drill is esteemed as the most important protector of the family,[1] it may be concluded that the Koryak looked upon fire as a beneficent agent. There are sacrifices in honor of the fire; fire is also a mediator between man and the deities, since offerings are burned in it.[2] At the present time the use of sulphur or Swedish matches is quite widespread. Even when obtaining the sacred fire, some Koryak turn the drill for a short time as a formality only, and the fire is really kindled with a match; but they cannot always obtain matches, so that the most common means of obtaining fire is the strike-a-light. Although not much used, the strike-a-light seems to have been known to the Koryak prior to their encounter with the Russians, having been introduced by the Tungus, who had received it from the Amur tribes. Even now, merchants often import from Vladivostok steel and flint of Chinese origin. Tinder is prepared from a fungus which grows on the stumps of birch-trees. The fungus is stripped of its hard outer layer, and the inner spongy mass is boiled in water. Then it is dried; and a light, brittle, and highly inflammable punk is thus obtained. 372 [177]

Fire-making tools are more often needed by the nomadic Reindeer Koryak than by the sedentary Maritime people. A new fire need rarely be made in the underground houses of the Maritime Koryak. The women are very skilful in keeping up the fire of the hearth. They cover the embers with ashes; and when reviving the fire, they rake it up, put small chips of wood on the glowing embers, and fan them until they burst into flame. The Maritime Koryak need fire-tools only on journeys. However, when in possession of matches, they are very fond of striking them to light their lamps or pipes, even when the fire is burning on the hearth. On the other hand, if the fire goes out entirely, and neither match nor tinder is on hand, the ancient method of obtaining fire by means of the drill-bow is resorted to. This, however, happens very rarely.

For purposes of lighting, a stone lamp (ɛ'ek) is used. It is made of sandstone, in the shape of a shallow basin. The lamp is placed on a wooden block or stand from 50 cm. to 60 cm. in height. Fig. 99 represents two of these lamps and stands, which I obtained from the Maritime Koryak. 354

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[1] See Part I, pp. 33–36; Figs. 2, 3; Plate VI, opp. p. 79.

[2] Ibid., p. 98.

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Among the Reindeer Koryak the stand is somewhat lower. On the upper side of the stand an excavation is made in which the bottom of the lamp rests, to give it stability. The lamp is so placed that the wick-edge is a little lower than the opposite edge, to allow the oil which is tried out of the tallow or blubber by the heat of the flame to run down to the wick. The wick consists of sphagnum or rotten-wood in the form of a coarse thread, which is laid in the groove made along the wick-edge of the lamp. Nowadays wicks made of thread are frequently met with. The Maritime Koryak use seal-oil for lighting-purposes, while the Reindeer Koryak use the hard white tallow which is obtained by thoroughly boiling crushed reindeer-bones, and which contains a high percentage of stearine. As the tallow is melted by the flame, new pieces are put in. Seal-oil yields a poor yellow flame, produces much soot, and gives off an offensive stench. Reindeer-tallow burns with a white flame, without soot or offensive odor. The wick is kept trimmed, and is snuffed with a stick or splinter of wood. The lamp-stand of the Maritime Koryak is covered with a layer of grease and dirt caused by the oil trickling down from the lamp, and by pieces of wick and soot, dust, hair and dirt, which drop down and stick to it. Usually the lamp stands on the dirt floor near the threshold leading to the sleeping-rooms (see Plate XXXVII); and by its dim light the women work, sitting on the threshold or behind it on reindeer-skins.

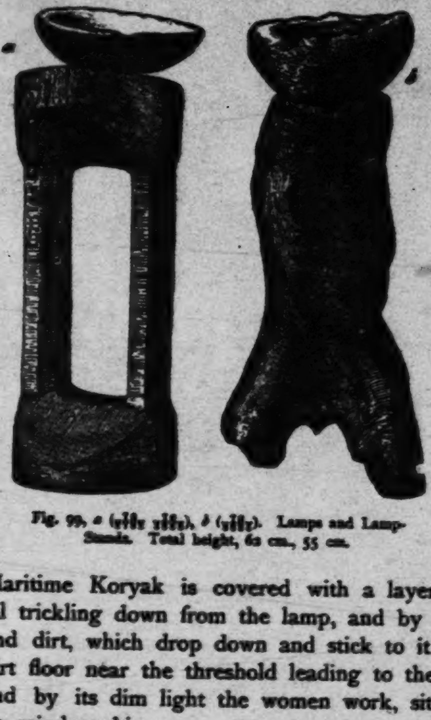

Fig. 99, a ([illegible]), b ([illegible]). Lamps and Lamp-Stands. Total height, 62 cm., 55 cm.

The Reindeer Koryak have the lamp in the inner sleeping-tent. To prevent drops of oil and pieces of wick from falling on the skins spread out for beds and seats, the lamp is placed on broad wooden troughs, just as is done by the Chukchee.[1] The Reindeer Koryak often have no special stand, and the lamp with the trough is placed on the box in which the teacups and saucers are packed while the people are travelling with the herd. Among the Reindeer Koryak, stone lamps have gone out of use, just as among the among the Rein-deer Koryak, stone lamps have gone out of use, just as among the 354 Chukchee. They are replaced by round iron frying-pans without handles, 177 which are imported by Russian merchants. The Maritime Koryak relate that [172 in olden times they also made clay lamps (sa'yek, "earthen or clay lamp:" from sa, "earth or clay;" and ɛ'ek, "lamp") such as are still used by the Chukchee and Eskimo; but among the finds made in excavating ancient underground houses, I did not come across a single clay lamp. In one house I found a lamp made of a whale-vertebra (yu'ñitemɛ'ek, i. e., "of bone of whale lamp"). It is represented in Fig. 100.

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[1] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 185.

The lamp of the Maritime Koryak serves for lighting exclusively. Wood is used for heating and cooking. The 313 hearth has been described before.[1] Driftwood is cut in summer and autumn for use as fuel. The wood is split into thin billets 50 cm. or 75 cm. long, which catch fire quickly and do not smoke much. It is stored away on the roof of the house.[2] The fire is started twice every day, — in 512 the morning, on rising; and in the 372 evening, before going to bed, — at the time of the two principal meals. The morning fire also warms the house for the day, the evening fire for the night. In the middle of the day the fire is rarely started. In general, the sedentary Koryak are saving of their fuel, even in settlements where there is no lack of wood. If guests arrive during the day, a fire is made to make tea and to warm the house.

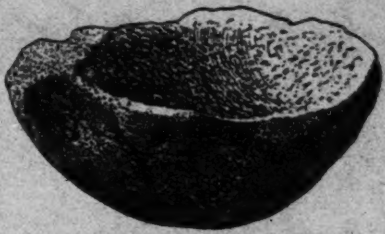

Fig. 100 ($\frac{70}{187}$). Lamp made of the Vertebra of a Whale. Length, 14 cm.

To a certain degree, the lamp of the Reindeer Koryak heats the sleeping-tent 252 in which it burns; but food and tea are prepared on the hearth, in the outer tent.[3] 354 I have never seen food heated over the lamp in the sleeping-tent. Tea and boiled food are served by the women in the sleeping-tent. This, more than the lamp, aids in heating the sleeping-room. Over the lamp, however, wet footwear and mittens are hung to dry; but generally the drying of wet clothes is done in front of the hearth in the outer tent, or by freezing them out of doors, beating off the ice, and then warming them by the fire.

Properly speaking, the Koryak have no furniture whatever. The favorite 352 position is sitting on the ground or on skins, with legs either crossed Turkish 516 fashion or stretched out, or crouching. In the houses of the Maritime Koryak, the low thresholds which divide the sleeping-places from the middle part of the house are always used as seats; and in the outer tents of the Reindeer Koryak the sledges, which are brought in, and on which lie the bags of provisions, are utilized for this purpose.

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[1] See p. 458.

[2] See p. 459.

[3] See p. 450.

352 Fig. 101 shows a stool of the Reindeer Koryak. It is made of reindeer-antlers still attached to the frontal bone. The beams and two tines of the antlers serve as legs, and two boards are tied to them to make the seat. This chair seems to be an imitation of a Russian bench. Nowadays, however, it is often found with the Reindeer Koryak. The Maritime Koryak also use, instead of chairs, the boxes in which they keep the tea-dishes. On Plate xx a girl is shown sitting by the fireside on such a box, and the other one is
264 sitting in a crouching position. The use of tables is unknown to the Koryak.
352 With the exception of the Russianized natives, they place a board or a trough-shaped dish on the skins on which they sit, and put the carved meat or fish, with seal-oil, on it. The people sit around and eat, taking up the pieces with their hands. Often the box in which the tea-dishes are kept serves as a table. Others have a table-board made of two or three planks, which is put on the box when they are eating, or drinking tea. However, in some houses of the Maritime Koryak, very small low tables, 30 cm. or 40 cm. high, may be found, at which the guests eat; but the Russianized Koryak of North Kamchatka and of the villages of the Okhotsk Sea south of the Gishiga River, who live in log-cabins, also use benches, chairs, tables, and beds, like their Russian neighbors.

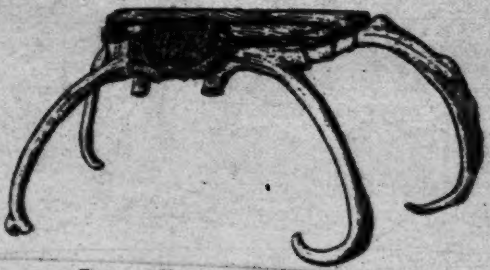

Fig. 101 ([illegible]). Stool made of a Pair of Antlers. Height, 41 cm.

- 252 With the introduction of metal cooking-vessels, these entirely superseded clay pots, and the method of cooking food by means of red-hot stones went
415 out of use. Nowadays cooking is done only in iron and copper kettles imported by merchants. The Koryak prize copper kettles particularly, as they
- 177 are durable; but they are not easily obtained, owing to their high price, and only the wealthy reindeer-breeders or Koryak engaged in trade or barter can afford to buy them. Such kettles last a very long time. Of course, the tin lining wears off very soon, but the Koryak continue to cook in them.
326] The Koryak smiths of the villages Paren and Kuel have learned to make kettles from imported sheet-iron. In imitation of our metal waterpails, they give them the shape of a truncated cone, with a wire handle by which to suspend them over the fire. These kettles do not last long. The thin sheet-iron soon burns through, or is eaten through by rust in the damp summer.

At present the teapot is another metal appurtanance of the household. The dealers import chiefly copper pots, but some are found of enamelled white iron.

A stone bone-breaking set is one of the indispensable belongings of every household. It consists of a large stone slab or anvil, called ıḷño'ñın ("board-stone") and a stone pestle (cipē'ñın) or hammer. Both are selected from among the water-worn pebbles on the banks of rivers. The Koryak themselves do not work them into shape. The board-stone must have one smooth, even surface; and the hammer, an oblong shape, round at the ends. Two hammers are shown in Fig. 102. On the board-stone, bones are crushed with 412 324 252- 412 [372]

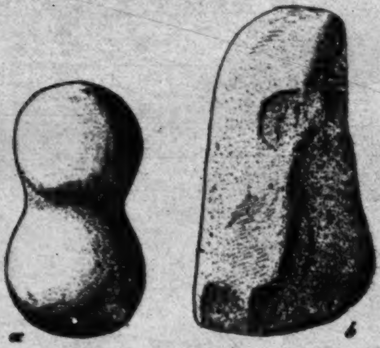

Fig. 102, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Stone Hammers. Length, 12 cm., 17 cm. *a*, From Kamenskoye; *b*, From Tilqui River.

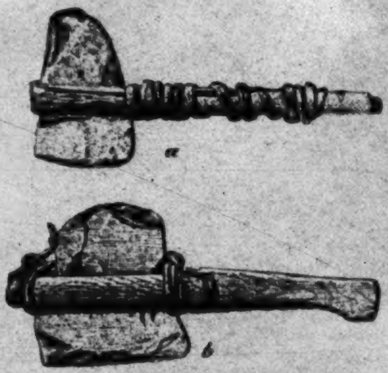

Fig. 103, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Stone Hatchets. Length, about 30 cm.

the hammer to extract the marrow or to boil out the tallow for lighting; hard dried fish is softened on it or pounded with berries; roots are pounded for cooking gruel and for making puddings; and meat with fat is pounded for cutlets.[1]

Edible herbs, chiefly willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), are chopped on the stone anvil by means of stone hatchets. Two of these are shown in Fig. 103. The cutting-edge is sharpened by chipping, just like the edges of stone arrows and knives.[2] The handle of the hatchet *a* is made of a willow rod split in two and bent double, the hatchet being set between the two bent halves, the free ends of which are tied together with thongs. Another method of hafting is shown in *b*. The wooden handle is placed on one side of the hatchet, while on the other a short stick is applied, the ends of which are tied firmly to the handle. The grooved stone axe is held firmly between the two sticks. [137]

The Koryak drink much water. They often get up in the night to take a drink of cold water, of which they always have a supply in wooden or 271

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[1] See p. 578.

[2] See Chapter X.

271 skin pails. The Maritime Koryak carry a supply of fresh water when hunting
in their skin boats. In order to avoid the necessity of melting snow and ice,
361 in winter, water is generally taken from ice-holes. All the settlements of the
Maritime Koryak are situated on the banks or at the mouths of rivers. The
312 Reindeer Koryak, too, place their tents in river valleys. Plate xxx, Fig. 1,
represents an evening scene by an ice-hole in the village Big Itkana, where
girls and boys come with buckets to fetch water for the
415 night. The water is poured into the bucket with a
wooden scoop. Water-buckets are made of strong thong-
281 seal skin or of aspen or poplar wood. Fig. 104 shows
[313] a skin bucket. Among the Eskimo are found buckets of
the same type, made of seal-skin and sewed together
with sinew-thread.[1] They are carried in a different man-
481 ner however. The Eskimo bucket has a handle made of
a strip of leather, like a regular bucket-handle, while the
171 Koryak bucket has two loops sewed on near the mouth.
To these loops are tied the ends of a broad seal-skin
carrying-strap, which is passed over the forehead, the
bucket resting on the back, — a method of carrying
burdens employed by many Indian tribes.

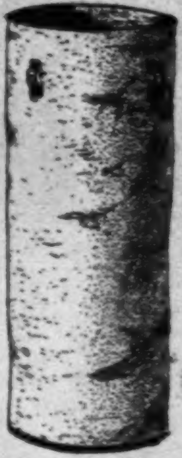

Fig. 104 ([illegible]). Skin Bucket.

322 The thick wooden bucket is also cylindrical. The
415 material is supplied by a part of a straight and solid
trunk of an aspen or poplar tree, which is hollowed out
by means of an adze, and finished with a simple knife.
The wooden bottom is inserted from above. Wooden
buckets are carried by women in the same way as seal-skin buckets (see
Plate xxxv, Fig. 2).

415 The wooden bucket is used for many purposes: when hunting sea-mam-
mals, it serves as a receptacle for the harpoon-heads; in the house, seal-oil
is kept in it; berries are also kept in both wooden and skin buckets; soup
for feeding dogs is carried out of the house in wooden buckets.

The material for spoons and ladles is furnished by the antlers of the
[237] reindeer and the horns of the mountain-sheep. Some are made of wood.
Broth is sipped from deep ladles; thick porridge or gruel is eaten with spoons:
[264] therefore spoons are shallow (Fig. 105, *a*). Bone teaspoons (Fig. 105, *b*) are
[556] made in imitation of imported metal spoons. Wealthy Reindeer Koryak pur-
chase metal table-spoons; some of them even have silver spoons.

Wooden plates, dishes, elongated platters and trays, and wooden and bone dippers, are of the same type as those of the Chukchee,[2] and I shall not

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[1] See, for example, Kroeber, The Eskimo of Smith Sound, Fig. 31, p. 288; and Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig. 142, p. 99.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 189.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXX

312

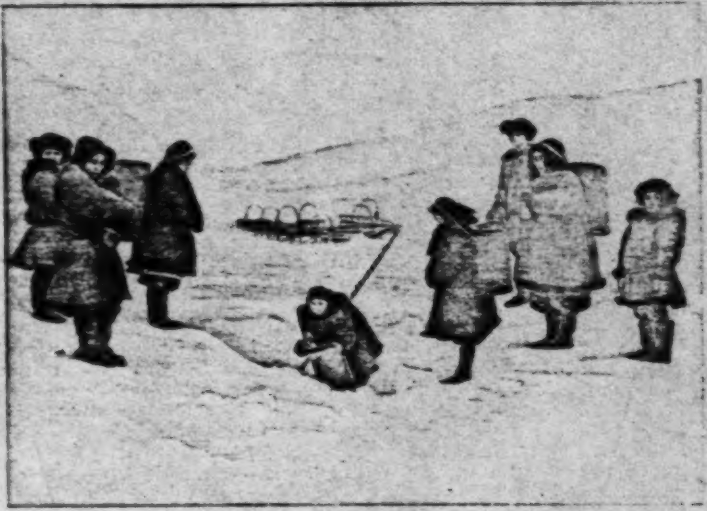

Fig. 1. Women drawing Water.

251

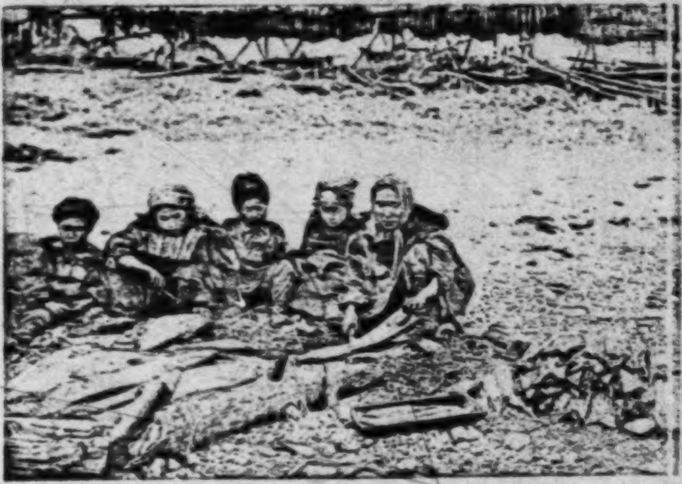

Fig. 2. Women cutting Salmon.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 570]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

415 dwell on their description. Among the wealthy Koryak, imported earthenware or enamelled iron plates may be found.

222
415 Fig. 106 represents a small wooden bucket with a lid, for picking berries. It is hollowed out in the same way as the large water-buckets, but it is furnished with two alder hoops, a lid, and a carrying-strap.

415
514
[310] The chamber-vessel (Fig. 107) is an indispensable part of the household goods. The Koryak do not go out of doors at night to void urine, while children even go to stool indoors. The chamber-vessel is hollowed out of an aspen or poplar tree. It is usually made with the brim bent inward to prevent the contents from spilling when the vessel is carried up the ladder of the underground house. The Reindeer Koryak keep it in the corner of the inner sleeping-tent, and its shape prevents its being upset by sleepers. If the vessel is full, the mistress raises the edge of the front side of the tent and pours the contents out into the outer tent. In the morning the women carry it out of doors and pour the urine on the snow, which then attracts the reindeer.[1] Instead of [356]

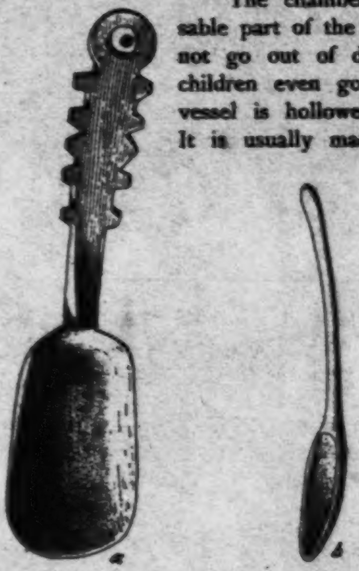

Fig. 105, a ([illegible]), Spoon made of Horn of Mountain-Sheep (Length, 30 cm.); b ([illegible]), Bone Teaspoon (length, 15 cm.).

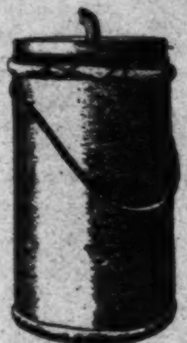

Fig 106 ([illegible]). Wooden Bucket Height, 26 cm.

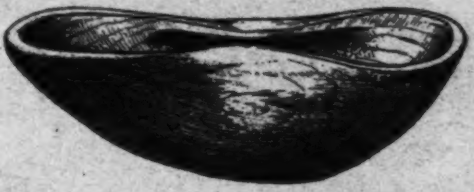

Fig 107 ([illegible]). Chamber-Vessel. Length 59 cm.

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[1] See p. 483.

Instead of

514 177 556 a wooden chamber-vessel, rich reindeer-breeders use imported brass wash-basins. Once when I had to remain over night at the tent of a wealthy reindeer-breeder, I had to sleep in the same tent with the proprietors. As soon as I entered the inner tent, and before I had had time to warm up and drink my tea, the host, as a special mark of courtesy, brought in the brass basin and placed it in the corner of the tent.

262 Animal Food. — Animal food is the principal, if not the exclusive nourishment of the Koryak, particularly of the Reindeer Koryak, who use less vegetable food than do the Maritime people. Animal food consists of fish, sea-mammals, reindeer, mountain-sheep, bears, birds, and shell-fish.

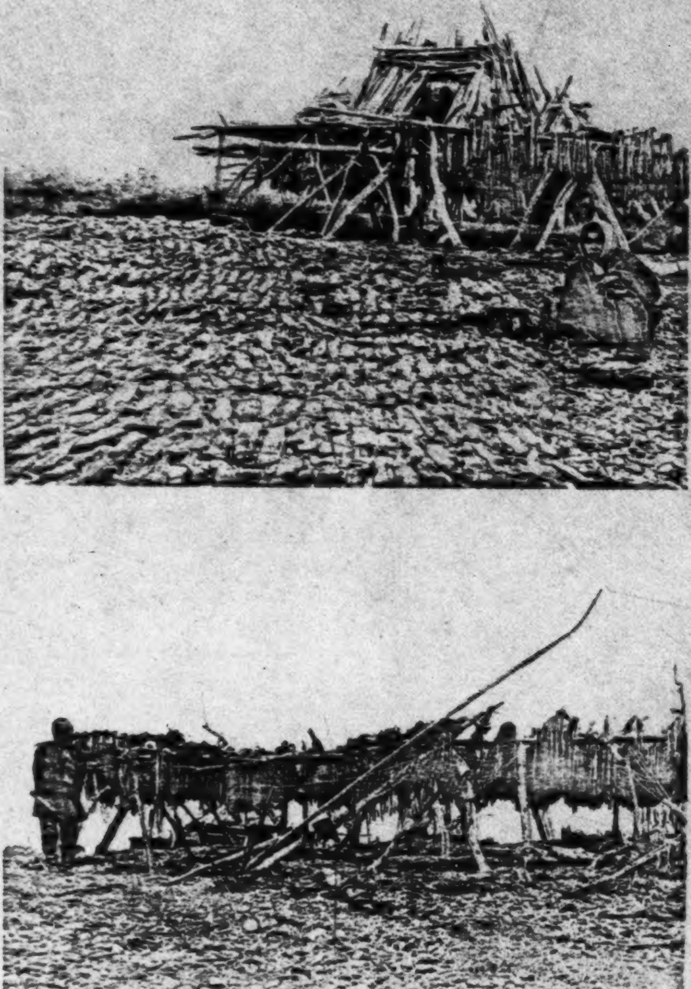
262 252 Fish, fresh and sun-dried, is the main food of the Maritime Koryak. During the summer and autumn, boiled fresh fish is eaten. The people are also fond of frying fresh fish on spits. Heads of fish are eaten raw, the cartilages being considered dainties. In winter, fish is eaten both cooked and raw. Raw fish is eaten frozen and sliced into thin chips. The eating of frozen fish is, however, much more widespread among the Arctic tribes west of the Stanovoi Ridge and among the Russians.

251 Dried fish (called by the Russian settlers "yukola") is prepared by the women on the river-bank or seashore during the summer fishing-season, and is preserved for winter use. Plate xxx, Fig. 2, shows how the women cut fresh dog-salmon for drying it in the sun. First the head is cut off, which is dried separately. Then the maw is ripped open with a knife, and the entrails are taken out. The roe is dried separately, and the flesh is cut in broad strips along both sides of the backbone. These strips remain joined at the tail, and are thus hung over the poles of the drying-frames. On sunny days the drying proceeds very fast. In three or four days the yukola is ready. In clear weather the preliminary drying is done on open drying-frames, as shown on Plate xxxi. When dry, the yukola is taken off from the drying-frames and hung under the platform of the storehouse. In autumn, when the nights are cold, and there is no danger of rot being caused by dampness, the dried fish are piled up and placed in the storehouse. The sun-dried fish is covered with a dry crust, beneath which the flesh remains soft, and the fat is preserved; but the process of air-drying rarely goes on without trouble. On hot days, in the absence of winds, numerous large flies settle on the fish, and lay their eggs. After two or three days, larvæ come out, which devour the juicy part of the yukola, and leave only a thin, dry, and tasteless layer on the skin. The preparation of the yukola fares still worse if foggy and rainy days prevail during the period of the main catch. Though hung up under special platforms or under the platform of the storehouse, the sliced fish does not dry, but begins to decompose, and the decaying pieces become detached from the skin and fall to the ground; so that in a wet summer, even when the catch of fish has been excellent, the Koryak

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXXI.

2.51



DRYING SALMON.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 572]

251 may remain with a scanty supply for winter use, owing to their ignorance of other methods of preserving fish than by sun-drying. The weather most favorable for preparing the yukola is during clear cool days, with a strong wind that scatters the flies. In general, yukola made of dog-salmon seemed
[264] to me tasteless and dry; it cannot be compared with the fat juicy yukola made of the *Coregonidæ* of the Arctic rivers. Hence the Koryak, when eating dog-salmon yukola, dip it in seal-oil.

After the strips of meat for yukola have been cut off, some flesh still remains on the skeleton of the fish. A portion of this is cut off in thin slices, and dried in the sun on the sand or gravel of the river-banks. The skeletons of the fish are hung up to dry on ordinary drying-frames, and in winter serve as food for the dogs.

262 It is interesting to note that in cutting up herring, the ancient bone knife only is used. Such a knife, made of the jaw-bone of a white whale,
252 is represented in Fig. 108. All other fish is cut with modern iron knives.
412 This may be due to the convenience of the bone knife, — which is similarly still used by the Koskimo of Vancouver Island for cutting herring, — or it may be a taboo pointing to the fact that in former times herring played a more important part in the food of the Koryak than it does now. With reference to other species of fish, a taboo is observed of not cutting them across the body, but lengthwise only.

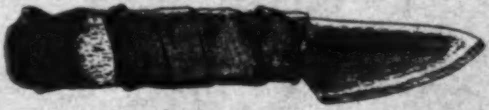


Fig. 108 ([illegible]). Bone Herring-Knife. Length, 22 cm.

251 I have already mentioned that in certain settlements, as in Itkana, where the catch of large salmon is small, the principal winter supply of fish consists of uyo'k (*Salmo socialis*). This small fish is dried on the sand or gravel of the shore, on which it is spread in a thick layer. Heaps of fish are frequently turned over with rakes (Fig. 109) the teeth of which are made of

[412]

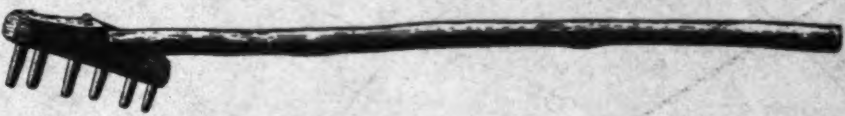


Fig. 109 ([illegible]). Fish-Rake. Length, 60 cm.

[262] reindeer-antler. This fish, like the dried dog-salmon, is eaten in winter, dipped in seal-oil; or it is mixed with roots and boiled, and eaten as a gruel. If the summer is rainy, the heaps of *Salmo socialis* turn into one mal-odorous mass, which freezes with the advent of cold nights. In Itkana every house-owner stores up for winter two or three storehouses full of this small fish.

262 In settlements where dog-salmon is the main supply, this species of smelt is eaten by men only in the years when no dog-salmon has been caught. In years when there is plenty of dog-salmon, it is used only for making a soup for the dogs.

Sea-mammals, mainly seals, occupy a prominent place in the household of the Maritime Koryak; but since the supplies do not hold out long, meat of sea-mammals is not eaten often. Towards spring, hardly any storehouse contains meat of sea-mammals. In summer and autumn their meat, particularly that of young ones, is consumed in large quantities, and considered a more toothsome food than fish.

251 The meat of seals and other sea-mammals is principally eaten boiled. There is reason to think that in former times meat was cooked in clay pots. Late in autumn, when the killed seals freeze, the Koryak preserve them entire, if not wanted for immediate consumption. At other times they are cut up right after the hunt, lest they decay. The blubber is cut into pieces
415 and tried out. Until cold weather sets in, the oil is kept in bags made of a seal's stomach or of bladders. For this purpose a wooden pipe is inserted in the opening of the bladder or bag. It serves as a neck to the soft bottle, and is closed with a wooden or bone stopper, the edges of the bladder or stomach being fastened tight to the pipe with a sinew thread. In winter, seal-oil is frozen and cut with a knife as needed. The meat of gutted seals is cut into small pieces and placed in the storehouse in troughs or buckets, where it is preserved until cooking time. Seal-meat is sometimes dried in the sun in summer. It is cut into thin slices and hung up on the poles of drying-frames, or it is spread out on the ground. On journeys, seal-meat is also eaten raw, cut with a knife into small slices.

262 The meat of the white whale, on account of its taste, is prized more highly than seal-meat, and its oil is particularly well liked. The white-whale oil is entirely free from the unpleasant smell of seal-oil. A single white whale yields between six hundred and twelve hundred pounds, or more, of a light-colored oil, which congeals at 4° or 5° C. The fried skin of the white whale, too, is considered a dainty.

In Bering-Sea the meat of walrus and sea-lions is highly valued; but both animals are becoming more and more scarce, owing to their pursuit by poaching schooners. Walrus used to be particularly numerous in Karagha Bay and in the coves of Karagha Island. Even now, Koryak hunters, not only from the villages of Qare′nɪn and Kičhɪn, but also from Alut, undertake walrussing-expedition to Karagha Island in summer in their skin boats.

262 252 The reindeer is the source of the principal foodsupply of the Reindeer Koryak. The marrow, kidney, liver, gristle, and tendons of the legs, which are torn off with the teeth, are eaten raw, after the reindeer is killed. The marrow is treated as a dainty. It is obtained by breaking the bone with a

stone hammer or with a blow of the back of a large knife. On journeys, 262
frozen raw meat, cut into thin slices is eaten; but reindeer-meat is generally
eaten cooked. At present meat is cooked in iron or copper kettles. In 252
winter, especially in the tents of wealthy reindeer-breeders, these kettles 252
always hang over the fire in the outer tent, full of hot broth, which is not
served on the table at the regular meals, but is used at all hours for quench- 264
ing the thirst. Whoever wants a drink takes a small ladle and dips out [271]
some of the broth from the kettle. The herdsman, on coming home from
the pasture, straightway refreshes himself with broth. The kettle is not
cleaned. Meat, intestines, reindeer-tongues, and other parts of the animal,
left from the previous cooking, are thrown into the broth. The meat is
cooked for a short time, for the Koryak do not like it well done. The
kettle is full of dirt from the hands of the cooks, and of reindeer-hair, which
drops in with the unwashed meat; but that does not prevent the broth from
being a refreshing drink. When the liquid in the kettle runs too low, water
is added or snow is thrown in. Thus the kettle is kept full until the camp
is broken up to be moved to another place. The women serve cooked meat
in the inner tent. After it has been cut into pieces, it is placed on boards,
wooden platters, or troughs. The Koryak take hold of a chunk of meat
with the left hand, and, holding it with their teeth, cut off a mouthful with
a knife held in the right, cutting from below upward. All Siberian natives
eat meat in the same manner. For journeys, meat-cutlets are made of raw
meat by pounding meat and reindeer fat with a stone hammer. If edible
roots are at hand, they are added.

However, the food of the Reindeer Koryak does not consist of reindeer- 262
meat alone. To a considerable degree they resort to the fish and sea-food
of the Maritime Koryak; just as the latter, in winter, purchase reindeer from
the Reindeer Koryak. Wealthy reindeer-breeders who wander far from the
sea-coast, use almost no fish at all, and even less sea-mammals. They catch
fish only in summer in mountain-rivers in small nets or weirs, but do not
store it up for winter. Besides, the catch in mountain-rivers is insignificant.[1]
They eat sea-food and dog-salmon only when people from the coast import
them, or when one of their own number visits the coast in winter.

Those who own small herds of reindeer and do not tend the herds of 233
wealthy herd-owners, but wander about alone, must procure supplies of fish
for winter, since they cannot afford to kill many reindeer. These poor rein- 262
deer-breeders go out in summer to the mouth of some river or to the sea- 556
coast, and there dry fish for winter use. On occasion they also kill sea-
mammals, but usually they own no skin boats, and do not go out to sea to
hunt. Some wealthy reindeer-breeders — for instance, those on the west

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[1] See pp. 529, 534.

262 side of the Taigonos Peninsula, who wander with their herds near the Russian
233 villages or near the main trail, and are often visited by Russians on their
dog-sledges — send out in summer several members of their families to
556 prepare a supply of sun-dried fish for winter use, and for food for their guests
and for their dogs, that they may not have to kill too many reindeer for
this purpose. A whole small reindeer suffices for but a single feeding of a
team of ten or twelve dogs.

262 Generally speaking, the Reindeer Koryak are very fond of eating dried
574 dog-salmon and "sea-morsels," (i. e., the meat and blubber of sea-mammals).
437 They seek every opportunity to satisfy this craving, which is possibly a survival
from a period when the present nomadic reindeer-breeders were still
maritime hunters. As soon as the snow is in good condition for driving,
the Reindeer Koryak begin to appear on sledges in the villages of the
Maritime Koryak to obtain "sea-food," and barter entire carcasses of frozen
seal, oil, dog-salmon, and skin of the white whale. Each Reindeer Koryak
has among the Maritime people a friend who supplies him with sea-food, and
who, in his turn, later on visits the nomad camp of the Reindeer Koryak to
get reindeer-meat.

262 With all the craving of the Reindeer Koryak for the "sea-morsels," they
dislike subsisting long on sea-food. Thus a wealthy Taigonos reindeer-breeder
told me that his sons had lived too long on the coast, subsisting on fish and
seal alone, and had become completely worn out. He then went to his herd
and killed a reindeer for them, that they might regain their strength. On
the other hand, the Maritime Koryak like to obtain reindeer meat and fat,
even when they have plenty of fish; while in winter, when fishing is poor,
they often visit the nomad camp of the Reindeer Koryak either to buy reindeer-meat
or to obtain it by begging.

223 In describing bird-hunting,[1] I mentioned that its economic importance is
slight. The Koryak do not like sea-gulls, and consider them tasteless; but
262 when food is scarce, they do not disdain them. Early in summer, previous
to the fishing-season, the Maritime Koryak eat all kinds of sea-fowl; but when
fishing and sealing begin, bird-hunting ceases. The Koryak are very fond of
birds' eggs. During the nesting-season they undertake expeditions to the
islands in skin boats to gather eggs, which are collected by hundreds and
eaten boiled right after they have been gathered, or on the following days.
They do not discriminate between new-laid and rotten eggs. Once I was
252 present when some Koryak were eating boiled eggs which were so decomposed
that a strong odor was noticeable a long way off. In many eggs there were
already half-hatched birds, but this did not in the least prevent the Koryak
from relishing their food.

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[1] See p. 557.

Mollusks are gathered on the seashore and eaten by both the Maritime 226 and the Reindeer Koryak, but are not considered a particularly delicate food. They are gathered mainly when there is not enough fish and other sea-food. 262 Evidently mollusks were formerly eaten to a much greater extent. In [172] excavating ancient underground houses of the Maritime Koryak at the mouth of the river Nayakhan, on a rocky coast rising about sixty metres above the [136] sea, I found piles of shells of the following species:[1] *Purpura saxicola*, *Mytilus edulis*, *Mya arenaria*, and *Littorina grandis*. The same species are in use at present. [412] Fig. 110 shows a pick made of bone of whale, with which to pick mollusks out of the shell. It is called kıḷka′kuna (from kıḷkak, the Koryak name for *Littorina grandis*).

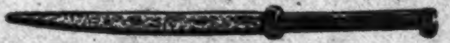

Fig. 110 ([illegible]). Bone Pick for extracting Shell-Fish from Shells. Length, 10 cm.

The Reindeer Koryak eat the larva of the reindeer-fly (*Œstrus tarandi* [136] Nordenskiöld, or *Tabanus tarandinus* Slunin), which develops under the skin of the reindeer. In spring, when the larvæ creep out from beneath the skin and settle on the hair, the Koryak gather and eat them. Herdsmen gather larvæ in their caps and bring them home as a treat for the children.

Vegetable Food. — Vegetable food plays a lesser rôle among the 262 Koryak than among the Kamchadal, but a greater one than among the Chukchee. We have already learned from the myths that the ancestor of the Koryak, Big-Raven, was fond of berries, edible roots and herbs, and pudding prepared from them.

Koryak women gather edible roots from the burrows of red-backed mice, 462 of which two species (*Evotomys latastei* and *Ev. Wosnessenskii*) are found in the Gishiga region and in the northern part of Kamchatka. In autumn, 222 when the mice have laid in their winter supplies of roots, their burrows are 136 dug up by means of picks, specimens of which are represented in Fig. 111; *a* representing an ancient form of root-digger, with a bone point tied to a [412] wooden bow-shaped handle; while *b* shows the recent type, with an iron point, but preserving its former shape and the manner of attaching the point to the handle.

In locating the burrows of mice, aid is given by dogs which the women 222 take along. The mice are in the habit of cleaning the roots of adhering particles of soil, and of placing them in rows in underground passages. It 825 is deemed a sin to take away all the stores of a mouse. A small part of the supplies should be left. Besides, the burrows are not dug up late in the fall, that the mice may have ample opportunity to replenish their ravaged storerooms. I also found a belief current among the Koryak, widespread among other tribes of northeastern Siberia, that, on finding their storerooms emptied, the mice resort to suicide by hanging themselves in the crotches of branches.

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[1] Identified by Dr. Louis P. Gratacap.

000 the mice resort to suicide by hanging themselves in the crotches of branches.
137 The following roots are dug out of mice-holes: bulbs of martagon (*Fritil-*
222 *laria sarana*); *Claytonia acutifolia* Wild, called 'sweet-root' by the Rus-
262 sians, i'nat by the Koryak; roots of wild sorrel (*Polygonum polymorphum*);
the root called me'tčin by the Koryak and 'bitter-root' by the Russians; and
the roots of sedge grass
(called pa'lxo by the Kor-
yak). All these roots are
eaten both raw and cooked.
[264] When eaten raw, they are
dipped in seal-oil or poun-
ded with roe. They are
cooked with fish and rein-
deer-meat, either in the
form of a porridge made
of roots ground together
with fish, or by cooking
roots in seal or reindeer blood.

222 Willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*;
137 Koryak, mᴇ'nmet occupies the first place
252 among edible herbs. The stems of willow-
262 herb are dried in bunches in the sun or
[264] over the hearth, and are chopped with
stone hatchets (see Fig. 103). Pieces of
seal-blubber or reindeer-fat are dipped into
the powder thus obtained, and are thus
eaten. The flour is also made into a pud-
ding by grinding the crushed herb with
[251] berries and melted seal-oil. In Kamchatka
the pith is taken from the split stems, dried
in the sun, and stored away for winter use.
[272] The fresh leaves of willow-herb are used
instead of tea, when the latter is lacking. In
northern Kamchatka the Koryak use for food
the stem of the sweet *Heracleum spandilium*.

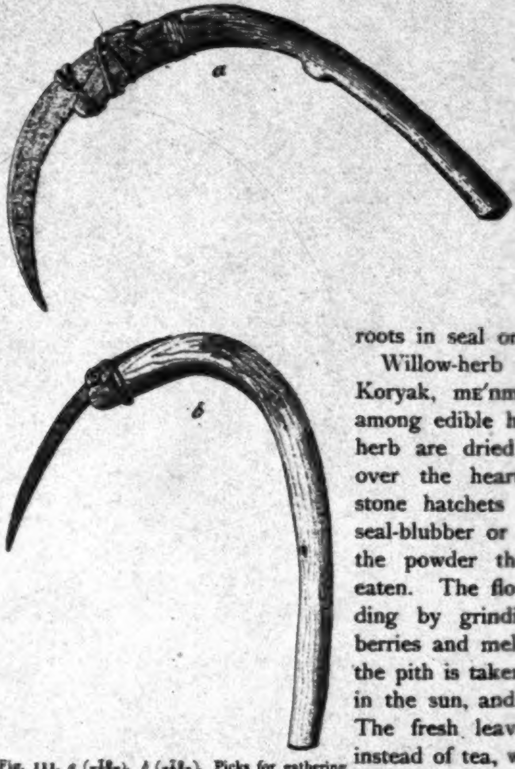

Fig. 111, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Picks for gathering Roots. Greatest length, 56 cm., 37 cm.

Berries as well as roots are used fresh, raw, or cooked in porridge made of blood, or of cooked fish or meat. Berries also form an ingredient in puddings made of ground fish-roe, fat, and pounded fish. A favorite dish is furnished by the pounded flesh of sun-dried dog-salmon mixed with seal-oil and bleaberries. This mixture is pounded in wooden trays or dishes with wooden or bone pestles. A bone pestle is represented in Fig. 112. The following is a list of the principal berries used: *Empetrum nigrum*, *Vaccinium uliginosum*, *Vaccinium Vitis idæa*, *Rubus chamæmorus*, and also *Lonicera cærulea* and *Prunus padus* (in northern Kamchatka). Bleaberries (*Vaccinium uliginosum*) are considered the best. In Kamchatka the fruit of *Prunus padus* is crushed, and dried in the sun in the form of flat cakes. 262 137 222

Puddings made of crushed berries, roe, fish and seal oil, are frozen and then eaten, pieces being chopped off with a knife. These puddings are considered a treat for visitors, and excellent travelling-provisions. 252

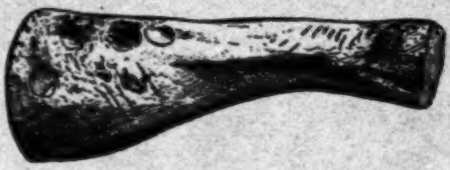

Fig. 112 ($\frac{70}{818}$). Bone Pestle. Length, 23 cm.

Berries are picked in summer and autumn. The Reindeer Koryak have more opportunity than the Maritime Koryak to pick the cloudberry (*Rubus chamæmorus*), which grows in the tundra; but they do not store it, and they eat it right after picking.

Other food-plants are the fruit of the wild rose (*Rosa alpina* Pall.), the mountain ash, sea-colewort, cedarnuts, and willow-bark. Sea-colewort (*Alaria esculanta;* Koryak, me'čgomei) is eaten not only by the Maritime Koryak, but also by the Reindeer Koryak when hunting on the seacoast in summer. It is cut with a knife, and cooked with seal or reindeer blood, or also with reindeer-meat. Cedar-nuts are gathered late in autumn, extracted from their cones, and preserved in small skin bags. It is interesting to note that the Koryak eat the nuts with their shells on. The inner portion of willow-bark is also consumed. It is stripped off the trees, crushed with a stone hammer, and cooked with fish. It is also chewed raw.

To the vegetable foods used by the Reindeer Koryak must also be added the contents of the reindeer's first stomach, which consists of reindeer-moss not completely digested. This greenish mass is cooked with reindeer-blood. This food, however, is now beginning to drop out of use. Wealthy reindeer-breeders usually throw away the contents of the reindeer stomach; but when other food is lacking, the herdsmen eat them. 262

The winter supplies of berries, roots, and other edible plants, are not large, and do not figure as an essential or constant ingredient of nourishment. Towards the middle of winter, hardly any supplies of vegetable food are left; and towards spring, when animal food is about to give out, all the vegetable food has been consumed. 251

Flour and rice are sold by Russian dealers. These products may also be found at the government depot in Gishiga, where they are sold to the natives at cost price. 262 439

The Koryak are very fond of these imported vegetable products, particularly of rice, of which gruel is cooked and eaten with seal-oil or reindeer-fat. They like wheat flour, but not rye flour. It is mixed with water or blood, and

262 boiled as a gruel. Most of the Koryak can rarely afford to have imported
439 food, as they have no money with which to buy it. Biscuits and fresh bread
also have the reputation of being good food; but these, too, very rarely come
[437] within their reach. In winter the cossaks and other Russian inhabitants take
bread to the Koryak villages and camps, and exchange it for reindeer-meat
and other products. Still the Koryak look upon biscuit and bread rather as
a dainty, and not as a real food on which a human being can subsist. I
have heard the Koryak say that when they eat too much bread, they suffer
from stomach-ache.

272 Tea came to be known after the people had come into contact with the
177 Russians. At present its use is wide-spread everywhere. Most of the Koryak,
however, have no tea in summer, as they lack the means to buy large
supplies. The kind of tea used is brick-tea. To make tea, the brick is
heated by the hearth, as a result of which it becomes soft and can be minced
with a knife. The minced tea is boiled in a tea-pot. The tea decoction is
strong, and almost black in color. Brick-tea is inferior to leaf-tea as a stimul-
272 ant. The Koryak drink much tea, ten and more cups in succession, and do
264 so several times a day, provided they find any one willing to treat them.
Usually the Koryak drink tea after meals; but when guests are feasted, a
light side-dish, like sun-dried fish, marrow from reindeer-legs, or berry-pudding,
is served first, then tea, and finally meat dishes. Tea is served in the same
order by the other inhabitants of northeastern Siberia; for instance, by the
415 Yakut, Tungus, and Yukaghir. A teapot and two or three cups of crockery
or enamelled ware, with saucers, are found in nearly every house. They are
177 preserved as treasures, in special boxes with holes chiselled out for the cups;
or they are wrapped in soft rags. In the absence of a sufficient number of
cups, they drink tea by turns, the women and children after the older people.
Visitors usually bring their own cups with them. The Koryak also have
home-made cups made of deer-antler and horn of the mountain-sheep. The
small tin cans in which our condensed milk was put up were very cleverly
turned into cups with tin handles. The Koryak drink the hottest tea from
them without burning their lips.

276 NARCOTICS AND STIMULANTS. — The Koryak have also learned the use of
tobacco from the Russians, and, like all other Siberian natives, they are passion-
177 ately fond of it. But while others, the Chukchee among them, mainly smoke
tobacco, very few smokers are found among the Koryak. Generally they
chew it, more rarely they snuff it, or they use it in both ways. They use
strong Russian leaf-tobacco, imported from the south of European Russia, in
bunches of about two pounds each.

For both chewing and snuffing, the tobacco is ground with ashes.
[137] Fig. 113 shows a wooden mortar with a pestle for grinding tobacco. When
grinding the tobacco, dried leaves of cudweed (*Gnaphalium uliginosum* L.)
are often added,

are often added. Ground tobacco is kept in birch-bark tobacco-boxes, which are suspended from the belt in skin cases. These cases are often embroidered with glass beads (see Fig. 133). When chewing, the pinch of tobacco is placed between the cheek and the jaw-bone. When thus used, the tobacco causes an abundant flow of saliva, and therefore the Koryak constantly expectorate. 000 415 531 276

Tobacco-leaves are also used for chewing. In this form, tobacco does not irritate the mucous membrane of the mouth as much as when ground. The use of it rolled, however, is more economical. A rolled piece of a leaf will last for a long time. After having tobacco in the mouth for a time, the Koryak takes it out and puts it behind his ear, as we do with a pencil, and then continues to chew it afresh a few minutes later. 276

I saw very few Koryak smoking, at least among those of Penshina Bay: therefore very few pipes are found. They manufacture very few themselves. Thus the large pipe represented in Fig. 114, purchased in the village of Kamenskoye, had been bought from the Chukchee, and resembles the large Eskimo pipes of this type. The pipe shown in Fig. 185, *c*, had been obtained on the coast of Bering Sea. I saw a few small copper pipes that had been imported by merchants from Vladivostok: these are of Chinese origin. For smoking-purposes, tobacco is cut up fine with an ordinary knife on a board, and mixed with finely cut aspen bark. 276 177

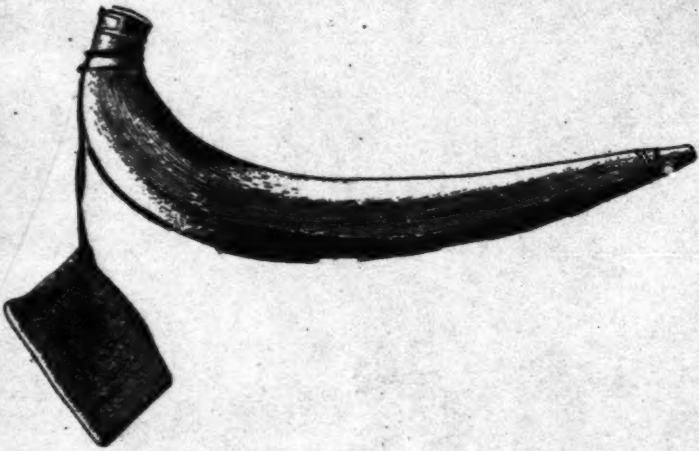
Fig. 114 (70/11). Tobacco-Pipe. Length, 71 cm.

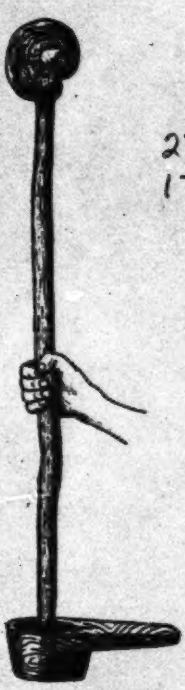
Fig. 113, (70/12). Tobacco Mortar and Pestle. Length of pestle, 103 cm.

000 276 171 aspen-bark. Though the Koryak are not such passionate tobacco-consumers as the Yakut, Tungus, Yukaghir, and other Siberian natives, hardly a man is to be found who does not use tobacco in one form or another. Many of the women, however, hardly use tobacco at all; while among the tribes mentioned above, not only every woman and adult girl, but even girls in their early teens, have their own pipes and tobacco-pouches; and the lack of tobacco is considered to be worse than hunger.

276 114 137 The Koryak are most passionate consumers of the poisonous crimson fly-agaric, even more so than the related Kamchadal and Chukchee, probably because the fungus is most common in their territory. Some travellers, as Krasheninnikoff and Dittmar, were of the opinion that the fly-agaric was bought by the Koryak from Kamchatka. Thus, Dittmar says that there is no fly-agaric on the Taigonos Peninsula,[1] and that it is brought there from Kamchatka; while Krashennikoff[2] asserts that in general the Koryak have no fly-agaric, and that they get it from the Kamchadal. My own observations, however, have convinced me that not only is fly-agaric abundant all over the Koryak territory, but that the Koryak supply the Chukchee with it. In the middle of the month of August I saw in the valley of the Varkhalam River, not far from its mouth, an extensive field dotted with the characteristic crimson 463] caps of the fly-agaric, with their white spots. In the villages of the Maritime Koryak, along the whole western coast of Penshina Bay, I knew individuals who were engaged in gathering and drying fly-agaric, and who carried on a very profitable trade in it. One Koryak from Alutorsk, who dealt in fly-agaric, is mentioned by Slunin.[3]

276 171 The Koryak do not eat the fly-agaric fresh. The poison is then more effective, and kills more speedily. The Koryak say that three fresh fungi suffice to kill a person. Accordingly, fly-agaric is dried in the sun or over the hearth after it has been gathered. It is eaten by men only; at least, I never saw a woman drugged by it.[4] The method of using it varies. As far as I could see, in the villages of Penshina Bay, the men, before eating it, first let the women chew it, and then swallow it. Bogoras[5] says that the Chukchee tear the fungus into pieces, chew it, and then drink water. Slunin describes in the same way[6] the Koryak method of using fly-agaric. In describing the use of fly-agaric by the Chukchee and Koryak, Dittmar[7] says that they chew it, and keep the quid in their mouths for a long time without swallowing it. Krasheninnikoff[8] says that the Kamchadal roll the dried fungus up in the form of a tube, and swallow it unchewed, or soak it in a decoction of willow-herb and drink the tincture.

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[1] Dittmar, p. 451.

[2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 150.

[3] Slunin, I, p. 654.

[4] Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 150) says that the Kamchadal women do not eat fly-agaric, but Dittmar (p. 106) cites the case of a Koryak woman (a shaman) who was intoxicated by it.

[5] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 205.

[6] Slunin, I, p. 655.

[7] Dittmar, p. 506.

[8] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 147.

276 787 158 Like certain other vegetable poisons, as opium and hasheesh, the alkaloid of fly-agaric produces intoxication, hallucinations, and delirium. Light forms of intoxication are accompanied by a certain degree of animation and some spontaneity of movements. Many shamans, previous to their seances, eat fly-agaric in order to get into ecstatic states. Once I asked a Reindeer Koryak, who was reputed to be an excellent singer, to sing into the phonograph. Several times he attempted, but without success. He evidently grew timid before the invisible recorder; but after eating two fungi, he began to sing in a loud voice, gesticulating with his hands. I had to support him, lest he fall on the machine; and when the cylinder came to an end, I had to tear him away from the horn, where he remained bending over it for a long time, keeping up his songs.

Under strong intoxication, the senses become deranged; surrounding objects appear either very large or very small, hallucinations set in, spontaneous movements, and convulsions. So far as I could observe, attacks of great animation alternate with moments of deep depression. The person intoxicated by fly-agaric sits quietly rocking from side to side, even taking part in the conversation with his family. Suddenly his eyes dilate, he begins to gesticulate convulsively, converses with persons whom he imagines he sees, sings, and dances. Then an interval of rest sets in again.

However, to keep up the intoxication, additional doses of fungi are necessary. Finally a deep slumber results, which is followed by headache, sensations of nausea, and an impulse to repeat the intoxication. If there is a further supply of fungi, they are eaten. At the beginning of winter, when 276 574 the supply is still large, old men begin their carousals. In Kuel there are two elders of the Paren clans,[1] and during my sojourn in that village I was sometimes unable to hold conversation with either of them for days at a time. They were either intoxicated by the fungi or in a bad mood from the after-effects. At the same season the Reindeer Koryak resort to the coast settlements to purchase and eat fly-agaric. To regale a guest with fly-agaric is a sign of special regard. Dr. Slunin says a small glass of brandy or diluted alcohol serves as a splendid antidote in cases of fly-agaric poisoning.[2]

276 514 There is reason to think that the effect of fly-agaric would be stronger were not its alkaloid quickly taken out of the organism with the urine. The Koryak know this by experience, and the urine of persons intoxicated with fly-agaric is not wasted. The drunkard himself drinks it to prolong his hallucinations, or he offers it to others as a treat. According to the Koryak, the urine of one intoxicated by fly-agaric has an intoxicating effect like the fungus, though not to so great a degree. I remember how, in the village of Paren, a company of fly-agaric eaters used a can in which California fruit had been put up, as a beaker, into which the urine was passed, to be drunk

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[1] See p. 437.

[2] Slunin, I, p. 654.

276 afterwards. I was told of two old men who also drank their own urine when
514 intoxicated by brandy, and that the intoxication was thus kept up.

276 From three to ten dried fungi can be eaten without deadly effect. Some
individuals are intoxicated after consuming three. Cases of death rarely occur.
I was told of a case in which a Koryak swallowed ten mushrooms without
feeling their effect. When he swallowed one more, vomiting set in, and he
died. In the opinion of the Koryak, the spirits of the fly-agaric had choked
him.[1] They related that these spirits had come out with the matter vomited,
in the shape of worms, and that they vanished underground.

273 The Koryak were made acquainted with brandy by the Russians and by
177 American whalers. Despite the prohibition issued by the Russian Government
against the importation of brandy, it often finds its way in winter into the
Koryak villages and camps, being taken there on trading-trips by Russian
merchants. Whalers take it to the coast settlements in summer. Like all
[437] other primitive tribes, the Koryak are passionate consumers of brandy, and
dealers often obtain an arctic or red fox in exchange for one wineglassful of
brandy. To my question as to which they preferred, brandy or fly-agaric,
many Koryak answered, "Fly-agaric." Intoxication from the latter is considered
more pleasurable, and the reaction is less painful, than that following brandy.
273 Like fly-agaric, brandy is drunk chiefly by elderly men. Old people do not
[888] give it to the young, that they themselves may not be deprived of the
pleasure; and if young people or women happen to obtain brandy, they
frequently give it up to the older members of the family. Two herd-owners
[177] whom I met on the Palpal were entirely unacquainted with this drink. Some
Koryak in the coast villages have learned from the Russian Cossacks how to
make brandy of bleaberries. They subject the berries to fermentation, and
by means of a pipe distil the liquid from one iron kettle into another, the
latter serving as a refrigerator. The result is a rather strong liquor of such
disgusting taste and odor that the mere attempt to taste it nauseated me.
Krasheninnikoff[2] says that the Cossacks in Kamchatka and, following their
example, the Kamchadal, distilled brandy from "sweet grass" (*Heracleum
sphandilium*).

264 MEALS. — The Koryak are rather moderate in their use of food. Such
gluttons as are seen among the Yakut are rarely found among them. They
eat twice a day — in the morning, soon after rising; and at night, before
going to bed. If the food-supply is abundant, they take a light third meal
in the middle of the day. The Reindeer Koryak usually eat reindeer-meat
both morning and evening; while the Maritime Koryak generally eat sun-dried
fish in the morning, and seal-meat, if there be any on hand, in the evening.
In general, the principal meal is taken in the evening. The habit of eating
heartily before bedtime is widespread throughout northern Siberia.

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[1] On the religious attitude towards fly-agaric, see Part I, p. 120.

[2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 406.

The Maritime Koryak consider one dried dog-salmon and a half per man, 262 with some seal-oil, sufficient for one day when fish is consumed exclusively. This is equivalent to about three or four pounds of fish.[1] A single thong- 511 seal is sufficient for a week for a family of six or seven. With the Reindeer Koryak a single reindeer will do for three days for a family of the same size. In the village of Kamenskoye, where I collected data concerning the number of seals stored by the inhabitants for winter, I also obtained information concerning the winter supplies of sun-dried dog-salmon. For 18 families, numbering in all 100 souls, there were laid in for the winter 34,000 sun-dried dog-salmon; i. e., 340 fish per head. On the basis of the calculations made above, this would suffice for 226 days, or seven months and a half. In the preceding chapter I stated[2] that in 1901 the inhabitants of Kamenskoye had for the winter an average supply of 14.3 thong-seals per family, which would furnish food for a little over two months and a half. Thus the inhabitants of Kamenskoye had an average food-supply for ten months. The time during which fishing and sea-hunting cannot be counted on at all, or very little, is nine months; consequently that year the inhabitants of Kamenskoye had a little more than they needed. The surplus must be accounted for as food for visitors. The meat of sea-mammals, and the fish which the Maritime Koryak give to the Reindeer Koryak, must not be taken into account, as the former receive reindeer-meat in exchange for the latter.

I have said before that for a family of six or seven a single reindeer is counted sufficient for three days, ten reindeer for a month, and ninety for nine months. I do not take into consideration the three summer months, as the reindeer-breeders rarely kill full-growm reindeer for food in summer. Many Reindeer Koryak in summer live principally on fish; the meat of perished calves or of full-grown deer fallen from disease; on berries, edible roots, and herbs. If the total number of Reindeer Koryak (3748) is divided by 6, we obtain 624 families, for which about 56,000 reindeer would be required, if all the Reindeer Koryak were to live for nine months on meat of full-grown reindeer exclusively. This number is evidently somewhat above the actual number of reindeer killed. Thus, in 1899, 32,566 reindeer-skins 438 were exported. Although over half of this number (about 18,000) were skins of calves one month old,[3] a number at least equal to that of the exported skins must have been required for the clothes and tents of the Koryak themselves, and for those given in barter to the Maritime Koryak and Russian settlers. Furthermore, a small part of the skins exported through Gishiga come from the Anadyr district; but this amount is fully compensated, if not exceeded, by the skins of Koryak reindeer that are exported through the

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[1] The weight of a fresh dog-salmon, including head, bones, and viscera, is from five to fourteen Russian pounds; the average weight is eight Russian pounds, or a little over seven English pounds.

[2] See p. 549

[3] See Chapter XII, Trade.

438 Kamchadal ports Tigil and Petropavlovsk, and that are used for clothing by the Kamchadal and the Russians in Kamchatka.

MANAGEMENT OF FOOD-SUPPLIES. — I have had occasion to observe many
261 cases of lack of foresight in northern Siberia. Thus the Yukaghir, in
185 the early part of winter, squander their supplies of fish, and regale their
Yakut visitors liberally, while towards spring they go hungry. The lack of
restraint or foresight also hinders the growth of the Tungus herds. A poor
Tungus will kill his riding-reindeer for meat more readily than will a wealthy
Koryak kill one that has not been broken. On this abstinence is based the
increase of the Koryak herds. A herd-owner, like the simple herdsman, while
tending the herd far from home, will feed on carrion or will go hungry rather
than kill a reindeer for himself. Some travellers have complained of the
stinginess of the Reindeer Koryak and of their reluctance to kill reindeer for
their guests, to whom they serve the meat of animals fallen from disease.
556 Notwithstanding all his abstemiousness, the owner of a herd, as I have said
above, may kill reindeer for actually starving people, and at times becomes
recklessly extravagant in order to show off his wealth.

The Maritime Koryak consume the provisions laid up in their storehouses economically, and hide them from visitors, lest they might ask for some. In the village Kamenskoye, where the main supply of fish consists of dog-salmon, I was told that for years at a time full storehouses of dried uyo'k (*Salmo socialis*) are kept for the contingency of a poor catch of dog-salmon.

731 Thanks to such foresight, and to the relative abundance of fish and sea-mammals in Koryak waters, actual famines are very rare among the Maritime Koryak. However, a great famine occurred in the late seventies along the coasts of Penshina Bay. I did not succeed in learning the exact date. During that summer almost no fish entered the rivers. As a result of this, there were almost no sea-mammals, either, near the coast. Therefore there was not enough food for the winter; and in spring a genuine famine set in, especially when the snow began to melt, and communication with the Reindeer Koryak and the Russians became impossible. I was told that during that famine nearly half of the population of the Itkana villages and a part of the Paren people died. Since then no such disastrous summer has recurred, although toward spring food has been scanty every year.

Thanks to their herds, the Reindeer Koryak are secure against such
431 famine. Poor people usually keep near the herd of a wealthy kinsman, or
follow him and avail themselves of his gifts when in need. Murrain, which
frequently appears among the reindeer, naturally undermines the prosperity
of the herd-owners; but during the epidemic there can be no famine, as the
Koryak eat the fallen reindeer.

IX. — CLOTHING.

281 291 171 Winter Clothing of Men and Women. — The winter clothing of both branches of the Koryak is made of reindeer-skins. Skins of other animals are used only for trimming or adorning winter clothing. Only fur caps and mittens are not infrequently made entirely of dog, fox, or wolf skin, and the soles of boots are made of thong-seal or walrus hide. Skins of grown reindeer are not used for clothing, but only those of fawns, beginning with the newly born and up to seven months old. The warmest clothing is made of skins of fawns six or seven months old, which are killed late in autumn. Their fur consists of fine, soft, not long, but very thick hair. Clothing made of fawn-skins is not only warm, but is also remarkably light in weight. Owing to the lack of fawn-skins, the Yukaghir and Tungus often make their winter overcoats of heavy winter skins of old reindeer. These are so heavy that they impede the motion of the wearer. Clothing made of the skins of mountain-sheep is equally heavy.

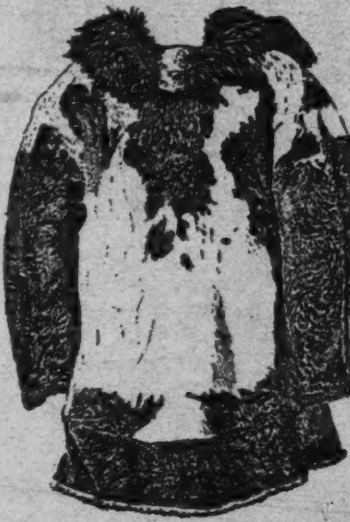

Fig. 115 ([illegible]). Man's Coat.

Winter Coat. — The fundamental pattern of the coat is the same for men and women. It has the shape of a fur shirt which is pulled down over the head. The man's coat, especially that of the Reindeer Koryak who ride astride on their light sledges, is shorter than that of the woman (Fig. 115). It does not reach down to the knees; while that of the women falls lower, usually down to the calves of the legs. The winter travelling-coats of old men, especially of the Maritime Koryak (Plate xxxii, Fig. 1), reach sometimes below the knees. The cut of the coat is the same as that of the Chukchee. The sleeves are very full about the fore-arms to enable the wearer to draw his hands out and hide them within the shirt, and narrow about the wrists to prevent the easy access of cold air. The difference between the Koryak coat and that of the Chukchee is, that between the lower border and the fur

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1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R44 Koryak R44

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXXII.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 587]

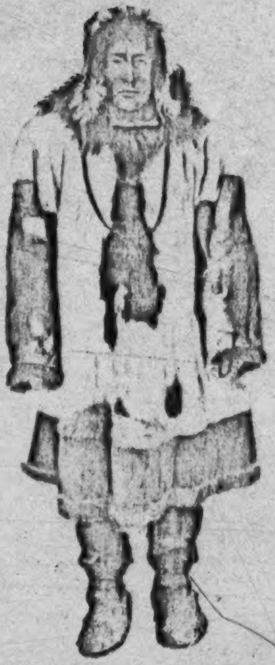

Fig. 1. Man in Winter Costume.

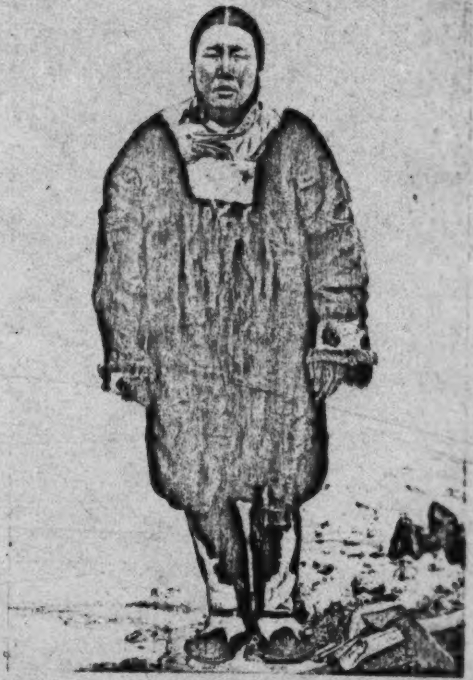

Fig. 2. Woman in Combination-Suit.

281 trimming there is inserted a strip of reindeer-skin about four or five inches
wide, and of a color different from that of the whole coat. If the coat is
291 made of dark skins, the inserted strip is of light or mottled color, and *vice
171 versâ*. The Chukchee woman's coat is generally shorter than that of the
Koryak. Under the coat of the Chukchee woman the lower part of the
trousers is visible, but rarely under that of the Koryak woman. Among the
Chukchee, coats are seldom provided with hoods, while among the Koryak
all the women's coats and many of the men's travelling-coats, are furnished
with hoods. Funeral clothing is never made without hoods.[1] The women of
the Maritime Koryak use almost no caps at all, contenting themselves with
throwing their hoods over their heads. The women of the Reindeer Koryak
go without caps,[2] not only about the house, but even to the herd.

The travelling-coat of men for winter (la'xlan-i' săn) is double, consisting
of two fur shirts so adjusted that one is inside the other, and they are put
on and taken off together. The inner shirt has the hair toward the body;
the outer, outward. The two shirts are not sewed together, so that they are
easily taken apart and can be worn separately. The outer one is made of
the skins of fawns, preferably of those of mottled color killed late in the fall.
Black or dark brown spots on a white or grayish background are considered
291 particularly pretty, but the skins most commonly used have white or grayish
spots on a dark or a light-tawny background. White or light-gray skins are
[171] used for funeral clothing only.[3] Russian settlers and Russianized natives prefer
black or dark-tawny reindeer-skins. In certain localities this taste is developing also among the Koryak. Thus the Koryak who are engaged in trade,
and rich reindeer-breeders, wear outer coats of dark skins. The inner coat
is usually made of skins of younger fawns, from one to three months old, so
that the double coat may not be too thick and hinder movement. Besides,
the tender fur of young fawns is more pleasant to wear next to the body
than the thicker hair of the older fawns. The Koryak wear fur clothing
next to the body. Excepting those entirely Russianized, very few Koryak
wear chintz or calico shirts under the fur clothing. These are worn without
change until they fall to pieces.[4]

291 Women rarely wear a double winter coat, as they put the coat on over
281 the double fur combination-suit which will be described later on. For the
294 most part, women wear the single coat, fur inward. The skin side, well

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[1] See Part I, pp. 106, 108.

[2] It is interesting to note here Turner's statement that the Eskimo of Hudson Bay "do not wear caps, the hood of the frocks being the only head-covering" (see Turner, p. 209).

[3] See Part I, p. 105. According to Murdoch (p. 109), the Eskimo of Point Barrow value the skins of the white Siberian domestic reindeer highly "for full-dress jackets." But the Koryak do not wear clothing of white skins.

[4] Like the Russian settlers, the Koryak of Russianized villages wear chintz shirts, flannel blouses, or knit jackets under their fur coats. I saw some Maritime Koryak wearing American knit sweaters or coats purchased from the American whalers. A very comical figure indeed was presented by a Koryak clad in trousers and boots of reindeer-skins and a [illegible] coat of [illegible], which he wore without shirt and vest.

dressed, is dyed a dark red or tawny hue, and adorned with pendants, stripes, 291
and square patches of white skin, and with glass-bead embroideries.[1] 294

To the breast of the outer coat with attached hood, and near the collar, a fur flap made of the skin of reindeer-legs is sewed (see Fig. 116). This 281
flap serves to protect the face from cold winds. In the funeral coat this flap is used for covering the face of the deceased.

At home, or when working near the house, the Koryak men, even in the cold of winter, ordinarily wear a single fur shirt with the fur side either in or out. A coat worn with the flesh side next the body has the advantage that the hairless skin does not afford nesting-place for insects; but, on the other hand, it is easily soaked by perspiration, and hardens when it dries again. The single coat is shorter than the double one, and has no hood. The neck is wide enough to allow the head to pass through freely. It has a hem of skin, through which a nettle cord or leather strap is passed for tightening the collar. The ends of the cord are tied in front. To the necks of most single shirts a collar of black dog-fur is sewed. These collars are of varying width. I saw particularly wide dog-fur collars among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula (see Plate XL, Fig. 1). The fur of white dogs is used only for trimming funeral clothing.

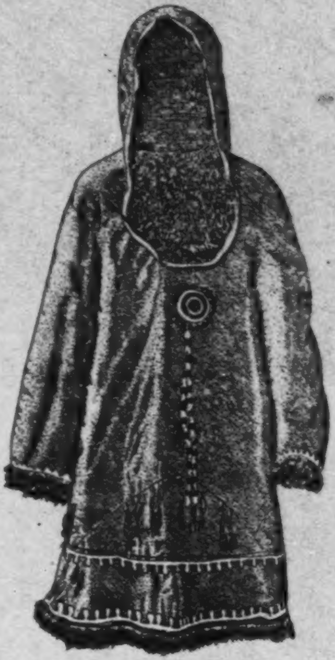

Fig. 116 ([illegible]). Woman's Coat.

Woman's Winter Combination-Suit. — It has been stated before that women do not wear fur shirts next to the skin. Under the shirt they wear a fur suit similar in cut to the modern combination underwear for women. Such fur [171]
suits are worn in Siberia by the women of the Chukchee, Asiatic Eskimo,[2] and Koryak, and, according to a statement of Nelson, by the Eskimo women on Diomede and St. Lawrence Islands.[3] In former times all the Kamchadal women also wore such suits.[4] The Koryak call this suit ńa'u-kei ("woman's combination") in contrast to the children's combination-suit called kei-kei. The

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[1] On the adornment of clothing, see Chapter XI.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 244.

[3] Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, p. 30.

[4] See Steller, I, p. 37; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 64.

294 women's suit consists of a broad bodice joined to wide Turkish trousers which 291 are gathered below the knees (Figs. 117, 118; and Plate XXXII, Fig. 2). On the chest and back the bodice has a deep cut into which the woman 281 steps when putting on the suit. The sleeves are very wide, both at the shoulders and wrists, so that the hand can be taken out without any difficulty, which must be done when the woman wants to let down or take off the garment. A double combination-suit for women, for use in winter, is made of fawn-skins similar to those used in the man's double winter coat. A single, outer combination-suit is shown in Fig. 118; and an inner combination-suit, with hair side in, is represented in Fig. 119. Below the knees, where the trousers of the combination-suit are drawn in, the edges are trimmed with a leather hem, through which a cord runs for tightening the trousers and for tying them over the legs of the boots. The combination-suit of the Koryak woman is more carefully made, and of lighter weight, than that of the Chukchee woman, and thus does not render movement quite so difficult. The suit of the Chukchee woman represents a huge skin sack with [531] four appendages for the hands and feet. The ornamentation of the suit is also prettier than it is among the Chukchee. The lower portions of the sleeves and trouser-legs are often sewed together of alternate white and dark vertical stripes of fur from reindeer-legs. The lower parts of the sleeves often consist of black and white fur checks made of pieces of fur from reindeer-legs. Women's funeral combination-suits are trimmed with particular care, and are very handsome (see Part I, Fig. 52, p. 108). The Reindeer Koryak women, however, do not trim their clothing with equal care. Plate XXXII, Fig. 2, represents a wealthy Reindeer Koryak woman from the Taigonos Peninsula, dressed in a combination-suit. She wears this suit over a chintz shirt, and not next to her skin.

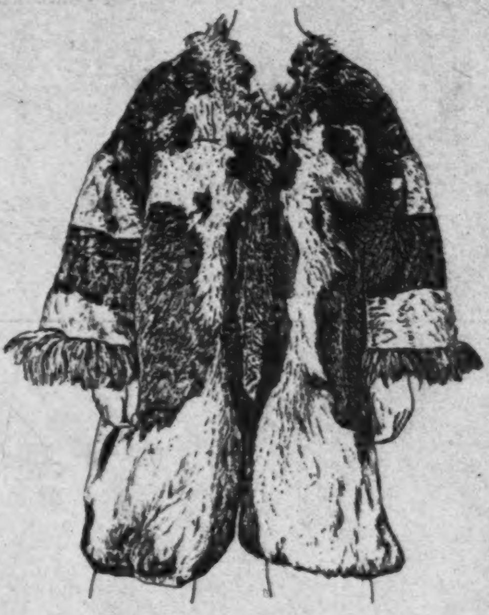

Fig. 117 ([illegible]). Woman's Combination-Suit.

The slit of the bodice, and the borders of the sleeves, are trimmed with strips of dog or wolf skin or with some other long-haired fur (see Fig. 117). Old women also cover the neck with a boa of squirrel-tails, which they acquire from the Tungus, or with a woollen scarf bought of the Russians. 291 294 281

While the Chuckchee women wear no upper garments when near the house, and when working near the fire or at the hearth bare the right arm or the entire bust to be free in their motions, the Koryak women are ashamed of being seen in the combination-suit alone in the presence of strangers. Not one woman of the Maritime Koryak consented to pose in front of the camera dressed in a combination-suit only. My wife succeeded in inducing a little orphan-girl of eleven or twelve in the village of Kamenskoye to have her photograph taken without her coat; but suddenly she refused because her uncle said that she ought not to do so. Among the Reindeer Koryak also the girls refused to be photographed without a coat, but the women did not present difficulties. Generally Reindeer Koryak women take their coats off in the inner tent only. On the Palpal, where the Koryak come in contact with the Chukchee, the women of the Reindeer Koryak, like the Chukchee women, wear nothing but the combination-suit near the house. Krasheninnikoff[1] says that the Kamchadal women of his time at home wore the 291

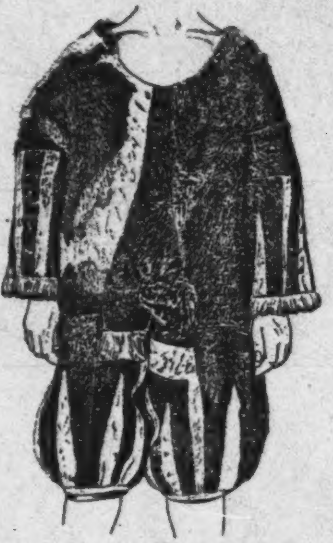

Fig 118 ($\frac{70}{3871}$). Woman's Combination-Suit.

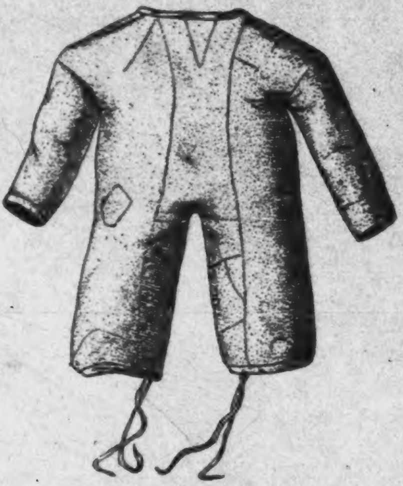

Fig. 119 ($\frac{70}{3892}$). Woman's Combination-Suit.

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[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 64. At present most of the Kamchadal dress just like the local Russian settlers.

291 combination-suit only. Hence the question arises, whether the modesty of
the Koryak women in this regard is a result of the influence of the Russians,
[831] or whether it is due to the fact that the sexual relations of the Koryak differ
from those prevailing among the Kamchadal and Chukchee,[1] and bring about
different standards of modesty.

When feeling warm or while working, the Koryak women take the right hand out of the combination-dress and let the empty sleeve dangle down under the upper garment. At home the Koryak women always wear the combination-dress that way. The end of the sleeve is seen hanging down under the skirts of the coat. There are no other openings in the combination-suit save the one in the top of the bodice for getting into it, and

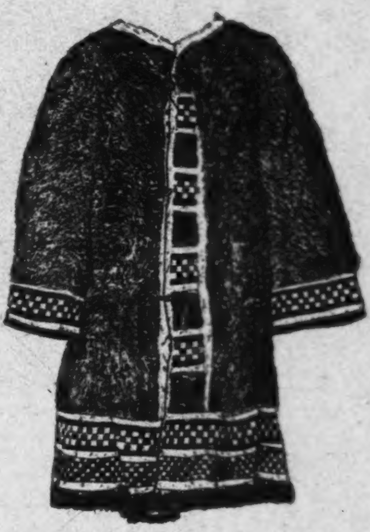

Fig. 120 ($\frac{70}{317}$). Fur Jacket, Russian Style.

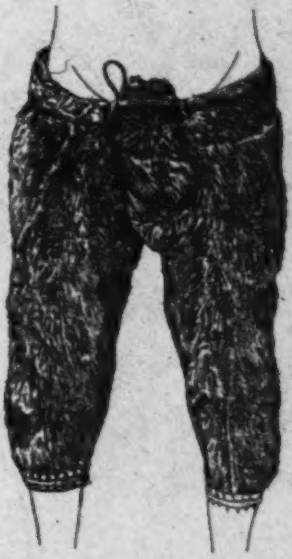

Fig. 121. Man's Winter Trousers.

514 those at the insteps for the feet. To satisfy the demands of nature the Koryak woman has to free her arms from the sleeves and drop the suit down to her feet. The Chukchee women do so openly, while the Koryak women perform this complex operation under the coat. First they take the arms out of the coat-sleeves, then they release the arms from the sleeves of the combination-suit and put them back into the coat-sleeves. Then, when

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[1] See Chapter XII.

sitting down, they fold the sleeves over their knees. In the Koryak villages 514 or camps, wonen may often be seen sitting down in this fashion and keeping up their conversation with their companions or with the men. The coat-skirts touch the ground, and give to the women who are thus sitting down an entirely careless and easy appearance. When rising, they re-adjust their suits almost unnoticeably to an observer.

While travelling, wealthy Koryak wear over the fur coat a wide shirt 291 with a hood of plain curried or smoked reindeer-skin or of flannel or chintz. The outer shirt protects from the wind and preserves the fur clothing from 177 snow, which, on melting, would soak into the hair and cause it to fall off. An overcoat of gaudy chintz, flannel, or other imported goods, has now become an article of smart dress. For overcoats the wealthy reindeer-breeders buy imported red broadcloth at high prices. Thus a yard of the coarsest red broadcloth frequently brings one cross-fox in exchange.

Fig. 120 represents a coat made of reindeer-skins, in the style of a jacket with an opening in front. It was purchased by me from the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula. Coats of this pattern are found in other places as well, though very rarely, and seem to be an imitation of the Russian style. They differ from the Tungus coats in that the lapels come together, while in the Tungus coats they are cut like those of a cutaway coat.

Men's Winter Trousers. — The winter trousers are double, like the 291 coat (Fig. 121). The outer ones are made of shaggy skins of older fawns. The trousers have no belt. Along the top edge a hem of skin is sewed on, 291 through which a string passes for drawing them tight. In front they cover 294 only the lower part of the abdomen, about the groins; in the back they are cut a little higher, and reach to the upper rim of the pelvis. The trousers have a tendency to slip down, and a Koryak may often be seen raising his trousers with a movement of the hand along the coat. There is no slit in front for voiding urine. There is no need of such a slit, because the border of the trousers comes very low down on the abdomen. In front, where the draw-string is pulled tight, a flap of skin is either pulled up underneath it, above the upper border of the trousers, or it is turned in over the draw-string to keep it from cutting the abdomen. Men's trousers are quite tight-fitting. Narrowing down, they reach a little below the calves, and are drawn together about the legs with draw-strings, just as they are around the waist. The legs of the fur boots are tied over the trousers. The Reindeer Koryak, especially [171] on the Palpal, wear wide winter trousers cut like those of the Chukchee, which reach down to a little above the ankles, and are tied over the short-legged shoes.

Fig. 122 represents a man's winter trousers, with boots sewed on. Such trousers are rarely met with, and are either imitations of a foreign type or relics of an older fashion. Among the Yukaghir may be found boots with

294 long legs, reaching up to the thighs, where they are tied or buttoned on to short loin-breeches. Nelson says that the lower garments of the women of
291 the Alaskan Eskimo are boots and trousers combined,[1] while Murdoch says
291 of the Eskimo of Point Barrow that women's trousers are combined with boots, and that at times even men wear such trousers.[2]

Winter Foot-Gear. — Most of the winter foot gear consists of fur boots (pla'kıt) and stockings reaching up to the knees. The boots are usually made of the skin of the reindeer-leg. Its fur is short, glossy, and of greater durability than the fur of other parts of the reindeer. Men's boots are either short (Fig. 123, *a*), reaching a little above the ankle, or they have legs extending up to the knee (see Plate xxxv, Fig. 2). Both styles have

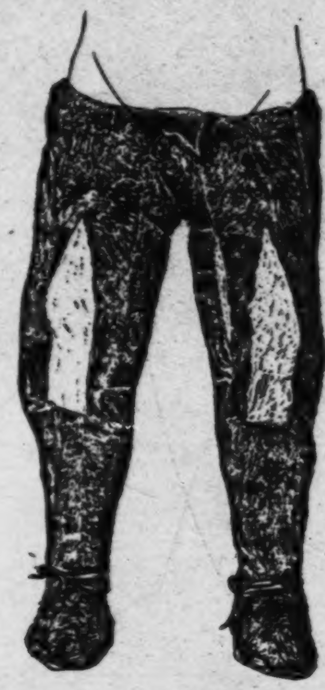

Fig. 122. Man's Winter Trousers, with Attached Boots.

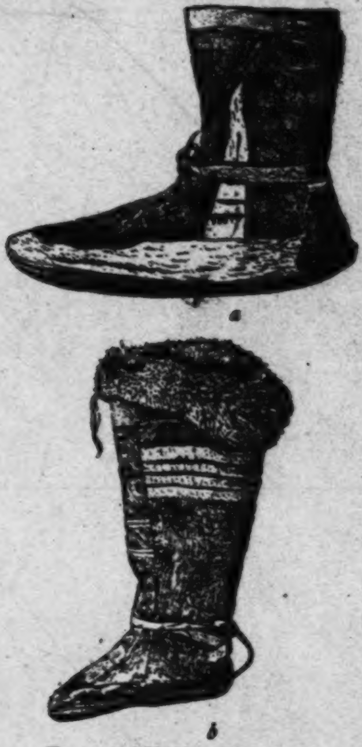

Fig. 123, *a* ($\frac{70}{3181}$), Man's Short Boots; *b*, Woman's Long Boots.

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[1] Nelson, p. 30.

[2] Murdoch, p. 126.

above the heel, on both sides of the boot behind the ankle, two small 291
leather straps sewed on, with which the boots are drawn tight around the
foot near the ankle. The upper edges of low boots are tucked under the 294
trousers, which are pulled over them (see above, p. 593); while the legs of 281
high boots are put over the trousers and drawn tight around the leg, above the calf, either by means of two small leather straps sewed to both sides of the boot-leg near the edge, or by means of draw-strings passing through a hem of leather sewed to the border of the boot-leg. Boots with high tops are the more common style, as may be seen from the plates in this book which represent the Koryak and their clothing. It is curious that low boots are always used for men's funeral clothing (see Part i, Fig. 47, p. 106). This suggests that the low boots represent the older style.

The soles are made of thong-seal hide or of walrus-hide split in two. To the low winter boots (lu'lu-pla'kıt) are often attached shaggy soles, which are sewed together of pieces of the strong skin covering the feet of the reindeer, between the hoofs and the dew-claws, which part is covered with strong, thick, and long hair. A sole like this keeps the foot warm, is soft to walk on, and its hair is so strong that it does not wear off readily with walking. Besides, boots equipped with shaggy soles do not slip on the smooth ice. Sometimes the skin of bear-paws is employed for this purpose.

The winter foot-wear of the Koryak is made so large that the thick fur stocking lies in it easily without pinching the foot. For the same purpose the sole is turned up all round the foot; and the toe of both boot and stocking is made wide and semicircular, to give the toes freedom of movement. The sole is sewed on with sinew-thread, usually to a strip of skin inserted
between vamp and sole. This strip is from a finger and a half to two fingers 291
wide, of bright color, and serves partly as an ornament, and partly to reduce
the slant of the sides (see Fig. 123). Other ornaments of fur boots consist 531
of inserted stripes of white-colored fur or red broadcloth, and of tufts of the fur of new-born seals dyed red. Women's boots are adorned more often than those of men. Women's funeral boots are elaborately ornamented.[1] Men's funeral boots[2] (vi'a-pla'kıt), like other parts of the funeral costume, are of white color, and made of the skin from the legs of white deer. In these white boots the ornaments are made of inserted stripes of dark-colored skin in the form of chevrons. Women's dancing-boots[3] for the whale festival and for other festivals are ornamented with rows of triangles made of white leather, and with embroideries of colored silk.[4]

Women's winter boots are distinguished from men's high-topped boots, 291
besides in their ornamentation, also in that their legs are wider, and made, 294
not of the skins of reindeer-legs, but of the shaggy fur of autumn fawns, the 281

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[1] See Part [illegible] Fig. 53, p. 109.

[2] Ibid., Fig. 27, b, p. 68.

[3] Ibid., Fig. 47, p. 106.

[4] See Chapter XI.

291 hair of which is cut short. Hence the legs of women appear very stout about
294 their calves, between the lower and upper strings with which the boots are
tied. A woman's winter boot, with fur stockings inside, the legs of the boot
281 ornamented with inserted parallel lines of white fur, is shown in Fig. 123, *b*.

Stockings are made of the skins of large fawns, and are worn with the hair side in. With the boots, the stockings form a double foot-wear, just as two fur shirts compose a double coat, and are mostly put on and pulled off together. For the night, however, stockings which have been worn during the day are taken out of the boots, turned inside out, and hung over the hearth or out of doors to dry. The skin for stockings is dressed soft, and the flesh side is painted cinnamon-color.[1] Stockings are made large, with a wide semicircular toe, like the boots, into which they fit snugly. The cut of a fur stocking differs from that of a fur boot in that there is no stripe inserted between the sole and the vamp. A small leather strap is sewed to the upper end of each stocking. These are tied together when the stockings are hung up to dry. Before the stocking is put into the boot, dry grass, of which a supply is always kept on hand, is put in. The grass lining adds to the softness of the fur foot-wear, and protects the foot against injuries. The grass lining must be changed often to keep it dry and soft.

292 When traveling in very cold weather, or sleeping over night under the
open sky, short hare-skin socks are often worn inside the stockings. I also
177 had occasion to see some of my Maritime Koryak drivers, when sleeping at
night on the snow by the camp-fire, put on over their travelling-boots huge galoches made of the winter skins of reindeer. They would then put a long double fur shirt over the short one, draw hands and head within the shirt, and lie down on the snow, head to the fire. These large boots are evidently a Russian invention lately adopted by the Koryak. In general, the Koryak are not particularly careful to protect themselves against the cold when sleeping out of doors. Not infrequently herdsmen pass cold nights wearing only a single coat, with belt. The stockings for short boots of men are also short.

281 *Winter Cap and Mittens.* — The winter cap (la´xlan pe´nken) is double,
and made of the fur of reindeer-fawns. The inner lining is the fur of a
291 new-born fawn or of one a month old. The outer cap is often made of dog
or wolf paws. In front and at the back it is trimmed with a strip of shaggy
294 dog or wolf fur. Costly caps are trimmed with wolverene-fur all round. The
top of the cap is rounded. It has the shape of an old woman's sweeping-cap (Fig. 124). In front the fur trimming protects the fore-head; at the back the cap covers the occiput and neck. A rather long leather strap, the ends of which are sewed to the lower edges of the cap, is twisted once under the chin (Fig. 124, *a*; and Plate XXXIII, Fig. 1), and the end loop is turned back

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[1] See Chapter X.

over the crown of the head to hold the cap down. When a Koryak feels too warm, he throws his cap back, and it dangles down from the loop which passes around his neck. A warm cap like the one here described is worn with a hoodless coat. A cap with light trimming is worn with the coat with a large fur hood. Herdsmen who have to run after the herd wear hoodless coats and light caps They usually put on the outer coat only for the night. 281 291 294

Women very rarely wear caps. Maritime Koryak women, when going out of doors in winter, throw the hood of the coat over the head. Only the Reindeer Koryak women, while wandering from camp to camp, wear a cap under the hood. Its shape does not differ from that of the men's cap. Women's funeral costumes have no caps, — a fact which shows that in former times the Koryak women did not wear caps.

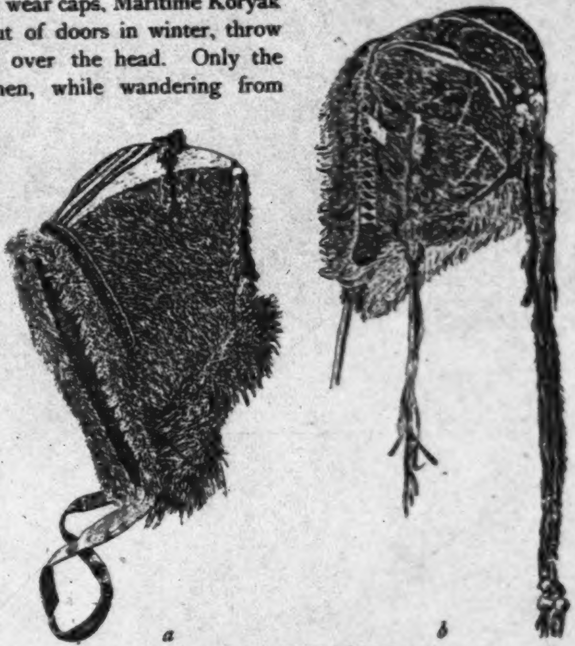

Fig. 124, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Winter Caps.

The Koryak fur cap is prettier and more neatly made than the Chukchee cap. Besides the pretty trimmings, it has inserted in the crown, and at the place which covers the occiput ornaments made of alternate stripes of black and white skin from the legs of reindeer-fawns, or lozenge patterns. Behind, long tassels of seal-pup skin, dyed red, are sewed on; and on the sides, circles are embroidered with glass beads of various colors. To the crown of the cap are often stitched two pieces of fur or leather, which project upwards like the ears of a fox. Some caps are not rounded in shape at the crown, but have angular projections at the sides (Fig. 124, *a*). The man's funeral cap has the shape of a round decorated skull-cap with ear-flaps stitched on, and an embroidered leather-strap[1] with which to tie it under the chin. 531 291 294

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[1] See Part I, Fig. 48, p. 107.

291 291 294 Men who drive dog or reindeer teams, and who watch herds in winter, wear mittens made of the skin of reindeer-legs. The hair of the skin of the reindeer-leg is short, thick, and shiny. It does not readily wear out or fall off from dampness. Further, these mittens are light and exceedingly soft when well dressed, so that they are not in the way when holding the reins and the whips, or doing any other work on the journey. These mittens are not very warm, since they are not usually made of double skin, and have the hair side out. Sometimes they are lined inside with fur of a new-born reindeer-fawn; but young people go without the inner mitten, and do not suffer from cold. Light mittens are also made of the skin from dogs' legs. Women usually wear warmer double mittens, with shaggy trimming of dog, wolf, or fox fur, about the wrist. The outside mittens are made of the dressed skins of reindeer-fawns; the inside mittens, of the fur of new-born fawns. Mittens made of the fur of wolf-paws on the outside, and lined with the fur of young fawns, are regarded as warm and pretty.

SUMMER CLOTHING. — In general, summer clothing differs little from winter clothing. Real warm summer days are very few in number. In summer, as well as late in spring and early in autumn, the old worn-out winter clothing is put on, only in single suits. At this season much of the hair has fallen off. Therefore in summer the Koryak present a shabby and unattractive appearance. This is true particularly of the Reindeer Koryak, who do not use special summer clothing while roaming with their herds in the mountainous regions, where it is colder than in the valleys; but the Koryak who live in the valleys and near the mouths of rivers, particularly those of the coast, have special summer clothing for the warmer part of summer.

Summer coat. — The ordinary summer coat (ala'kın-isăn) is a shirt of curried and smoked reindeer-skin, and shirts of this kind are worn by both sexes. Those of women are longer than those of men, and more frequently furnished with hoods. Sometimes a dog-skin collar is attached. The cover of the upper part of the tent which has been exposed to the smoke for a long time is often used as material for such shirts. The skin, after being smoked, is more waterproof than unsmoked skin, and does not harden after rain.

[531] Shirts of unsmoked leather, such as are worn in winter over fur coats,[1] sometimes ornamented by means of wooden stamps (see Fig. 218), are also worn in summer; they are not used in rainy weather, or for fishing and sea-hunting, as dampness hardens them.

During the sea-hunting season, especially in damp and cold weather, the Maritime Koryak wear dog-skin coats, with the hair side in (Fig. 125). A dog-skin shirt is considered a good waterproof garment. Such a shirt rarely has a hood. It is worn mostly by lads in their teens. At home, even in

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[1] See p. 593.

291 winter, boys wear dog-skin coats (see the elder boy on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 1).
294 Summer clothing of dog-skin is always saturated with fish and seal oil, and
is dirty in the extreme.

281 I have never seen a Koryak wearing a seal-skin coat, which is used by the Eskimo as a waterproof garment. I think that the absence of seal-skin coats for summer wear is due to the insufficient quantity of seal-skins, which are required in great numbers both for the household and for exchange.[1] Likewise I have never seen any clothing made of bird-skins and of seal-intestines, which they say was worn in olden times.

In summer and autumn, shirts made of winter reindeer-skins with shorn fur, and others of summer skins of grown reindeer with short new fur, killed just after the shedding of the hair, are also worn. Women wear coats made of such skins, the flesh side out. This side is well dressed, and dyed a cinnamon color, and adorned with strips of white leather, tufts of hair, circles embroidered in appliqué-work, and other embellishments. At home the Maritime Koryak women wear such coats even in winter. Dancing-coats (mɪ'lau-ɪ'sȃn) are made up in the same way, only they are more elaborately decorated than the ordinary garments.[2] The dancing-coats of men have no hoods.[3]

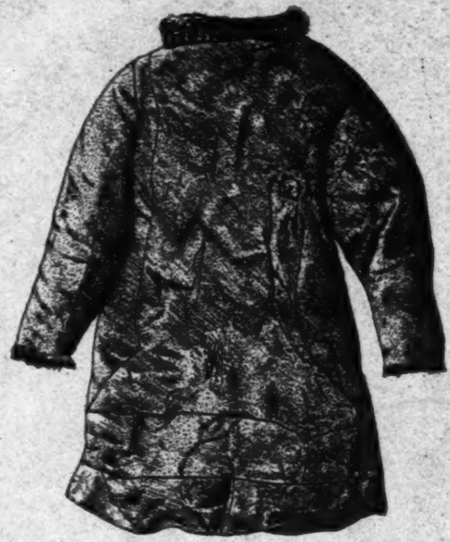

Fig. 125 ([illegible]). Man's Dog-Skin Coat.

Summer Trousers and Combination-Suit. — In midsummer, men wear trousers of curried leather (Fig. 126), the pattern of which does not differ from that of the winter trousers; while women wear a combination-suit of leather under their coats. The leather of which both men's and women's summer trousers are made is either ordinary, soft-dressed, or curried and smoked reindeer-skin. The latter is used for waterproof clothing worn during the fishing-season. Waterproof trousers for men, made of seal-skin,

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[1] According to Tale 21 (Part I, p. 262), clothing made of seal-skins is regarded by the Koryak as that of poor people. From this it may be inferred that seal-skin clothing was used in olden times, when the reindeer was not domesticated.

[2] See Part I, Fig. 27, p. 68.

[3] Ibid., Plate I, Fig. 1.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXXIII.

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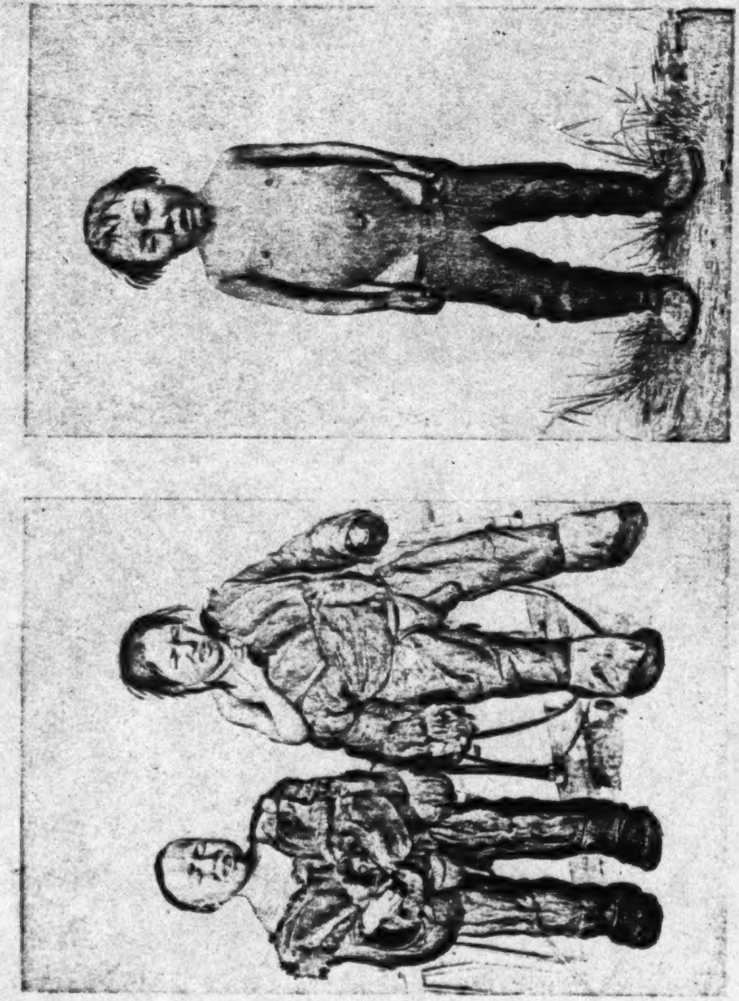

KORYAK CHILDREN.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 599]

281 291 294 are rarely found. While engaged in sea-hunting, the Maritime Koryak, especially lads, often wear dog-skin trousers. In autumn, and on cold days in midsummer, the Koryak wear old, worn-out, single winter trousers of reindeer-skin with the fur on.

Summer Boots, Caps, Mittens, and Gloves. — Summer foot-wear consists of boots or short shoes alone. In summer, stockings are not worn, and only grass linings are used in boots and shoes. Summer boots or shoes are made of the skin of the legs of reindeer-fawns or dog-pups, of dressed skin of the ringed-seal and of curried leather made of reindeer-skin. Summer and winter boots and shoes are the same in shape; but summer foot-wear is smaller than that for winter, because it is worn without the stocking. The soles of all summer foot-wear are made of thong-seal skin or of walrus-skin split in two. Short boots or shoes are worn by men only. The leather straps passing through the lower hems of the trouser-legs are drawn together tight around the upper end of the legs of these short boots. The legs of men's high boots, and generally also those of women, reach up to the knees, and are drawn together with leather straps over the trousers. Waterproof boots are made of ringed-seal skin treated with blubber. Boots made of smoked reindeer-skin do not get wet as quickly as those made of unsmoked skin. Often only the vamps of the boots are made of seal-skin or of smoked leather; and the legs, of ordinary dressed reindeer-skin. Among the Maritime Koryak I found long-legged waterproof boots for men reaching up to the thighs (Fig. 127). The soles are made of thong-seal skin; the vamp and legs, of ringed-seal.

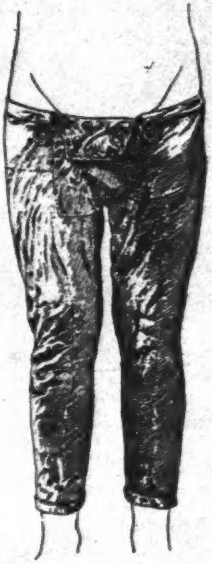

Fig. 126. Man's Summer Trousers.

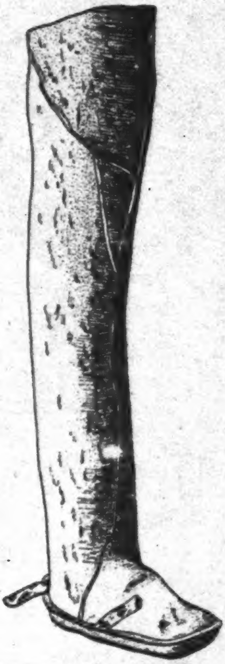

Fig. 127 ($\frac{70}{3468}$). Man's Waterproof Boot.

Women's summer boots, like men's dancing-boots with legs of curried leather, are decorated with pinked stripes of the thin soft white skin of the dog's neck, forming the so-called "tooth-pattern." Sometimes the toes up to the instep are made of the skin of ringed-seal dyed black, while the instep and legs are of reindeer-leather dyed a cinnamon color. The women of the Maritime Koryak wear such boots also in winter, when at home; or they put them on after finishing their out-door work, or while drying their winter boots on returning home from a trip. But such leather foot-wear, for change, is made larger than the summer leather boots, so that they can be put on over the fur stockings. 291 281 294

I have said before, that, even in winter, women rarely wear a cap, but cover their heads with the hood which is attached to the coat. In summer they also go bare-headed, or in stormy weather they throw the hood of the summer coat over the head. Nowadays many women tie a kerchief on their head in summer, as is customary among Russian women (see Plate xxx, Fig. 2). [177]

Men's summer caps are made either of fawn-skins or of the dressed skin of ringed-seal, with the hair on (Fig. 128). The latter material is used chiefly by the Maritime Koryak.

Summer mittens are made of curried reindeer-skin, or of the dressed skin of ringed-seal, or of spotted seal. During the sea-hunting season the Maritime Koryak wear mittens of dog-skin.

The Koryak very rarely wear gloves, which, to judge by the pattern, have been adopted from the neighboring Tungus tribes. The back and the palm of each glove are cut from the same pattern. These parts are placed one upon the other, and the edges, and also the sides of the hand and fingers, stitched together with sinew-thread. The thumb is cut separately, and consists, like the rest of the glove, of two halves of the same shape. It is inserted in an opening left in the glove under the index-finger.

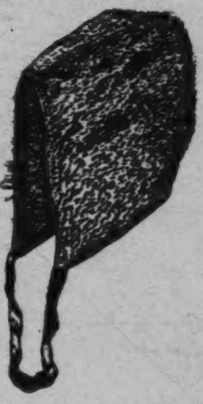

Fig. 128 ([illegible]). Men's Summer Cap.

Children's Clothing. — Clothing for children up to the age of five or six, and sometimes that of children even a little older, consists, like the women's underwear, of a combination-suit, called kei-kei or ma'lñı-kei ("bifurcated kei"). The children's combination-suit differs from that of women in several respects. It often has a hood sewed on. It has a long slit between the two halves of the trousers, and a fur flap (Koryak, măka) stitched on at the back, over the slit. On the inner side of this flap dry moss and powdered rotten wood are placed. The flap is passed up in front between the legs, and the two straps attached to its ends are tied around the waist. The child's excretions are absorbed 291 854

291 854 by the moss and powder, and remain there until the mother unties the flap. The soiled moss is thrown out, the babe's body is wiped with clean moss, and the flap is tied up anew. In infants's suits, the sleeves and the legs are sewed up.[1] Nurslings up to a year and over have two suits, — one for the daytime, made of soft fawn-skins; and one for the night, made of thin skins [513 of new-born fawns, or of curried leather. Older children sleep naked at night, like adults, and hence have only suits for the day. Children's night-suits are made light to keep them from being too hot under the fur blanket. The night-suit is put on infants to prevent soiling the bedding. This preventive is the more necessary, as the Koryak have no cradles or cribs, and the children sleep with their mother under one blanket made of reindeer-skins.

Children able to walk run about the house or the camp with the flap 291 855 untied, and dangling down like a tail. When it is time to break camp, these children, like nurslings, have their flaps tied up. When children begin to walk, slits are made at the wrist parts of their sleeves to enable them to stick their little hands out and take them in; and instead of closed trousers, boots with separate stockings are given them. In the camps of the Reindeer Koryak I had occasion to see children seven or eight years old in children's combination-suits with the flaps hanging down at the back. On Plate XXXIII, Fig. 1, are represented a boy and girl of seven or eight years, with their flaps tied up. As this was in April, at a temperature of not lower than —15° C., they no longer wore their hoods; and the girl had even freed her right arm, and was playing in the cold with her breast bare. Plate XXXIII, Fig. 2, represents a boy without coat. At about the age of five, boys and girls begin to wear men's and women's clothing (Plate XXXIV).

Coats with Tails. — It is interesting to note that the skirts of funeral 292 171 coats,[2] chiefly those of men, terminate at the back in a tail-like flap. This flap has a special name, ñoiñın. It is evident that in former times even common coats were cut that way. In some myths we find tails described and considered as ornaments of ordinary coats.[3] In describing Kamchatka clothing, Steller[4] says that only women's coats were furnished with tails; while Krasheninnikoff[5] says that men, too, used to wear tailed coats, and that accordingly the round and tailed coats were distinguished. On the Kolyma tundra the cut-away coat of the Reindeer Yukaghir, who have adopted this style from the Tungus, has a tail behind. Something similar is found in the coat of the Yenisei Tungus, as described by Middendorf.[6] As is well known, the peculiar coat of many Eskimo women is cut in deep at the sides, so that in

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 184, p. 252.

[2] See Fig. 225; also Part I, Fig. 44, p. 106.

[3] See, for instance, Tale 59, p. 217. The wife of Envious-One had an embroidered fur coat with a tail.

[4] Steller, p. 307.

[5] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 61.

[6] Middendorf, p. 702.

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1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI.

Plate XXXIV.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 602]

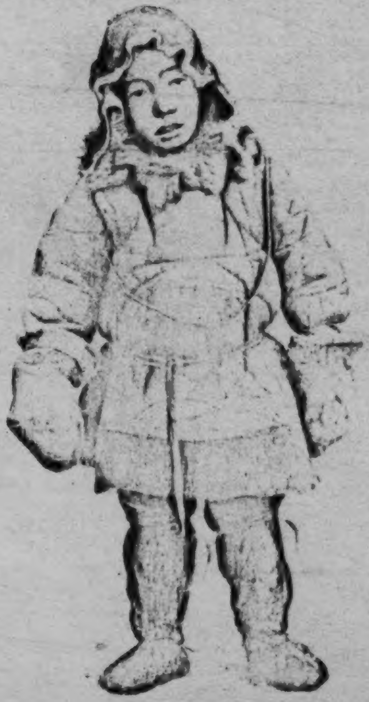

Fig. 1. Koryak Boy.

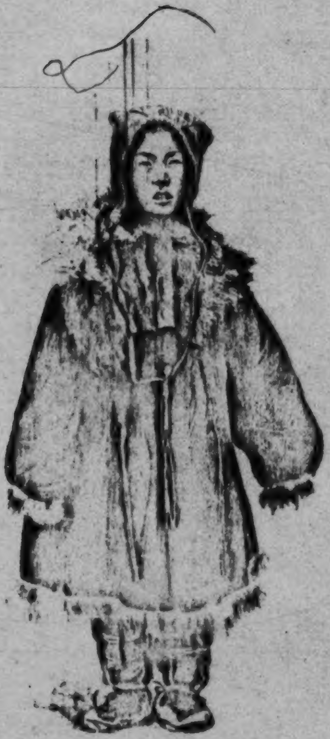

Fig. 2. Koryak Girl.

292 171 front and behind the rounded ends of the coat dangle like an apron and a tail. The flap behind is longer than the one in front. Among most Eskimo, only the men wear short coats cut evenly all round. But Nelson states that "from the Yukon mouth northward to Point Barrow, the frocks of the men are cut a trifle longer behind than in front."[1] This calls to mind the tail of the coat of the tribes of northeastern Siberia. In describing the dress of the Iglulimiut, Parry[2] says that "the men have also a tail in the hind part of their jacket," but smaller than with women. According to Boas,[3] coats with short tails behind are also worn by the Cumberland Sound Eskimo. The reindeer-skin coat of men of the Hudson Bay Eskimo has a tail behind.[4] It is quite possible that this cut of the back of the coat of the tribes mentioned has a common origin. So far as is known to me, however, the Chukchee have no tails on their coats, and the illustrations given by Bogoras show no such tails.

Excepting the funeral coats, the Koryak nowadays cut all their coats evenly all round, even those used in dancing and those worn by shamans.

301 777 Ornaments, Hair-Dressing, and Tattooing. — I shall speak later on of the ornamentation of dress.[5] Here I shall only say a few words on personal adornment. In Part 1 (pp. 45, 46) I have already spoken of charm bracelets, necklaces, pendants for the hair, and the tattooing of the face and other parts of the body, all of which play the part of "protectors." These charmed objects differ nearly always from ordinary ornaments, which have no connection with magic in their lack of beauty or symmetry. Thus straps made of skin and hair serve as amulets, which are worn on the arms, feet, and neck. The brass and beaded bracelets and earrings[6] are much better executed than the corresponding charms. Hair-ornaments worn by women (Fig. 129) may be readily distinguished by their beauty, from the beads, straps, or tufts of reindeer, hare, or wolf hair, which are braided in with the hair of the head as charms against headache. Nearly all Koryak women wear the head-dress shown in Fig. 129 (see also Plate xxxvi), which consists of a beaded string with two large metal buttons at the ends, and a leather strap with pendants behind. Sometimes the back part of the string consists of a metal chain without leather foundation.

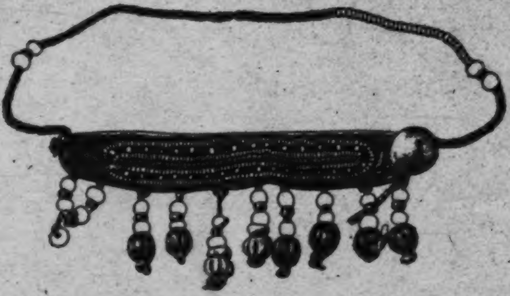
Fig. 129. Woman's Hair-Ornament.

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[1] Nelson, p. 34.
[2] Parry, II, p. 495.
[3] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 50.
[4] Turner, Fig. 51, p. 211.
[5] See Chapter XI.
[6] See Chapter X.

302 The Koryak women part the hair in the middle from the forehead down to the neck, and braid it behind in two braids, so that each braid begins quite close to the ear. The back of the head is thus left free for the [171] ornamented leather strip, which extends nearly from one ear to the other. This style of dressing the hair is found also among the women of the Eskimo, Chukchee, and the tundra Yukaghir. Even nowadays stone pendants are often attached to the ends of the braids.[1] At present the ends of the braids are usually tied with a thong or sinew-thread on which beads are strung. The braids tied in this way rest on the chest or back, oftener on the chest.

The men cut or shave the hair with a sharp knife in the middle of the head, forming a round tonsure like that of a Catholic priest, leaving all around a thick ring of short hair; so that the forehead is free, and the hair is removed from the nape of the neck and the region about and under the ears. The ring of hair is often supported by a small thong. The Koryak tie their hair with this thong when fighting, running races, tending the flock, or working.

304 Tattooing for the sake of ornament has nearly gone out of use. I have spoken before of tattooing as a protective device.[2] Ornamental tattooing is practised by women only, but I have seen very few tattooed women; all were married. Two of them were childless, so that the tattooing may have been done as a cure for barrenness. That in former times tattooing among women was widespread, may be concluded from several myths. Thus it is related[3] how River-Man, on turning into a woman, had his face tattooed to please Illa'. Neither Steller nor Krasheninnikoff mentions that the Kamchadal practised tattooing; both state[4] that the Kamchadal painted their faces red and white. Ornamental tattooing is called by the Koryak lö-kele; i. e., "painting of the face." Perhaps this appellation applies as well to painting the face with colors, a custom no longer met with. Allusions to this custom are found in mythology: for instance, it is told that Big-Raven's elder son painted [171] his own belly.[5] Judging from Nordquist's and Bogoras's descriptions, Chukchee tattooing is more complex than that of the Koryak. The tattooing of Koryak women, which I had occasion to see, consisted of two or three horizontal lines over the nose, or of two or three equidistant curves on the chin and cheeks. The Koryak, and the other tribes of eastern Siberia that practise tattooing, do not apply the designs by pricking, but by passing under the skin a needle and thread which is coated with coal mixed with grease. Hence the Gishiga Russians call the Koryak tattooing "face-embroidery." I learned from one Koryak that in olden times the method of pricking and rubbing greasy black paint into the holes was also practised.

293 SNOW-GOGGLES SNOW-SHOES, STAFFS, AND ICE-CREEPERS. — Like all other Arctic tribes, the Koryak use snow-goggles to protect the eyes from the

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[1] See Fig. 138, p. 610.
[2] See Part I, p. 46.
[3] Ibid., p. 304.
[4] Steller, p. 300; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 68.
[5] See Part I, pp. 166, 177.

dazzling light reflected in spring by the snow-fields. The snow-goggles are made of birch-bark or of wood, with a slit for the eyes.[1] In spring, protection of the eyes is of particular importance to herdsmen, who are constantly in the open air, and to drivers, who undertake to carry merchandise on dog-sledges. 293

Snow-shoes are of two kinds. One kind are short, and are called "crow-feet" (vɛḷvı-yɛŋıt).[2] They consist of a willow frame plaited with a thong. Herdsmen and hunters wear these snow-shoes for walking over uneven ground and hard snow. The other kind are long, and are called tı-yɛŋıt.[3] They are made of a thinly planed aspen board, with pointed ends and tip turned upwards, and are lined underneath with the skin from reindeer-legs, the hair running backward. These snow-shoes are suitable for level regions, and give a good support on soft snow, thanks to their light weight and large surface When "crow-feet" snow-shoes are used, the feet are frequently lifted as in walking, while on long snow-shoes gliding alone is resorted to. The Eskimo who, when hunting seal in winter, have to cross rough and hummocky ice, employ snow-shoes similar to the Koryak "crow-feet;"[4] while the long snow-shoes are used more by hunters like the Tungus or Yukaghir, who hunt wild animals in the forests or river-valleys covered with deep and soft snow. 481 [322]

The Koryak, as a rule, do not make the long snow-shoes themselves, but purchase them from the Tungus. The flesh side of the skin is fastened with fish-glue under the wooden snow-shoes. The edges of the skin are turned over to the upper side. [439]

For smooth and slippery ice, the Koryak tie iron creepers under the soles of their shoes (Fig. 130). In ancient times ice-creepers were made of hard wood or bone.

I rarely saw snow-staffs like those of the Chukchee and Eskimo, with attached ring. The Koryak use more often ordinary willow rods, such as are employed in their walks from village to village, from camp to camp, or in foot-races (see Plate xxxviii, Fig. 1).

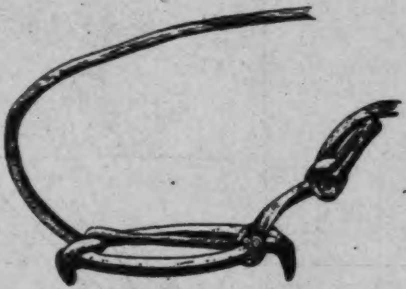

Fig. 130 ([illegible]). Ice-Creeper. Length, 11 cm.

Yokes and Carrying-Straps. — For carrying loads when going afoot, Koryak men use a wooden ḷɛ́tel. It is usually made of alder or of willow, and consists of a flat stick about 50 cm. long, planed, and somewhat bent so as to fit the chest (Fig. 131), with notches at both ends for attaching the 482

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 192, a, b, p. 260.

[2] Ibid., Fig. 193, b, p. 261.

[3] Ibid., Fig. 193, a, p. 261.

[4] See Nelson, pp. 212–214; Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, pp. 40, 41.

482 loops of straps that are tied to the bag or other burden (Plate xxxv, Fig. 1). In carrying burdens, the yoke or cross-bar is placed over the chest, the straps rest on the fore arms, while the load rests on the small of the back. This is a clumsy method of carrying burdens. The yoke presses against the chest, the straps hinder the motions of the arms, and the burden lies too low on the back. To prevent the yoke from slipping down in walking, it is fastened by means of a thong to the neck or coat-colla.

482 171 While the method used by the men, of carrying loads by means of chest-yokes, is found also among the Eskimo,[1] the method employed by the Koryak women is met with among many Indian tribes.[2] The carrying-strap is depicted on codices and monuments of ancient Mexico.[3] It is in use among the Ainu. Among the ancient Kamchadal, only the women used the head-band, while the men used the breast-yoke like the Koryak.[4] The Koryak women put burdens, and also their children, into grass, nettle, or skin bags, which they hold on the back, and carry them by means of a head-band passing across the forehead. Plate xxxvi shows how women carry children on their [281] backs, in a bag or without one, by means of head-bands. The head-band or carrying-strap is made of stout thong-seal hide. Fig. 132 shows the strap stretched out. The small sticks in the middle are inserted to stretch the skin and make it thinner. The ends of the strap are cut out and provided with slits through which to pass the straps of bags and of wooden or skin buckets, for tying (see Plate xxxv, Fig. 2; and Plate xxxvi; also Fig. 160, *a*).

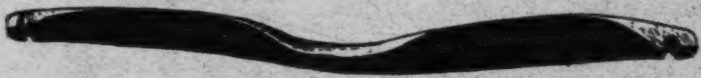

Fig. 131 ([illegible]). Man's Chest-Yoke. Length, 53 cm.

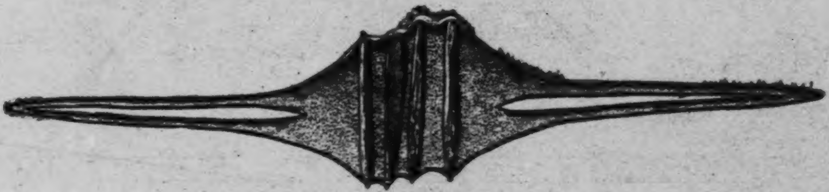

Fig. 132 ([illegible]). Woman's Carrying-Strap. Length, 108 cm.

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[1] See Nelson, p. 211; and Mason, The Human Beast of Burden, Fig. 2, p. 256.

[2] See Mason, The Human Beast of Burden, pp. 262, 263, 265, 268, 273, 277, 282.

[3] See Morse, Was Middle America peopled from Asia? (Popular Science Monthly, November, 1898, p. 1).

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 24.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXXV.

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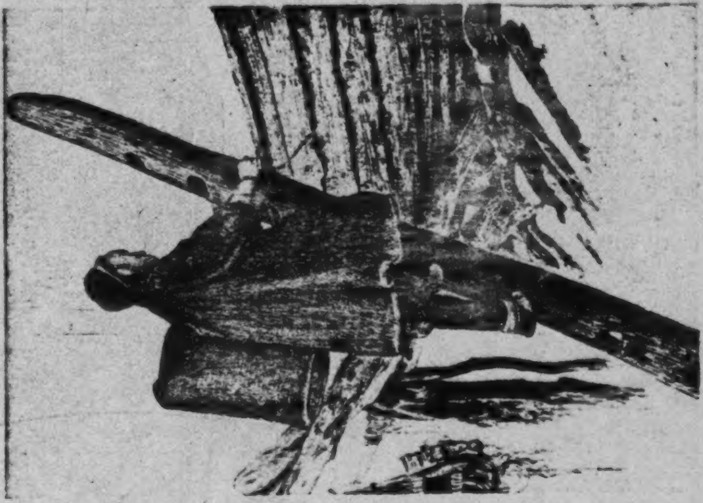

Fig. 2. Woman carrying Bucket.

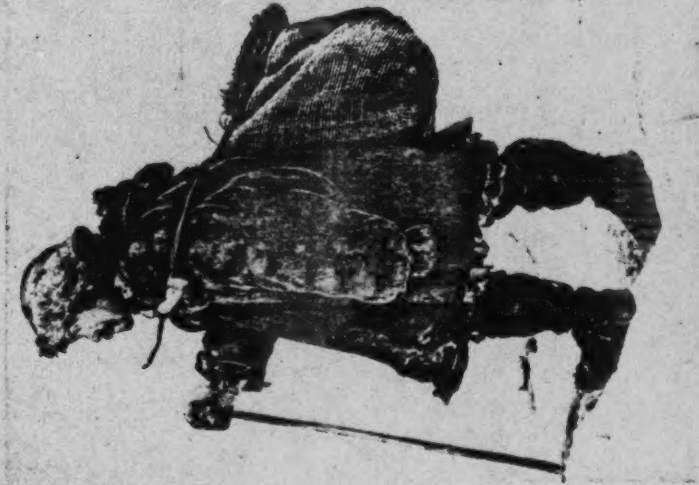

Fig. 1. Man carrying Bag.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 606 A]

I: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI. Plate XXXVI.

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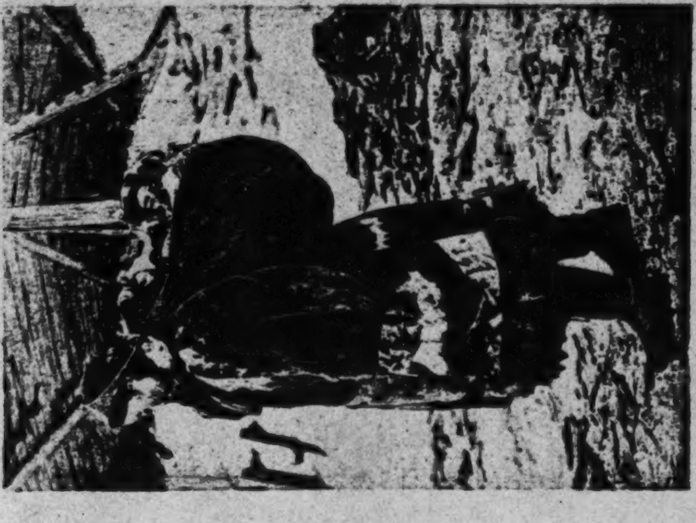

Women carrying Children.

The Koryak.

[Facing p. 606: B]

415 281 **Bags for keeping Clothing.** — The Koryak keep their reserve clothing in bags made of the skins of ringed-seals, of spotted seals, or of ribbon-seals. The skins are dressed on the flesh side, and the hair is left on. The bags are made with the hair side out, and, like those of the Eskimo, are of two shapes, — wide bags with a top opening, which is tied with thongs; and elongated bags, resembling a seal in shape, or made of an entire seal-skin, the flippers of which are sewed up. The openings of bags of this kind are slit across the chest and laced up.[1] The Maritime Koryak keep articles not in use, and spare clothing, in such bags, in the houses or in storehouses. In the houses these bags, with their contents, serve as pillows. In winter, bags containing summer clothing are kept in the storehouses; and in summer the winter clothing is kept in the same way. Funeral clothing not fully finished is also kept in storehouses.

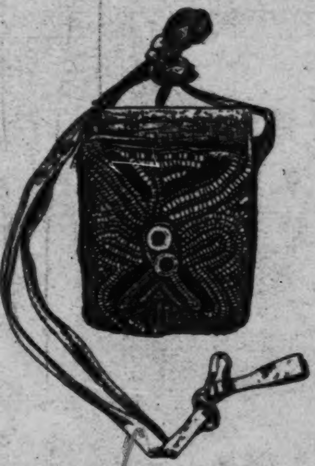

Fig. 133 (1/7). Embroidered Pouch.

531 281 292 [174] **Belts.** — Women very rarely wear a belt. Embroidered carrying-straps[2] belong to the funeral clothing of women. The belt, however, forms, part of the funeral dress of men.[3] This points to the fact that the belt has been used by male Koryak for a long time. The Koryak gird up their house-coats and their short travelling-coats with their belts. The long fur travelling-coats, or the overcoats of leather or imported cloth, are worn without belts (see Plate xxxii, Fig. 1). [293] The belt consists of a dressed strap of thong-seal skin, two or three fingers wide, with a large iron buckle.[4] In ancient times, buckles were made of [302] ivory, and these may be seen even now. On the belt hangs a small belt-knife in a sheath, a case embroidered with glass beads containing a birch-bark tobacco-box, and often iron tweezers for pulling out hair (Fig. 133). These tweezers seem to me to have been adopted from the Tungus. Among the Maritime Koryak, belts are frequently embroidered with glass beads (see Fig. 202).

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[1] See illustrations in Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 192; and Nelson, p. 44.

[2] See Part I, Fig. 54, p. 109.

[3] Ibid., Fig. 46, p. 106.

[4] See Fig. 205.

X. — MANUFACTURES.

324 172 **Work in Stone.** — To judge from the stone implements preserved, it would seem that the Koryak, prior to their acquaintance with metals, had not fully acquired the art of making polished stone implements. At the present time, — which is still a period of transition from the use of stone to that of metal, — the stone tools still in use among them are mainly made by chipping.

324 With the exception of the stone tables and hammers, which are used without any artificial finish, just as they are found in the beds and on the banks of rivers, all the stone implements[1] mentioned before (see Figs. 135–137) are fashioned by means of chipping. Stone hatchets, spear-heads, harpoon-points, and scrapers for dressing skin, which are still in use, are roughly chipped out with small bone hammers (Fig. 134). The stone to be chipped is held in the left hand, the hammer in the right, and with its broad end the blows are delivered from above downwards on the edges of the stone. The thumb of the left hand is protected against accidental blows of the bone hammer by a bone thimble, and the fore-finger by a ring[2] (Fig. 134, *b*, *c*).

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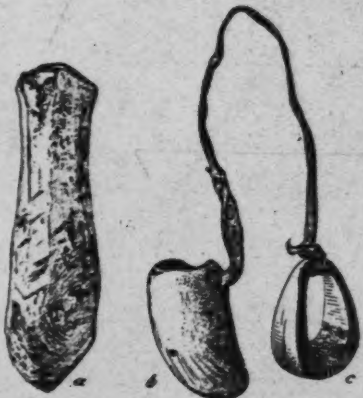

Fig. 134, *a* ([illegible]), Bone Flaker; *b*, *c* ([illegible]). Finger-Protectors. ⅔ nat. size.

In the numerous irregular scratches on the broad end of the hammer may be discerned the traces from blows on the uneven stone edges. Bone rings are at present also used for protecting the fingers in carving wood with iron knives.

777] 172] Formerly stone arrow-heads were also made with the bone flaker here described. Fig. 135 shows three flint arrow-points. Such points have now gone out of use. Those in my collection were either obtained from people who preserved them as amulets or as keepsakes, or they were found by me in excavating ancient underground dwellings.

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[1] See p. 564.

[2] It is interesting to compare with the small bone hammer of the Koryak a similar flaker for making arrow-points, of the Eskimo of Baffin Land, and their method of protecting the left hand against blows when chipping (see Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig. 83, p. 63).

Fig. 136 represents a spear-head (*a*),[1] a harpoon-point (*b*), and an unfinished harpoon-point (*c*) of flint. The arrows and harpoon-heads are mostly made of flint, but partly of obsidian, which was formerly imported from Kamchatka. Spear-heads are made of flint as well as of quartz. Hatchets (see Fig. 103) and stone skin-scrapers are made mostly of quartz pebbles. The hatchets are chipped very little. The Koryak use for this purpose flat stones with somewhat sharp edges, found in the river-valleys. 324 411

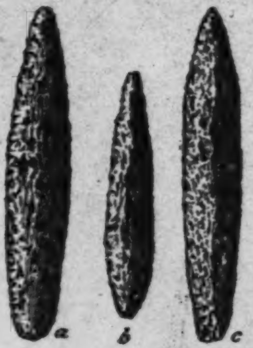

Fig. 135.

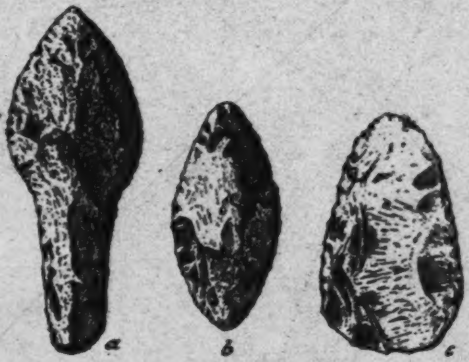

Fig. 136.

Fig. 135, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Flint Arrow-Points. ½ nat. size. *a*, From an old dwelling at Nayakhan; *b*, *c*, From Kamenskoye.

Fig. 136, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Flaked Stone Points. ½ nat. size.

Fig. 137 represents ancient slate knives for skin-cutting and other household work. The knives shown in *a* and *b* were found by me in excavating the ancient dwellings mentioned above; while *c* was found in the possession of a Koryak woman in the village of Kamenskoye, who treasured it as a keepsake. In the village of Kuel I found a fragment of such a knife used as a scraper. These relics exhibit traces of grinding and polishing. According to the Koryak, the edges of the knives were whetted with a flint or bone tool. The more or less even surfaces of the sides of the knives may be explained as due to the nature of the material, which readily splits into thin plates. 172 324 412

Sandstone ear-ornaments (Fig. 138, *a*) and pendants of braids (*b*) have also been finished by grinding. Stone ornaments of this kind are still worn by women in the villages of the Maritime Koryak. Nowadays they are finished with iron knives, and the perforations are bored with iron drills. Stone ear-rings are suspended from the ears by sinew-thread, or brass rings are passed through them, which are then put into the ears. 324 301

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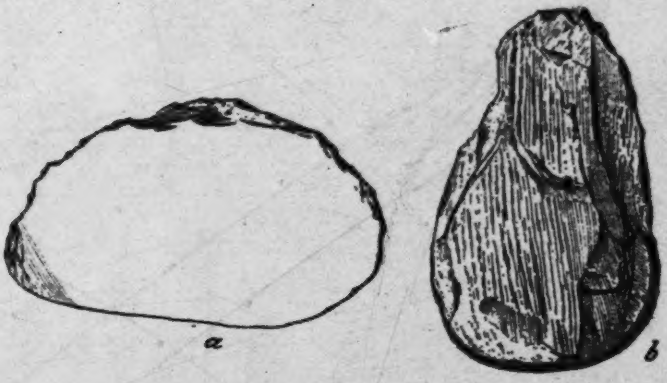
[1] A stone spear with shaft is shown in Fig. 93, p. 552.

322 Nowhere among the Koryak did I find polished axes for wood-chopping.
324 The chipped hatchets mentioned above could not have served this purpose.
412 I found a polished stone axe among the Yukaghir on the Kolyma tundra. Steller[1] says that the Kamchadal used to polish stone implements by grinding them on stones. Dittmar[2] speaks of Kamchadal stone axes with polished blades. It is hard to believe that the Koryak never had any polished stone axes. However, for wood-working, they made more use of bone wedges and of the bone adze.



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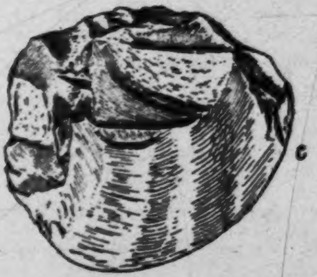

Fig. 137, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Stone Knives. ½ nat. size.

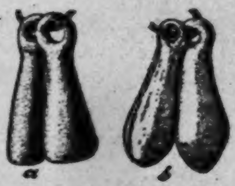

Fig. 138, *a* ([illegible]), Stone Ear-Ornaments; *b* ([illegible]), Pendants of Braids. Nat. size.

324 Among the stone objects for household use should also be mentioned
354 the stone lamps spoken of before[3] and the head-piece of the fire-drill.[4] Stone lamps are made, for the most part, of sandstone bowlders, in the upper side of which a cavity for the oil is made by means of an adze or chisel. For

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[1] Steller, p. 319.

[2] Dittmar, p. 214.

[3] See Fig. 99, p. 566.

[4] See Part I, Fig. 2, *c*, p. 33.

the head-piece of the fire-drill a small rounded quartz pebble is chosen; and 324
on one side of this a socket for the upper end of the shaft of the drill is 354
made by means of a drill (at present an iron drill).[1]

I have spoken before of the large flat stones which are used, without [352]
any artificial finish, for tables,[2] — one measuring 77 cm. in length and 48 cm. in width; another ([illegible]), 38 cm. in length and 28 cm. in width. It is interesting to compare these stone tables with the unworked sandstones found by Dr. H. Grimm in the excavations of ancient underground dwellings, evidently of the Ainu, on the island of Yezo.[3] Grimm does not suggest the use to which these stones may have been put by the former inhabitants of the underground dwellings.

The similarity of these dwellings, and the remains found in them, to the 174
underground Koryak dwellings and the ancient utensils of the tribe found in excavations and preserved among them as keepsakes, suggests that the Maritime Koryak participate in a type of material culture formerly widespread over a considerable portion of the coasts and islands of the northern part of the Pacific Ocean. The flat sandstones described by Grimm seem to me to have done the same service among the former inhabitants of the underground houses on Yezo as the analogous stones still do among many Koryak, chiefly the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay.

WORK IN IRON. — At present Paren and Kuel, villages of the Maritime 412
Koryak of Penshina Bay, are renowned for their manufacture of iron tools. 177
The knives, axes, and spears of the Paren and Kuel blacksmiths, not only
find a market among the Koryak and Chukchee, but even find their way to 326
Kamchatka and to the neighboring Tungus.

Here two questions arise, — when did the Koryak become acquainted with iron implements, and from whom did they learn the art of the blacksmith?

In Kamchatka, Krasheninnikoff[4] heard stories to the effect that the Kamchadal were familiar with iron implements before they ever met the Russians. According to these stories, the Kamchadal used to get Japanese iron objects by barter from the Kurilians. Of course, this is possible; but there cannot have been any great amount of barter and no regular exchange between these tribes at that period. In this manner iron tools could have come into the hands of the Kamchadal in but very limited quantities, and would have become the property of a few fortunate families only. It seems important to note that while the tribes of northeastern Asia were still in the stone age, not only were nations as highly civilized as the Japanese and Chinese acquainted with iron, but even certain tribes of the Amur region,

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[1] See Part I, Plate VI.

[2] See pp. 569, 608.

[3] See H. Grimm, Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Koropokguru auf Yezo und Bemerkungen über die Shikotan Aino (Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio, Band V, pp. 369–373).

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 49.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

326 177 412 and the Yakut, had been working it for a long time. Thus we may readily conceive that long before the Koryak and other northern natives met with the Russians, iron tools had come into the hands of those tribes through a long series of exchanges. Thus, for instance, on the Kolyma tundra I heard members of a northern Yukaghir clan tell, that, previous to the arrival of the Russians, they had had an iron axe, the property of the whole clan, which was in the keeping of "the Old Man," and was carried over the whole tundra whenever there happened to be need anywhere of knocking down or cutting in two a thick stout tree, which it was very hard to do with stone axes. An acquaintance of this kind, or even of a somewhat higher degree, may have existed also among the Koryak. They may have obtained iron objects, on the one hand from a Japanese source,[1] through the Kurilians and Kamchadal;[2] on the other hand, from a Manchurian-Chinese source, through the Tungus. According to historical data, based on reports of the Cossacks who had reached the mouth of the Okhota River in 1652, the Tungus living there were armed with iron and bone weapons, and clad in iron armor.[3] There is still a third source from which, during the pre-Russian period, iron objects may have been derived. I refer to the Yakut who represent the Mongol-Turkish people, who not only knew the metal and the art of forging it, but also the art of smelting iron from iron ores.[4]

Iron armor,[5] which supplanted the older leather or bone armor, or was still in use alongside of them, has, in my opinion, been known to the Koryak prior to their meeting with the Russians.

326 174 Let us now turn to the question of the beginning of blacksmithing among the Koryak. From which tribe did the Koryak learn to forge iron? To answer this question, too, is not easy. But since only in barter can there be intermediaries between producer and consumer, while in learning a trade

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[1] The Japanese armor found by Bogoras among the Chukchee in the northern tundra must evidently have reached there through pre-Russian commercial exchange (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 54, 164, and Fig. 85).

[2] The Cossacks who were sent from Anadyr in 1696 to conquer Kamchatka found Japanese documents in the Koryak dwellings of North Kamchatka. A little later they discovered, near Tighil, a Japanese vessel that had been wrecked (see Slovtsoff, Historical Survey of Siberia, p. 136). This points to the possibility of occasional but direct intercourse in the past between the Koryak and Japanese.

[3] See Supplement to the Judicial Acts, III, pp. 333, 334.

[4] For data concerning the rôle of the Turkish tribes (to which the Yakut belong) in spreading the knowledge of iron-work in Siberia, see R. Andree, Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern mit Berücksichtigungen prähistorischer Verhältnisse (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 126, 127. Popoff (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 461), in referring to the statement (mentioned by me in the text) concerning the iron weapons and armor of the Okhotsk Tungus at their first meeting with the Russians, expresses the opinion that the Okhotsk Tungus had become acquainted with iron objects through the Yakut; but considering the fact that the Yakut are comparatively recent arrivals in the extreme northeast of Siberia, and that the northern Tungus are supposed to have come north prior to the Yakut, from the district of the Amur River, it may be fully admitted that their acquaintance with iron, in one way or another, is more ancient, and derived ultimately from a Manchurian-Chinese source. Even in the most ancient European statements concerning the ancient Manchurians, who are kindred to the Tungus, mention is made of their helmets and cuirasses made of scale-like iron plates fastened to one another with nails, or arranged on a skin foundation (on this question see Schrenck, II, p. 239, and his references to Neuhof and Witsen).

[5] See Fig. 98, p. 562; and Plate XXIX, Fig. 1.

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direct intercourse with the master artisan is required, the Koryak could have learned the blacksmith's trade only from the Russians or Tungus. Though we possess no direct information proving that the Koryak knew how to forge iron prior to their meeting with the Russians, certain devices, as we shall see later on, do not preclude the possibility of this art having been adopted by the Koryak from the Tungus previous to the advent of the Russians to the region.

Along with the statements that ready-made iron tools from the sources mentioned reached the Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee, and Yukaghir even previous to the Russian period, we also have some information which proves that the beginning of the art of iron-forging among these peoples must be assigned to a later period. From certain sources we learn that the fragments of metal and pieces of ore which reached the northern tribes by chance, while they were still in the stone age, were objects of special reverence, even of religious cult. Even at that time they knew that from these hard substances other peoples made knives, axes, and spears.

Wrangel's companion, Matyushkin,[1] states that according to a story related by a Yukaghir, the Omoki, the forefathers of the Yukaghir, were familiar with the use of iron before the advent of the Russians. In another place[2] he tells of ancient Yukaghir graves erected on posts which seemed to him to have been made with stone axes. In these, pieces of iron, brass, and copper, like the ornaments on shamans' dresses, were found.

According to Steller,[3] the Kamchadal paid homage to pieces of iron obtained from the Kurilian Ainu. The iron was set up on a pole in front of the dwelling, as a proof of the wealth and special importance of its owner. We also possess some information that the Kamchadal, as well as the Koryak and Chukchee, knew the art of hammering fragments of metal. "They do not temper iron," says Krasheninnikoff, "but, placing it cold on the stone, they forge it with a stone instead of a hammer." Thus they used to make spears and arrows from iron fragments, burned-out kettles, or even new iron kettles bought of the Russians for this special purpose. If the eye of a needle broke, they used to flatten the broken end and drill a new eye with another needle.[4]

From whomsoever the Koryak may have learned to forge iron, — from the Tungus or Russians, — the development of blacksmithing into a steady industry among them was hampered by lack of material and of tools. Peoples that work iron, but who cannot smelt ore, or in whose territory there

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[1] See Wrangel, Reise II, p. 6.

[2] Ibid., II, p. 137.

[3] Steller, p. 320. See also Krasheninnikoff's statement (II, p. 47) that every Kamchadal possessing a fragment of iron was deemed rich and lucky.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 48. All these devices of working iron are known even now among the Chukchee, and also among the Koryak in out-of-the-way places.

326 174 are no beds of ore, depend, in the development of blacksmithing, upon the tribes that know how to smelt iron from ore.[1] Excepting the Yakut, who came to the north in comparatively recent times, the civilized nations nearest to the Koryak that have developed the art of metallurgy — the Japanese and Chinese — were separated from them by tribes which, even if they did adopt from the former the art of blacksmithing, did not learn the art of mining. Thus, leaving out the Kamchadal, — from a technical point of view, evidently a tribe less gifted than the Koryak, — the Koryak were separated from the Japanese by the Ainu and Gilyak, who, as Schrenck has proved,[2] had acquired the blacksmith's art from the Japanese. From the Chinese and from the Yakut the Koryak were separated by Tungus tribes.

According to historical data, the first Russian conquerors of Siberia not infrequently had blacksmiths in their parties; but when compelled to work ores, they often had recourse to natives expert in this line of work, such as the Tartar and Yakut.[3] In the seventeenth century the higher authorities of Siberia more than once addressed to the Moscow Government requests to send "experts on ores" to Siberia.

During the early times of the conquest of Siberia, the Russian Government forbade the selling of arms, powder, and lead to those natives who were as yet unpacified. Krasheninnikoff says of the Kamchadal[4] that it was forbidden to sell them iron tools and copper dishes, lest they might make side-arms for use against the Russians. Such conditions could not advance the development of the art of metal-working among those natives of Siberia who previous to that period had not been familiar with it.

Of course, the blacksmith's art could develop among the Koryak only after the Russians began to sell tools freely and to import iron as material for manufacturing tools. At present the Russian Government, among other things, keeps bar and block iron and tools in the depot established in the village of Kushka (the residence of the chief of the district), at the mouth of the Gishiga River, to be sold to the natives of the Gishiga district at a price equal to the cost price in Vladivostok plus transport expenses by steamer to Gishiga.

It is difficult to say exactly when blacksmithing developed as a regular home industry among the Koryak. We find the first printed data concerning the Koryak as blacksmiths in Dittmar's[5] descriptions. These refer to the middle of the nineteenth century.

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[1] On the location of iron-beds in the Kamchadal and Koryak territories, see Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 304; Pallas, Neue nordische Beiträge, 1793, V, p. 271; Dittmar, pp. 281, 363.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 255.

[3] See, for example, Slovtzoff, Historical Survey of Siberia, pp. 43, 88.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 48.

[5] See Dittmar, Die Koräken, p. 12.

Among the tools used by the Koryak blacksmiths, our attention is claimed first of all by the bellows. The Koryak blacksmiths use single bellows, made of seal-skin, with two planked lids, — one above, and one below. Such bellows we find also among the Chukchee blacksmiths, who are less skilful than the Koryak. The Koryak bellows differ from the bellows represented in Bogoras's work,[1] in that to the upper board a wooden handle is fastened, by means of which the blacksmith's assistant moves it.

Bogoras assumes that the Chukchee bellows were adopted from the Russians. If the information we have concerning the Tungus bellows is exact, then the Koryak, and through them possibly the Chukchee as well, in the pre-Russian or even in the Russian period, could have adopted the single bellows from the Tungus.

The bellows used by the blacksmiths of the majority of East Siberian tribes are double. They consist of two small oblong skin bags lying on the ground, so that the blacksmith's assistant is able to sit between them. Two pipes (of wood or metal) running from the bags unite to form one iron mouth which leads into the furnace. The furnace is usually simply a small hole in the ground, into which charcoal is piled. To make the double bellows stationary, they are fastened to the ground by means of the boards forming the bottom of the bags, and the pipes with their joint mouth are covered with clay. In other localities, soil or some other weight is placed on the pipes to hold them down, while the leather bags lie on the ground. Among the Maritime tribes, the blacksmith's bellows are made of soft seal-skin; among the reindeer-breeders, of dressed reindeer-skin; and among cattle-breeding tribes, of calf or cow hide. In each bag of the double bellows there is a short slit, to the edges of which small sticks are sewed the whole length down. When these sticks are brought together with the hand, the bag is hermetically closed. The blacksmith's assistant, sitting on the floor between the leather bags, alternately raises and opens with his fingers the one bag, and simultaneously closes and lowers the other bag. Work with such bellows is rather hard, as both hands are required and practice is necessary. Usually the work is done by some youth or by a woman. Occasionally I saw such double bellows used among the Tungus in the Yakut district, among the Yakut,[2] and also by Yukaghir blacksmiths, who had evidently adopted it from the Yakut.

Judging by Pallas's drawings, the bellows of Mongolian blacksmiths of

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 136, p. 215.

[2] I had no occasion to visit the mining regions of the Yakut personally and to see what bellows are used by the Yakut who are engaged in smelting iron-ore. In describing the process of smelting by the Yakut of the Yakut district, Sieroszewski (The Yakut, pp. 381, 382) does not dwell specially on the shape of the bellows used with the Yakut smelting-furnace. But Maak (see The Vilyuisk District of the Yakut Province, Part III, p. 181, St. Petersburg, 1887), in describing the method of iron-smelting employed by the Vilyuisk Yakut, says that they use double bellows in this process. "However," Maak adds, "with many blacksmiths even in my time (1854) such primitive bellows were supplanted by genuine bellows." Unfortunately, Maak does not state what he means by "genuine bellows."

325 the eighteenth century were also double.[1] The Gilyak and Ainu blacksmiths, too, use double bellows[2] as described above, a fact in which Schrenck finds 171 proof that both tribes had borrowed the blacksmith's art from one source, — the Japanese. As for the Tungus, to judge by statements made by Georgi,[3] their blacksmiths used simple bellows. Schrenck and Maak give the same information concerning the Gold.[4] Schrenck, by the way, draws from this circumstance the conclusion that the Gold and the Gilyak had acquired the blacksmith's art from different sources, — the former from the Manchu-Chinese, the latter from Japan.

We see that between the Siberian peoples using double bellows, — i. e., between the Mongol-Turks and Ainu-Gilyak, — there live Tungus tribes that employ or formerly employed simple bellows. It seems uncertain whether the invention of the Asiatic double bellows belongs to any single people, the more so, as double bellows are met with not only in India and Malaysia, but even among the primitive blacksmiths of Africa. The group exhibited in the Paris Ethnographic Museum in the Trocadéro, and representing a negro blacksmith with his assistant sitting between two leather bellows, vividly recalled to me the Yakut blacksmith.[5] Still it must be said that the small double bellows of the Siberian blacksmith, consisting only of two bags, must have been invented by a nomadic tribe. Two small skin bags, with a small anvil and a pair of hammers and tongs, are easy to adjust anywhere, and not difficult to carry from place to place. The Yakut blacksmith has remained until our time to a considerable degree an itinerant artisan. Usually the customer does not come to him, but he goes with his smithy to the wealthy Yakut to fill his orders. The principle of the double bellows, designed to force an uninterrupted current of air into the furnace, is doubtless superior to that of the single bellows. On this principle are built the modern factory bellows, which are operated by automatic communicators. It must be supposed that among the more primitive blacksmiths, too, the double bellows, if not borrowed from another tribe along with blacksmithing, are not of the oldest type.

The inconvenience of the double bellows above described consists in the necessity of having assistance in all work, as it is inconvenient for the smith now to occupy a position between the leather bags and then to jump out to the furnace and anvil, especially if the sluggishness of movement of the primitive blacksmith and the lack of concentration upon his labor are taken into consideration. Our common village blacksmith, in making small articles such as the primitive blacksmiths produce, manages without an assistant. Standing near the furnace, he pulls the rope of the bellows, and, when the iron has become red-hot, he takes it from the furnace and turns around to the anvil. 325 171

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[1] See P. S. Pallas, Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften, I, Plate V.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 255.

[3] Georgi, Part III, p. 45.

[4] See Schrenck, II, p. 254; and Maak, Journey to the Amur, St. Petersburg, 1859, pp. 175 and 207. I did not happen to see modern bellows of the Tungus nearest to the Koryak; but the Tungus of the Yakut Province, i. e., neighbors of the Yakut, at present use, as I stated above, the double bellows, evidently adopted from the Yakut.

[5] The ancient Egyptians already employed double bellows. Judging by ancient drawings, they consisted of two vessels covered with skin. A slave stepped in turn with his feet, now on one and then on the other leather lid of the vessel, and at the same time opened the aperture in the other vessel. Andree (Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern, p. 4) supposes that from the Egyptians the double bellows spread all over Africa.

To turn again to the Koryak blacksmith. The single bellows are used lying on the ground; and the furnace, too, like that of the Yakut blacksmith, is built in the ground. He needs an assistant, who, sitting down flat, raises and lowers the bellows by means of a handle.[1] A Koryak smithy is less mobile than a Yakut one. The chief blacksmiths (one, Čᴇqu'l by name, in the village of Kuel; and the other, Kıya'učñın by name, in the Paren settlement) have built special smithies separate from the living-apartments. They are small log-cabins of about the height of a man. A large window cut in the wall, and left completely open, serves as an entrance. In the ceiling, the logs of which are covered with earth, a square hole is cut out in the middle, which lies above the furnace. A small anvil is placed on a low block quite near the furnace, and the blacksmith sits[2] by the anvil on a low stool. The Koryak blacksmith's tools are not numerous. They consist of two or three hammers and forge-tongs of two or three sizes. The tools nowadays are bought of Russian merchants; but along with the Russian, Chinese hammers, brought from Vladivostok, are also met with. The geological hammers brought by me from America met with complete approval on the part of Koryak blacksmiths. The bellows of the chief Koryak blacksmith are of rather large size. They give an intermittent but strong current of air, nevertheless thick pig-iron is but poorly heated in the furnace. Koryak blacksmiths prefer to work in bar or thin block iron. Besides, they are unfamiliar with the art of working with two hammers. They know quite well how to weld iron; but only the best artisans, such as the blacksmiths mentioned above, succeed in obliterating all traces of welding. They are not acquainted with the art of tempering; and iron arms or knives made by them are distinguished by their flexibility, but the blades of good spears and knives have a thin steel plate welded to the iron. Thin steel blocks bought for this purpose are purchased by the blacksmiths from merchants or from the Government depot. The steel loses a considerable degree of its hardness in the furnace, but the finished blade of the knife or axe is still hard enough. The stock of coal for the furnace is usually made by the 325

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[1] From Maak's description of a Gold blacksmith, it appears, however (Journey to the Amur, p. 207 and Plate II), that he did manage to get along with his single bellows without an assistant.

[2] The Yakut and Tungus blacksmiths, too, work sitting. The same is stated by Andree (Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern, p. 80) concerning gipsy blacksmiths. This is probably explained by the fact that the furnace of these blacksmiths is on the ground, and the anvil must therefore be not much above the ground.

325 Koryak blacksmiths in summer. They make fires of driftwood, and pour water over the coals after the wood has burned over. Then they carry the coals over to the smithy in skin bags. The Koryak blacksmith has a special suit for his work. In summer he works bare to the waist, dressed only in old skin trousers, and in winter he puts on a worn fur coat. Of course, in severe cold no work at all is done in the smithy above described.

555 326 437 The blacksmiths of Kuel and Paren work both on merchants' orders and for the barter carried on by the artisans themselves. The Russian merchants supply the artisans with iron, and pay for the work with tea, tobacco, and other wares. Besides, the blacksmiths themselves acquire iron, hammer out knives and spears, and travel with these to the local fairs or the camps of nomad reindeer-breeders, and exchange the iron goods for reindeer-skins, meat, and furs. The last-named are afterward exchanged to merchants. Skilful blacksmiths, like those above mentioned, are paid special respect. As among all primitive peoples, the blacksmith's art is not viewed by the Koryak as a trade which every one can learn, but as a divine gift.[1] In Kuel and Paren, however, a considerable part of the Koryak can hammer iron; and in addition to the recognized talent, there are second-rate blacksmiths, who work periodically, before fairs, in order to acquire clothing and food in exchange for the products of their art. In general, the villages of Paren and Kuel may be considered as the centres of Koryak blacksmithing; while Kamenskoye is a commercial settlement in which are concentrated the Koryak intermediaries of exchange between the Russians and the "Reindeer men" (Koryak and Chukchee). In accordance with this, the Parenians and Kuelians, as representatives of labor, are poorer than the inhabitants of Kamenskoye, the representatives of commerce.

326 412 The articles hammered out are finished by the blacksmiths with files. The art of polishing iron is unknown to them. The work of Koryak blacksmiths is limited to side-arms, tools, and several other household objects.

Fig. 139 represents an axe (*a*) and an adze (*b*) made in Paren. The axe (ai′ḷan) is in the shape of a common Russian axe, and is used for chopping trees and wood. The adze (*b*) is mounted on a handle, axe-fashion, but its blade is set crosswise and is curved. This tool is called "axe with ears" (weḷō-aiḷān). It is used in hollowing out troughs and dug-out canoes, like a crooked adze (see Fig. 140, *b*).

Fig. 140, *a*, *b*, represents two adzes made in Paren. That marked *a* is a straight adze (ga′ttı). In shape it is an imitation of the ancient Koryak adze made of ivory or horn. Its handle is also curved, like that of a bone adze. The handle of the specimen here figured is made of bone of whale, but wooden handles also occur. The blade is mounted on the handle without a lashing, and in this regard the iron adze differs from the ancient one made of bone. This adze serves for the rough hewing of the outer side of wood.

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[1] Among the Yakut the blacksmiths stand on a level with the shamans. The Yukaghir blacksmiths have special protecting spirits. The position of the blacksmiths among the Tungus is similar.

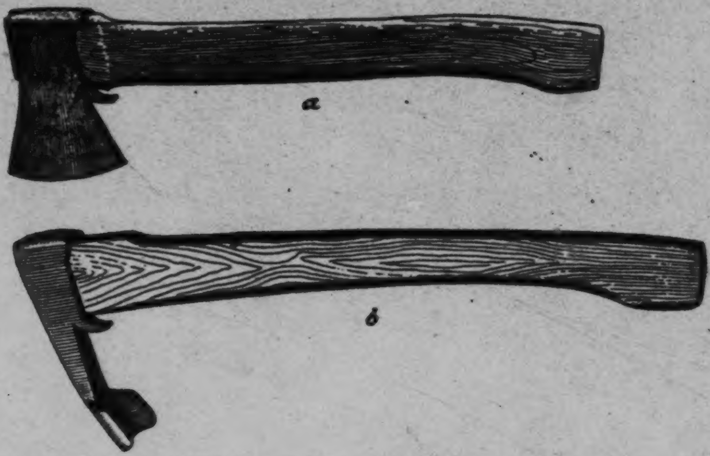

Fig. 139, *a* ([illegible]). Axe (length, 53 cm.); *b* ([illegible]). Adze (length, 45 cm.).

With it are hewn the runners and stanchions of sledges, snow-shoes, the frames of skin boats, etc., which are finished afterwards with knives.

Fig. 140, *b*, shows a curved adze (we|ŏ'ga'tɪɪ, "adze with ears"), with

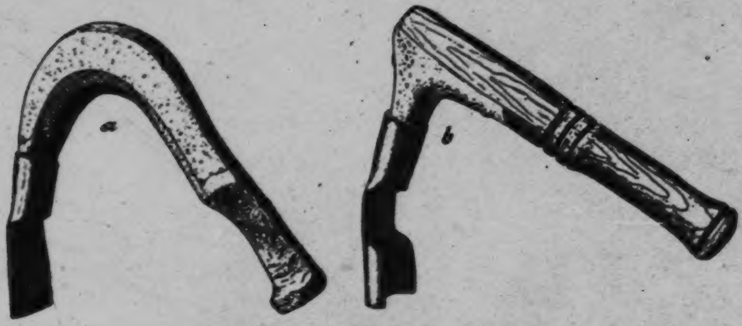

Fig. 140, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Adzes. ½ nat. size.

which wooden buckets, troughs, dishes, and other wooden vessels,[1] are hollowed out. The handle of this adze consists of two parts, — one of wood, and one of bone, — which are spliced together.

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[1] See pp. 570, 571.

326 412 Fig. 141 shows a man's ordinary belt-knife, with a wooden sheath having tin rims and ears for suspending it on the belt. This knife, like all straight knives, has a thick back. It is called "belt-knife" (itı̆'t-wal or yeče'twal), and is used in eating, and for working small wooden objects and carvings in bone. With this [281] same knife, sharpened to a keen edge, hair is cut or shaved,[1] the hair on reindeer-skins designed for clothing is cut and reindeer are stabbed when killed for food and not intended as [251] offerings. With this knife, too, fish is gutted for sun-drying. Women usually carry it stuck into the boot-leg. In very rare cases do women carry such knives at the belt.

A knife of the same form, but somewhat longer (including the haft, about 45 cm. in length), is called "hip-knife" (yō-wal), because it is not carried on the belt, but is tied to the

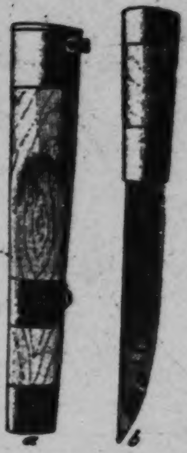

Fig. 141 ([illegible]). Straight Knife and Sheath. ½ nat. size.

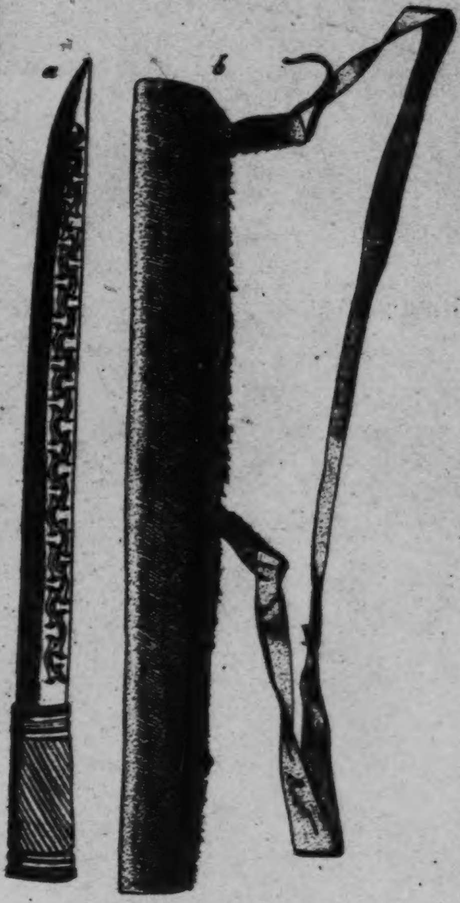

Fig. 142 ([illegible]). Large Knife and Sheath. Length of knife, 56 cm.

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[1] See p. [illegible].

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

right hip, under the coat, so as to be drawn easily with the right hand. With this knife animals are skinned and grass is cut, and with its back the foot-bones of animals are broken to extract the leg-marrow. 326 412

Fig. 142 represents a large knife with case, called "large knife" (ma'iñı-wal), "breast-collar or strap knife" (wa'gil-wal), or "knife carried on one's self" (a'mta-wal). It is carried like a sabre, across the shoulder, in a leather sheath (*b*) attached to a breast-collar. This knife was used even recently as a battle-weapon, like a short sabre, having supplanted the bone battle-knives made of the ribs of elks and wild reindeer. The sheath is of thong-seal skin sewed very roughly with sinew-thread. The short haft of the "large knife" is made [411]

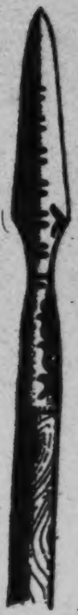

Fig. 143 ([illegible]). Point of Spear. Length of point, 30 cm.; total length, 175 cm.

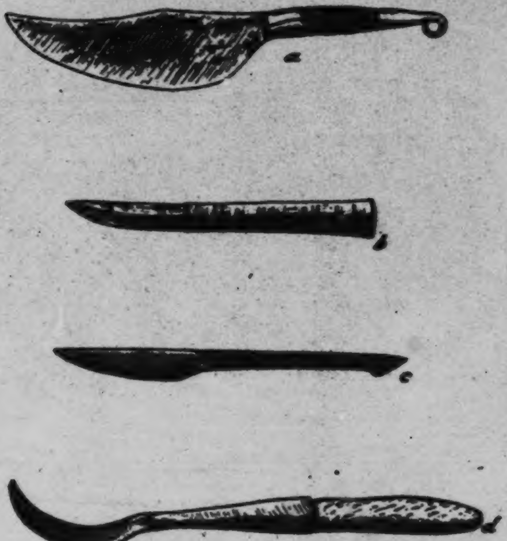

Fig. 144. Iron Knives. *a* ([illegible]), Woman's Knife (length, 28 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Carving-Knife (length, 20 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Straight Knife (length, 26 cm.); *d* ([illegible]), Crooked Knife (length, 23 cm.).

of bone of whale. The style of ornamentation on this kind of iron-work will be discussed later on.[1] The major of "large knives" are made without ornament. They are made chiefly for the Reindeer Koryak. At present wood is split, and frozen meat and bones are chopped, with this kind of knife.

Fig. 143 represents a spear made by a Kuel smith. It is double-edged,

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[1] See Chapter XI.

326 long, narrow, ornamented, and well finished. The spears for every-day use
412 are not ornamented. They are of simple and rough workmanship. Some spears are made with a ridge in the middle, which is also often met with on spears from the Amur region (see, Fig. 195).

Knives for special kinds of work are represented in Fig. 144. The woman's knife, *a* (ñau-wal) is of a sickle-shape, its form being an imitation of the ancient flat knife made of slate.[1]

281 The woman's knife has no sheath. It is kept in the work-bag, together with shavings of skin. With this knife, women cut skins and furs for clothing.[2]
412 The cutting is done on a cutting-board. Koryak women rarely use scissors.
177 Imported broadcloth for the upper coat, and calico for shirts, are also cut with the knife. Koryak blacksmiths do not manufacture scissors. The large shears shown by Bogoras[3] are the work of Yakut or Amur River blacksmiths. Yakut women cut skin for clothing with such scissors. Nevertheless Koryak women exhibited great joy when we presented them with ordinary narrow iron scissors in return for services rendered, or for submitting to being measured, and immediately pressed them into service.

321 Fig. 144, *b*, represents a knife with a long handle, specially used for
531 carving in bone or wood. However, this knife is also called a belt-knife, and is worn at the belt in a sheath. Its wooden handle is covered with
322 sheet-brass which is adorned with scratches made with the point of a knife, and evidently representing a technical ornament. Fig. 144, *c*, represents a straight knife (tami'ñu-wal, "working-knife"), and *d* a curved knife (keñı-wal, "curved knife"), used in carving bone and wood, and in hollowing out spoons, ladles, dippers, plates, and dishes.

326 Fig. 145 represents an iron chisel and an iron bow-drill for work in wood. The chisel (*a*) has a curved edge for making holes. The handle of
412 the drill (*b*) and the bow are made of bone of whale. A similar bow-drill, only with a smaller point made of steel, is used also in riveting old kettles, and generally for boring in iron.

401 I did not happen to see a pump-drill in use. It is curious that the
[372] bow-drill is called in the Koryak language mi'lgıtine ("fire-procuring"). This
321 points to the fact that the use of the bow-drill for procuring fire had preceded

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[1] Murdoch (The Point Barrow Eskimo, Fig. 106, p. 153) mentions an ancient large single-edged slate knife of this shape, belonging to the Eskimo, and supposes that it was used specially for cutting food. [illegible] inclined to think that it was a woman's knife for cutting skin. Its shape is quite similar to the woman's [illegible] knife of the Koryak, whose blacksmiths doubtless originally imitated ancient stone models. In Mason's article [illegible] the woman's knife of the Eskimo (Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1890, p. 411) are collected types of [illegible] knives of the Eskimo and certain Indian tribes from various localities. These illustrations show that nearly al[illegible] both the stone knives, and those of iron made in imitation of the stone ones — have a crescent-shaped blade, just as in the case of the woman's iron knife of the Koryak. Nearly all knives of which illustrations are given by Mason have handles like those of chopping-knives. Only in three of them (see Plates LIX, LXIV, and LXVIII, Figs. 1, 4, 2) do we see a handle on the side, just as on our woman's knife.

[2] Ornamented woman's knives are represented in Fig. 193.

[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 151, *c*, p. 222.

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its use for drilling holes; but it is certain that the Koryak, prior to the introduction of iron, were already using either a stone or a bone bow-drill to bore holes with. It may be supposed that the holes in stone ear-rings must have been made by means of the drill. 321

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Fig. 146 represents a saw made by the Reindeer Koryak for cutting reindeer-antlers. It is made of sheet-iron by means of a file, after the pattern of imported steel saws. The teeth of the saw are very uneven.

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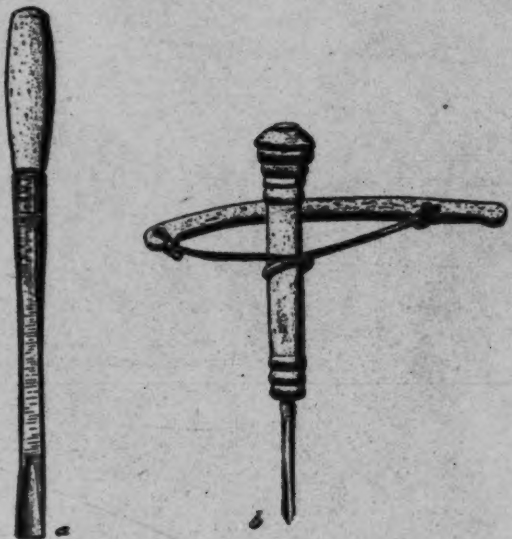

Fig. 145, a ([illegible]), Chisel (length, 25 cm.); b ([illegible]), Drill (length of drill, 30 cm.).

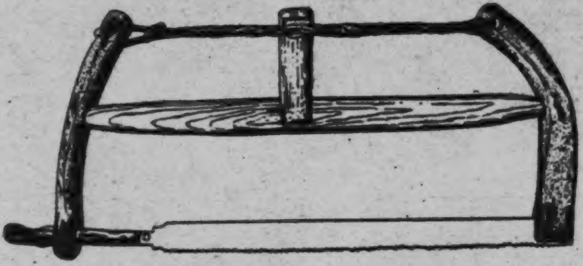
Fig. 146 ([illegible]). Saw. Length, 47 cm.

Nearly the whole of the Koryak blacksmith's work is confined to the iron tools above described. I should mention, in addition, the manufacture of kettles from imported sheet-iron by Koryak artisans. They beat these kettles out with hammers, and the bottoms are fastened on with mortise-locks, in imitation of the imported kettles, so that they arew ell suited for cooking-purposes. They do not make tin teapots, as they cannot solder on the spouts. The blacksmiths also make pick-axes for picking ice-holes, marline-spikes, awls for sewing dog's harness, scrapers for dressing skins,[1] paring-chisels, bracelets, and needle-holders.[2]

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[1] See Fig. 189, a.

[2] See also iron fish-hook (Fig. 79, p. 534), harpoon and arrow heads (pp. 546, 559), bird-dart (Fig. 95, p. 558), armor (p. 562), picks (p. 578), and ice-creepers (Fig. 30, p. 605).

326 [301] [492] Two iron bracelets are represented in Fig. 147, *a* and *b*. Small iron bars, finished and ornamented by means of files, are hammered cold into bracelets. There are also twisted iron bracelets, which are made of iron rods heated red-hot and twisted with tongs. In Fig. 147, *c*, is represented an iron needle-case with iron pendants. For dog-harnesses the blacksmiths forge toggles, swivels, rings, and small chains as substitutes for those formerly made of bone. Files for smoothing iron are bought by the smiths from traders or in the Government depot. Sometimes they themselves make files of iron bars by means of imported files. The Koryak blacksmiths do not make iron nails, but they do manufacture iron rivets for patching kettles and other broken utensils.

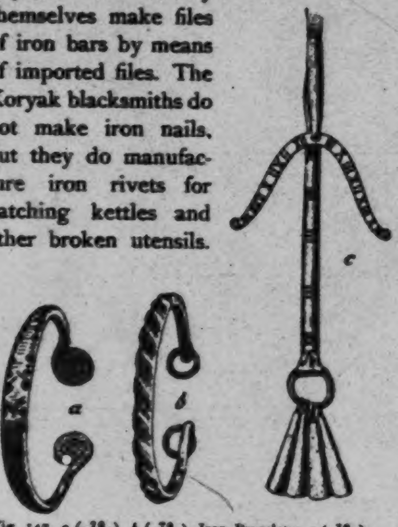

Fig. 147, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), Iron Bracelets; *c* ([illegible]), Needle-Case (length, 13 cm.).

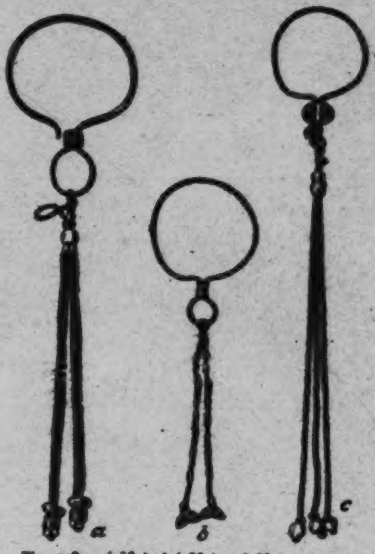

Fig. 148, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Brass Ear-Ornaments. ½ nat. size.

326 301 WORK IN COPPER, BRASS, AND SILVER. — The Koryak work copper and brass in the cold state only. The production of objects wrought in this way is limited. As material for the work, imported sheet-brass, copper wire, and broken copper dishes, teapots, and kettles, are used. Of copper or brass wire are manufactured large ring-shaped ear-ornaments decorated with iron or brass pendants, or with many colored beads which are strung on sinew-thread. Fig. 148 shows three such ear-ornaments. The one marked *a* represents an open ear-ring prior to passing it into the ear; and *b* and *c*, closed ear-rings as they hang in the ears. Identical forms of ear-ornaments are found among the Tungus and the Amur Gilyak. The shape of these ear-rings, and their manner of manufacture, have undoubtedly been learned by the Koryak from the Amur tribes through the Tungus of the Okhotsk district, or they are manufactured in imitation of ear-rings brought to Gishiga from Vladivostok. The

same may be said of the metal bracelets. I have already described iron bracelets. Two made of brass are represented in Fig. 149, *a* and *b*. 326

The jew's-harp shown in Fig. 149, *c*, is made of brass. Usually this instrument is made of bone. The needle-case (Fig. 149, *d*) is made of two gun-cartridges, and has brass and iron pendants. 301 [534]

The copper of worn-out teapots is used by the Koryak for patching and riveting damaged copper vessels. Spears and large knives are inlaid with copper and partly with brass. First the designs, representing chevron ornaments and various kinds of curves, are incised with a steel chisel. Then copper shavings are driven in with a hammer, and the weapons are smoothed off with a file.[1] 326 531

Silver-work, smelting, or cold-hammering are unknown to the Koryak; though the blacksmiths of the Tungus and Yakut, the tribes nearest to them, work also in silver. The Tungus work is done cold only, while the Yakut have attained a high degree of proficiency as silversmiths. With a hammer they beat out various ornaments and other objects from pieces of silver; smelt silver in crucibles of their own manufacture, made of fire-proof clay, and then pour the smelted metal into moulds; make alloys of silver with other metals; engrave the most complicated designs on silver ornaments; and enamel silver after the style of the Circassians. The material for this work is supplied mainly by old silver objects and silver coins.[2] 325 171

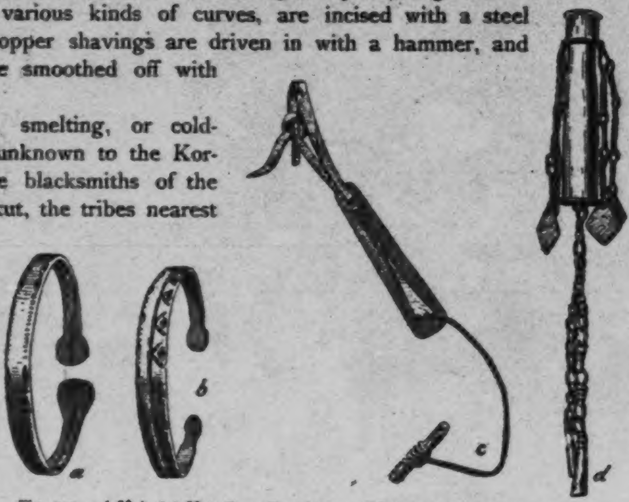

Fig. 149, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), Brass Bracelets; *c* ([illegible]), Jew's-Harp made of Brass; *d* ([illegible]), Needle-Case made of a Cartridge.

Tungus smiths hammer silver coins into small ornaments, such as ear-rings, rings, buttons, buckles, or little thin disks for breast-ornaments, and polish these with a file and soft leather made of reindeer-skin. The Tungus buy larger and more ornamental silver objects, such as belts, pendants for coats, and ornaments for hair-dressing, from the Yakut.

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[1] For ornamentation on knives and arms, see Figs. 142, 143, 189, 193, 195.

[2] In the Yakut Province, stories are in circulation that certain Yakut silversmiths reduce silver from ore, but carefully conceal the location of the mines. I could not verify the truth of these tales.

325 The love for silver ornaments is equally strong among the Tungus and
the Yakut; among the latter, however, this passion has weakened of late,
301 under the influence of civilization. They even preferred silver to gold, though
the Yakut well know that gold is the more expensive metal, and though
Yakut silversmiths know how to smelt gold, too. Even the poorest Tungus
women have some silver ornaments on their dresses.

The Koryak, on the contrary, have no particular partiality for silver.
Even the women of wealthy reindeer-breeders do not always possess silver
[517] ornaments. The color of copper or brass is more suited to their taste than
the white color of silver. I remember that in Kamenskoye, when I offered
a Koryak woman the choice between a wide brass ring with a shining shield
and a narrow silver ring, she chose the former. A contrary result was
obtained from the same experiment at another time with a Tungus woman.

The Koryak call silver ñaña-poļou′ntın ("easily selling iron"). This name, therefore, expresses the superiority of silver over iron. The derivation of the word for "iron" is unknown. At any rate, it was not borrowed from the Russians.

322 Work in Wood and Bone. — Wood and bone objects, from tiny carvings up to sledges, are nowadays wrought only by means of the above-
177 described iron tools. For fastening the parts of sledges and of the frames of
skin boats, pegs of wood or iron are not used. Everything is tied with
leather straps; but the Koryak are fond of joining their small chests for
holding tea-dishes, or other objects, with steel nails obtained from the Russians.
Household objects of wood have been described before,[1] and carvings will be
discussed later. The netting-needle, and the vice used instead of iron pincers
for finishing iron objects with a file, are made of wood.

321 In addition to the knife for cutting herring,[2] many other tools are made
of bone, antler, or ivory. A thimble and ring of ivory, which protect the
thumb and index-finger in chipping stone tools and working wood with the
[285] knife, have been described.[3] Fig. 150, *a*, shows a bone needle used in
weaving baskets of grass. Fig. 150, *b*, represents a bone tool found by me
172 in excavating an old underground dwelling at the mouth of the Nayakhan River.
412 In shape it looks like an imitation of an iron hammer, but with this difference, that holes have been made in it for tying it to the handle by means
of small leather straps. What its practical application may have been, is
unknown. It is too small to have served for clubbing seals.[4] It was found
with potsherds; and if its shape has been copied from an iron hammer, then
321 the potsherds must be of very recent origin. Fig. 150, *c*, represents a pair
of ear-rings carved out of walrus-tusk with a knife. In shape these ear-rings
are an imitation of the stone ear-rings referred to before (see p. 610), but
differ from them in having linear ornaments.[5]

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[1] See p. 570. [2] See p. 573. [3] See p. 608. [4] See p. 545.

[5] See also bone lamp (p. 567), stool made of antler (p. 568), spoons (p. 571), fish-rake (p. 573), picks and pestle (pp. 577—579).

Of bone tools, the following, besides those already mentioned, are still in use: an axe of bone of whale, with which bark is peeled from trees to get gum, and with which sods are cut for covering the walls and roofs of underground houses;[1] a marline-spike (Fig. 151), which is indispensable on account of the extended use of lashings; bone combs[2] for combing sacrificial grass; and plant-stems for technical purposes. In the absence of iron, toggles and swivels for the dog-harness are made even now of bone or antler. For 412 321 [314] [301] -

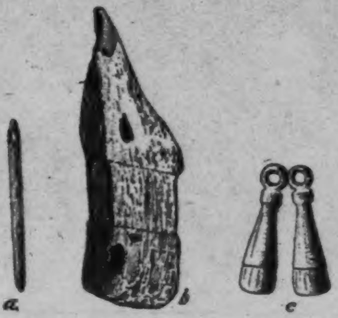

Fig. 150, *a* ([illegible]), Bone Needle (length, 4 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Bone Implement of Unknown Use (length, 13.5 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Bone Ear-Ornaments (length, 2.5 cm.).

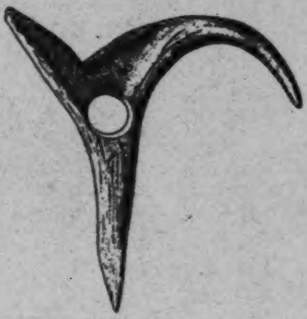

Fig. 151 ([illegible]). Marline-Spike. Greatest length, 17 cm.

making bone swivels, a ring made of the bone of a mountain-sheep is placed in boiling water, in which it expands and softens. Through this is passed the small head of a bolt, usually cut out of a walrus-tusk. After drying, the ring contracts around the body of the bolt, and the head cannot come out. Finally may be mentioned the Koryak bone-scraper described by Bogoras.[3]

Woman's Tailor-Work. — All the clothing is made by women. The sewing for each family is done by the adult women, but girls from the age of twelve or thirteen on assist their grown-up relatives. Among the tailor's tools, the woman's knife has already been described.[4] Next, the needle and cutting-board should be mentioned. At present only imported steel needles are used. For sewing heavy skin clothing, only long thick needles are used. Special preference is given by the women to sailor's needles, with which they can pierce more easily than with round needles the thick skins used in winter for the inner sleeping-tents and the large outer tents. The cutting-boards are made in different sizes. For the most part, they are plain alder, poplar, [462] 281 294

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[1] It is curious to note that the bone axes that I have seen were mounted on a wooden handle, with the edge of the blade parallel to the handle, like iron axes, and not like adzes, as was formerly done. Thus, in the epoch of the transition from stone to metal is found not only the tendency to give metal tools the shape of tools of stone or bone, but also the contrary tendency to adopt for bone or stone tools the forms of imported iron tools.

[2] See Part I, Fig. 42, p. 97.

[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 147, p. 219.

[4] See p. 621.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

or larch boards, about half a metre long and 15–20 cm. in width, planed
281 off with an adze. On the reverse side, figures representing human beings
294 and animals, and other ornaments, are carved out with a knife.[1] The small pieces of white and black fur for making up patterns on clothing and rugs are cut on small ornamented boards with a wide notch in the middle, on which are wound the embroidered fur strips for trimming coats.[2]

415 Fig. 152 represents an ornamented double wooden trinket-box with a connecting hollow bar around which embroidered fur strips are wound. The two small boxes serve for holding needle-cases, thimbles, slittingtool, patterns, and other trifles. The wooden lids are fastened to the outer sides of the boxes with leather strips instead of hinges. They are closed by a sinew-thread which passes from one lid to the other through the hollow bridge connecting the two boxes.

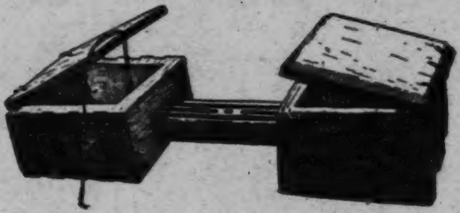

Fig. 152 $({}_{7}{}^{18}{}_{7})$. Carved Trinket-Box. Length 30.3 cm.

237 Thread is still made of reindeer-sinew. For sewing-purposes the thin threads of the dorsal sinews are used, while the thick sinews taken from the
283 legs serve to make ropes for netting and for basket-weaving. The sinew is pounded with a stone hammer on a stone table, and combed like flax with a bone comb; then threads or ropes of the desired thickness are twisted out of the thin fibre thus obtained.

294 Plate XXXVII shows women of the Maritime Koryak sitting sewing and cutting by the dim light of an oil lamp. On the right side a boy is sitting on the log which separates the sleeping-space from the middle of the house; a girl with her sewing, and a woman with a child, are sitting behind the log, on skins, under the raised cover of the sleeping-tent. On the left are seated a girl, and a woman with a cutting-board. Above are hanging clothes, foot-wear, and a fur rug. The sewing of reindeer-skin rugs will be described later on.[3]

386 Dyes. — The Koryak use a variety of dyes for dyeing skins, animal hair or fur for ornaments, and thread for weaving bags and baskets. For black or dark dyes they employ sea-mud, a decoction of swamp-moss and pounded coal mixed with fish-glue, or a decoction of berries of *Empetrum nigrum* with burned grass of *Elymus mollis*. With the first two is dyed the bark of the willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), of which bags are woven. Previous to being twisted into thread, this bark is soaked in sea-mud gathered on the coast after high tide, or in a hot decoction of swamp-moss.

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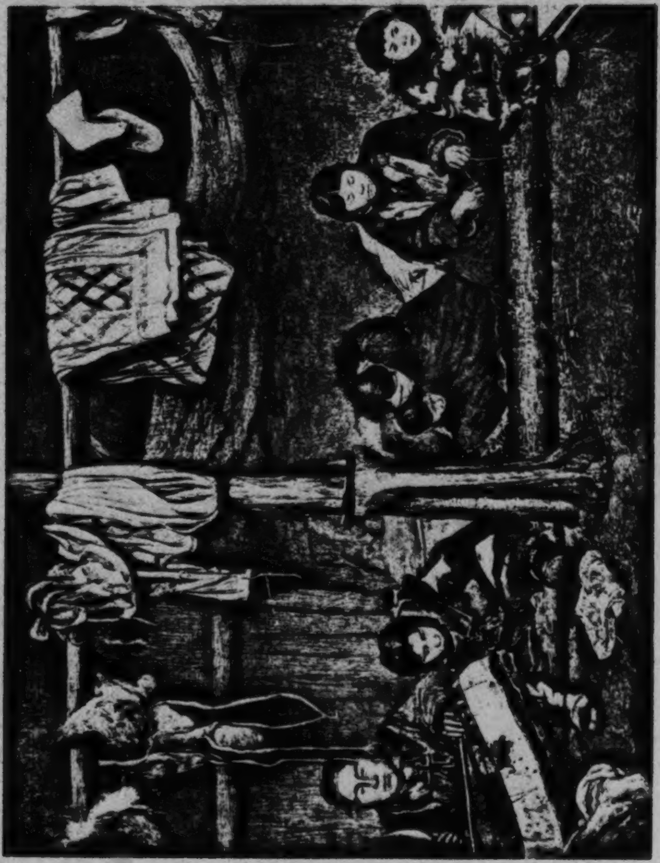
[1] See Fig. 194.
[2] See Fig. 196, a, b.
[3] See Chapter XI.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



INTERIOR OF HOUSE.

The Koryak.

[Facing p 628]

386 Pounded coal mixed with fish-glue is used for coloring sledge-stanchions, engravings on bone carvings, sinew and nettle thread, and sometimes wood-carvings.[1] A decoction of cranberry with ashes of *Elymus mollis* is used in dyeing black the strips and pieces of ringed-seal skins and of the thin skin from dogs' necks, which are used for ornamenting clothing.

Red dyes of various hues are made of ochre, alder-bark, and of berries of *Empetrum nigrum*. Ochre is used also as a paint, — either dry (for instance, in painting the cheeks of wooden masks[2]), or dissolved in water. Alder-bark serves mainly for dyeing dressed reindeer-hides, from which clothing is made to be worn with the fur side in. Dressed skins are rubbed with it, or it is boiled in water and the skin is soaked in the hot decoction. In the former case an uneven reddish dye results; in the latter, a bright even cinnamon color is obtained. Special skill is required for this process. Expert workers are found among the Maritime Koryak women, who know how to lay a very showy bright cinnamon hue on skin. After being treated with hot alder-dye, the skin hardens, and must be rubbed afresh to render it soft.

281 DRESSING OF SKINS AND CUTTING OF THONGS. — In the Koryak household, dressing of skins and cutting of thongs are important occupations, as all of the clothing is made of skins, which must first be dressed; while thongs are needed not only for lines, breast-collars, lassoes, harness, etc., but also for tying together sleds, for nets, and for many other necessities.

[462] The dressing of skins is the task of women, while thongs are cut by men. The methods employed in both these industries are identical among the Koryak and Chukchee, and for the description of details the reader is referred to Bogoras's work on the Chukchee.[3] I will only remark that in certain places these occupations develop into home industries. This is particularly true of the making of thongs. Strong thongs are obtained only from sea-animals. Accordingly the Maritime Koryak manufacture them, and exchange thongs of ringed-seal and walrus-hide with the Reindeer Koryak.

285 BASKET-WORK. — The bags and sacks made of seal-hides and reindeer-skin have been spoken of before (see p. 607). Here I shall confine myself to a description of the manufacture of woven bags and baskets. Like the manufacture of clothing, weaving is the occupation of women, and it is developed chiefly among the Maritime Koryak. The material for weaving is quite varied. The roots of different species of willow, the wild rye (*Elymus mollis;* Koryak, tu'wai), willow-herb grass (*Epilobium angustifolium;* Koryak, me'nmet or me'nmetan), nettle (*Urtica dioica* L.), thread from reindeer-sinew, and imported twine, are used.

Willow-roots, previous to weaving, are soaked in warm water, by which process flexible white rods are obtained. The stems of the *Elymus mollis*

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[1] See for instance, the wooden dog (Fig. 178, *a*) dyed in black.

[2] See Part I, p. 84.

[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 217, 218.

285 are gathered in autumn. This plant grows on sloping sandy river-banks, and often reaches the height of a man. The women cut it down with knives, and carry it in sheaves to the villages. The grass is twisted into braids (Fig. 153, *a*), and bunches of these are hung on sticks in the storehouse.

The outer bark of the edible willow-herb[1] (*Epilobium angustifolium*) is used for technical purposes. The pith is taken out and used as food. Thread is twisted from the bark in the same way as from nettle. The winter supplies of willow-herb are gathered also in the fall, and are preserved in bunches (Fig. 153, *b*).

The Koryak must have used nettle for weaving before meeting with the Russians. [114] From certain passages in Dittmar's[2] book on Kamchatka, the conclusion might be drawn that the Russians had taught the Kamchadal how to treat nettle for textile purposes; but Krasheninnikoff and Steller, who wrote of Kamchatka nearly a century before Dittmar, speak of the use of nettle for nets and baskets as a long-known industry of the Kamchadal.[3]

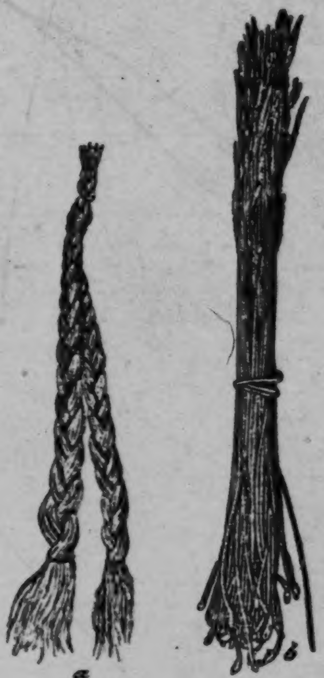

Fig. 153. Material for Basket-Work. *a* ([illegible]), Braid of Wild Rye (length, 72 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Bundle of Willow-Herb (length, 84 cm.).

The Koryak women gather nettles also in 314] autumn, after the end of the fishing-season, tie it into bunches, and hang it under the storehouses to dry. In winter they work their yarn. With their teeth they pull off the soft fibres from the hard woody nettle-stems, pound them with a stick until the fibres come apart, and then twist these in the same way as they do sinew-thread.

I have already spoken of the use of sinew-thread in sewing. For basket and bag weaving or netting, strands are made of from four to six fibres, which are twisted 000 together. The spinning of the thread for weaving from these plant and sinew

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[1] See p. 578.

[2] Dittmar, Travel in Kamtschatka, pp. 160, 164, 363. It is quite possible that what Dittmar says does not refer to the preparation of nettle by the Kamchadal in general, but to the endeavors of Zavoyko, Governor of Kamchatka, to accustom them to an improved method of treatment by means of spinning-wheel and weaver's loom. But from the passages referred to in Dittmar it is not quite clear that he wanted to speak only of improvements in the Kamchadal method of manufacture. I do not know whether the better method introduced by the Russians has been preserved among the Kamchadal, but the Koryak employ even now the most primitive method of preparation of nettle.

[3] See Steller, pp. 83, 317; Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 332.

The spinning of the thread for weaving from these plant and sinew fibres has not advanced beyond the method of a cobbler preparing his waxen end. The twisting is done with the palms of the hands,[1] and a long thread is obtained by twisting together separate parts. Fig. 154 represents a wooden reel on which is wound the sinew-thread for weaving. Similar skeins are made of the threads of plant-fibres. 283

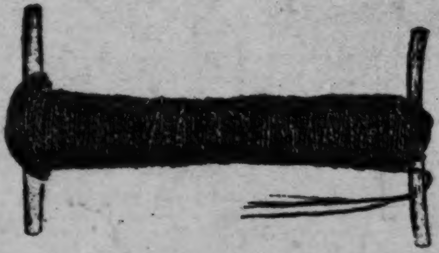

Fig. 154 ([illegible]). Wooden Reel. Length, 29 cm.

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When a Koryak woman comes into possession of imported flax, hemp, or cotton thread or cord, she uses it by mingling it in her work with home-made material, so that stripes of one and the other material alternate. Sometimes it happens that a Koryak woman purchases linen cloth, unravels it, and twists the ravellings into cord for weaving.

Among the Koryak, as among the Alaskan Eskimo, we find coiled and twined basketry; but in the majority of cases the work of the Koryak is better, and their methods are more varied, than those of the Eskimo. 285 415

Fig. 155 represents one of the varieties of coiled baskets. They are children's baskets, made of *Elymus mollis;* but larger-sized baskets of the same shape are used by women for berry-picking. Fig. 156 represents one square inch of Fig. 155, *a*, enlarged. As may be seen, the work is done

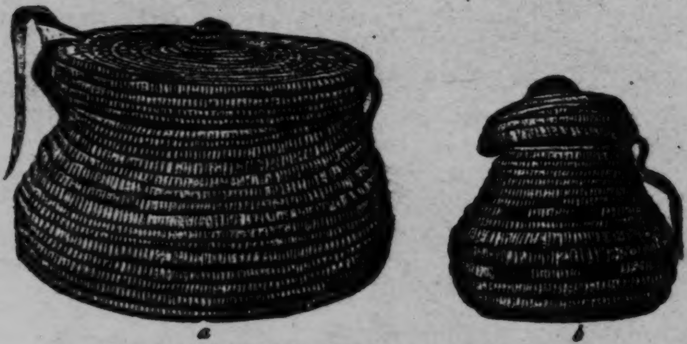

Fig. 155, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Coiled Baskets. Height, 13 cm., 8 cm.

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[1] It is interesting to note that an improved method of twisting thread is employed by the Yakut women, who twist with the palm of the right hand on the bare thigh. The origin of this method is explained by the Yakut woman's dress, the lower part of which consists of three pieces, — short trousers, knee-piece, and boots. In working thread, the Yakut woman takes off the knee-piece of the right leg, and, raising her coat, twists on her bare thigh.

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quite roughly, and differs in no way, in material and device, from the same kind of basket-work of the Alaskan Eskimo, which has been described by Mason.[1] Bunches of straw are used for the body of the coil. In whipping each coil with a straw thread, the upper part of the lower coil is caught in, thus fastening the coils together. The straw whipping-thread is passed through the bunches of straw that serve as the foundation by means of a bone or iron awl. As may be seen from the illustration, the women do not observe any regularity in passing the binding through the lower coil. In whipping they pass the thread either through the lower coil or into the interval between two coils, just as the Alaskan Eskimo[2] do.

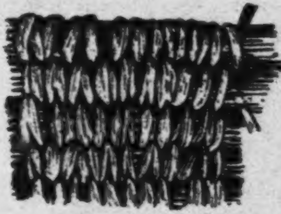

Fig. 156 ([illegible]). Technique of Coiled Basket-Work.

The ornamentation of this kind of baskets is made with straw dyed black or red, which is used for whipping the coils, and alternates rhythmically with undyed straw thread (see Fig. 155, *b*).

These baskets are circular in section, and the diameters of the circles grow smaller in size going upward. The rim usually consists, not of straw, but of a willow rod coiled with sinew thread instead of straw thread. The lid is separate, and is fastened to the basket with a small strap. On the opposite side, straps for closing the basket are fastened.

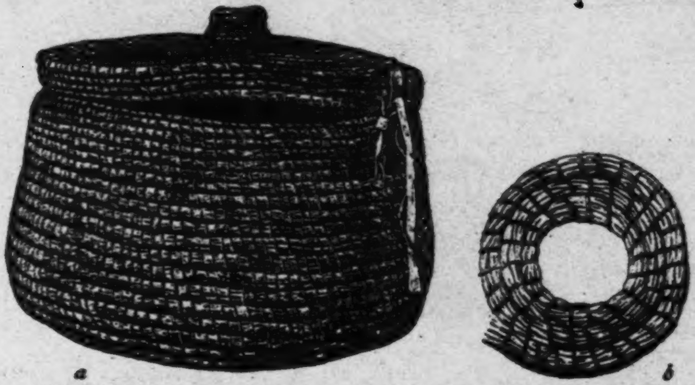

Fig. 157 ([illegible]). Coiled Grass Basket. Height, 14 cm. *b*, Detail from bottom of basket.

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[1] See Mason, Aboriginal Basket-Work, Figs. 5, 6, p. 293.

[2] For a sample of closer work and regularity of stitches, see the Zuñi coiled basket-jar in Mason's Aboriginal Basket-Work, Plate XLIX, Fig. B1) and the fabrics from a cave in Kentucky (Holmes, Prehistoric Textile Fabrics of the United States derived from Impressions on Pottery, in the Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology 1881–82, Fig. 67, p. 403).

Fig. 157 represents a type of coiled basketry made of *Elymus mollis;* but the coils of straw are whipped with twisted sinew thread, and not with straw thread. In *b* a part of the bottom of the basket is shown on a larger scale. The straw coil forms a spiral. The coils are whipped and held together by a sinew thread, also without any regularity, like the straw thread in the preceding figure. The whipping is done with a bone needle like the one shown in Fig. 150, *a*. 285 415

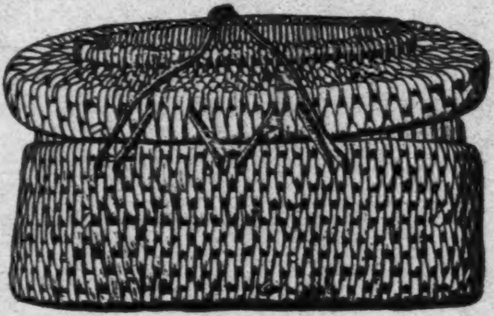

Fig. 158 ([illegible]). Coiled Basket made of Willow-Roots. Width, 22 cm.

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Fig. 158 represents a basket made of willow-roots on the river Opuka. The material for whipping consists of splints of willow-roots. This basket, too, belongs to the coiled type, but differs from the two preceding figures in the style of coiling. Rods made of willow roots or branches form the warp. Beginning from below, the splint of the root whips two rods of the warp at once. In this process a space equal to the width of the splint is left between each whipping. Then a third rod is added above, and is fastened to the second rod in the same manner, but so that the stitches pass under the second rod between the stitches joining the first pair of rods.

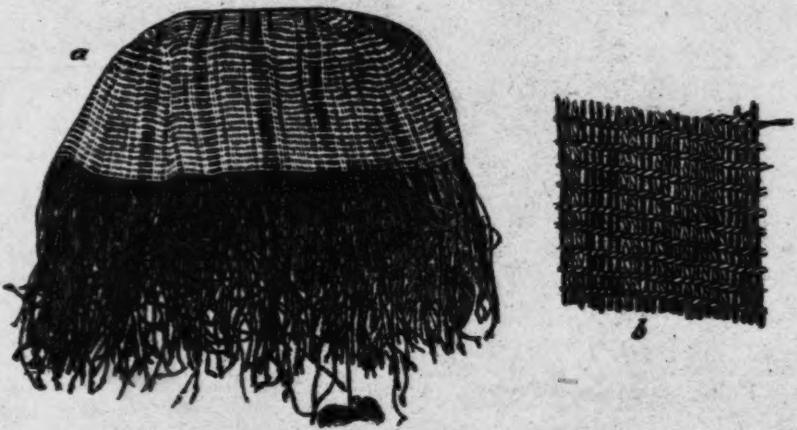

Fig. 159 ([illegible]). Unfinished Bag of Nettle-Fibre. *b*, Detail of weaving.

285 Attention may be called to the neatness and regularity of this work. The seam nowhere passes over the preceding whipping, as it does in grass basket-weaving. The shape of these baskets, which are oval in cross-section, and the form of the lid, suggest that they may be an imitation of some imported model. In material and technique, this basket is exactly identical with that of the Tinné, who, as Mason supposes, taught the Alaskan Eskimo to weave.[1]

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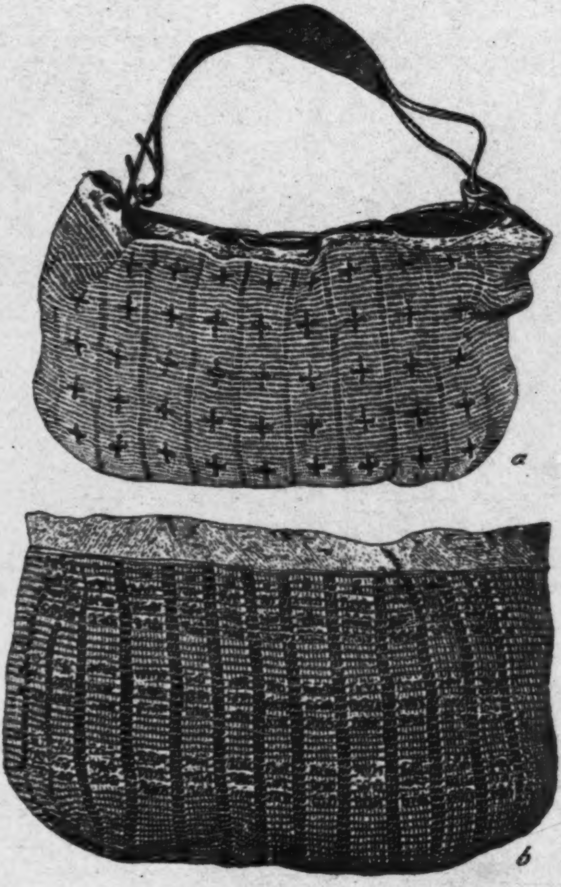

Fig. 160. Woven Bags. b ([illegible]), Width, 38 cm.

Baskets or bags made in twined weaving are open and close. The latter are waterproof.

Fig. 159 represents an unfinished woven sack made of nettle-thread, and a piece of the sack, on a larger scale, showing the method of weaving. An empty sack is so soft that it may be rolled up. After the warp-threads on the bottom of the sack are fastened by the woof-threads, the sack is hung up on two poles or on a stretcher. At the end of the warp-thread, knots are made, lest the twisting should be undone during the work. Certain rows of the warp-threads are black, and alternate in regular order with rows of undyed threads, thus determining the ornamental style of the bag. The weaving is done by twining 286 two woof-threads over the warp. The end of the woof is gathered in a skein and undone according to need. The weaving continues round the sack from right to left.

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[1] See Mason, Aboriginal Basket-Work, Plate V, p. 295.

Fig. 160 represents flat bags like those on the preceding figure, but 286 finished. In *b* a strip of seal-skin is stitched around the opening of the bag. 531 It is sewed with sinew-thread to the last woof-threads, to which are also fastened the loose ends of the warp. This bag has never been in use, and in the skin strip at the opening are no holes through which to pass the thong which is to close the bag when full (Fig. 160, *a*). The workmanship of these bags exhibits great taste and skill. The ornamentation of the bag is made as follows: at certain intervals among the nettle-threads of the warp there run three threads of sinew, dyed black, which thus form narrow black longitudinal stripes between wider stripes of the light-gray nettle. These alternating stripes of various colors make a pleasing impression. The width of the light stripes varies; and this somewhat disturbs the impression which the ornamentation would produce on the eye if it were executed with greater regularity. The bag is further ornamented with bunches of colored crewel, which are caught in the twining, forming tassels similar to those shown in Fig. 199, *a*. This ornament forms three cross-stripes. Of these, the lower two consist of three rows; the upper one, of four rows.

On the bag marked *a*, instead of the bunches which form the cross-stripes, there is an embroidery of crosses in colored wool, the regular arrangement of which produces a very pleasing effect. The black cross-stripes [824] consist of threads made of the outer bark of *Epilobium angustifolium* dyed in sea-mud.[1] To this bag is attached a woman's carrying-strap or head-band.

The twined bags here described serve for carrying goods on foot-journeys. 482 Women carry them by means of a head-band; men, by means of a chest-yoke.[2] In them women also [854] carry children (see Plate XXXVI). In the Koryak tongue every bag or basket is called apke'lın; baskets with ornamentation, kele'-a'pkel ("ornamented baskets"); while the coiled baskets described before are called tene'-apke'lın ("sewed basket").

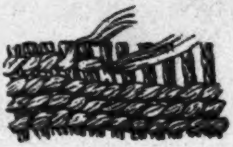

Fig. 161 ([illegible]). Technique of Twined Basketry.

Fig. 161 shows the method of weaving close-twined baskets. *Elymus mollis* is pre-eminently the 285 415 material used for this purpose; but the work on them is more perfect than the work on coiled baskets of the same straw. The warp is formed by [824] threads of twisted straw of *Elymus mollis*. The weaving is done by twining

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[1] See p. 628. This method of dyeing textile material black is found also among the Haida (see Mason, Aboriginal Basket-Work, p. 297).

[2] See p. 606.

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[386]
with two straw threads. This method of weaving produces a texture dense, waterproof, and yet flexible and not coarse. Fig. 162 shows three baskets woven by this method. The ornamentation of these sacks is obtained by weaving in threads of *Epilobium angustifolium* dyed black. In *a* the threads from this grass have been dyed in a decoction of swamp-moss. To this dye is added a little fish-oil, which gives it a glossy hue. Bags woven in the way here described vary in size. They are used chiefly as women's work-bags. In the majority of cases the upper part (a third or a half) of the bag consists of reindeer or seal skin stitched to the woven part, as shown in *a* and *b*. Around Penshina Bay the Koryak women, among whom I collected all the above-described specimens of basket-work, do not weave (at least at present) any grass mats; but the Koryak of northern Kamchatka, like the Kamchadal, make grass mats. Fig. 163 represents a grass basket for berries, of the Koryak of northern Kamchatka, which is of cylindrical shape, and is made in twined weaving. In neatness, workmanship, and ornamentation, the basket recalls the best specimens of Indian basketry of the North Pacific coast.

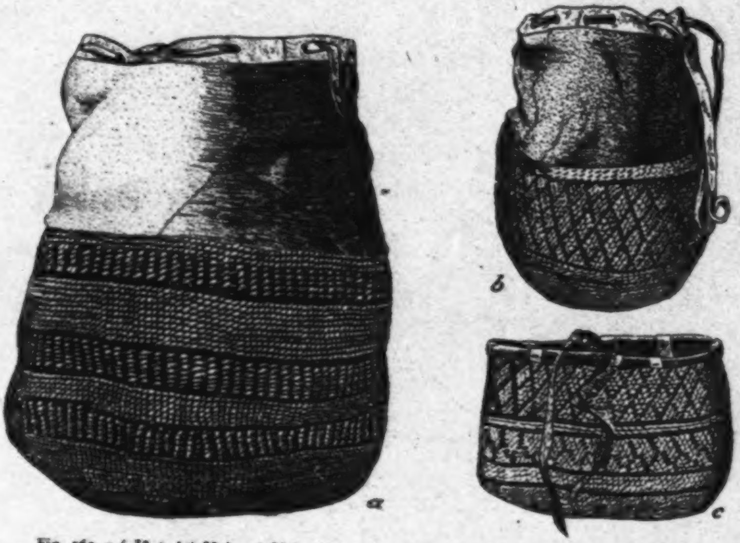

Fig. 162, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Water-tight Baskets. Height, 20 cm., 17 cm., 8.5 cm.

285 Mr. Bogoras has collected in northern Kamchatka a few grass bags which show a different technique. They are made throughout of braids of grass. The bottom is formed by a long narrow strip of skin, to one end of which

the first braid is sewed. The braid then continues spirally around this strip 285 of skin, the spirals being sewed together. These bags are ornamented by inserting at a certain place a dark or ornamented braid, which occupies one turn of the spiral, to be followed by a plain turn, which again may be followed by a decorated turn. Thus it happens that at one place in the basket the ornamented and unornamented strips are sewed together, and the irregular appearance is presented because the ornamented turn of the spiral always ends one row above the point where it begins. This technique is shown in Fig. 164, *b*. In this case the lower part of the basket is made of coarse braid, while the upper two-thirds are made of a much more closely woven braid. In Fig. 164, *c*, the insertion of the decorative band is made in a different way, a single black spiral being inserted, which tapers at both ends. The technique of this style of basketry is shown in Fig. 164, *a*.

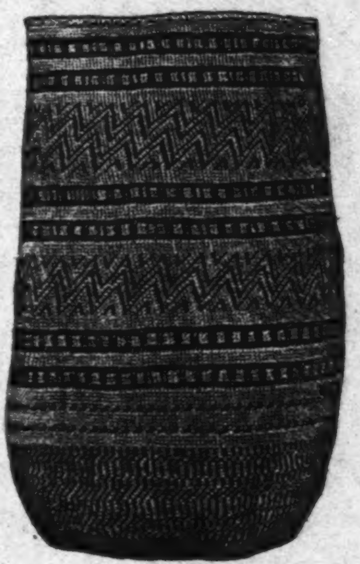

Fig. 163 ([illegible]). Water-tight Basket. Northern Kamchatka. Height, 34 cm.

The Maritime Koryak are about the only part of the tribe engaged in basket- 285 weaving from plant and other fibre. 281 The Reindeer Koryak women have no time, and their large cold tents are unsuited in winter for carrying on the work of preparing the material and weaving the baskets. The Reindeer Koryak wo- [437] men content themselves with sewing-bags made of skins and with the woven baskets obtained by exchange from the women of the Maritime tribe.

Ancient Pottery. — I have referred several times to the excavations 172 of ancient Koryak underground dwellings, which I made at the mouth of the river Nayakhan and on the seacoast between the mouths of the rivers Nayakhan and Gishiga. Before undertaking to describe the potsherds found in these excavations, I will make a few general remarks on the remains of these underground dwellings and how the excavations were conducted.

The Koryak themselves consider these remains as the dwellings of their 342 ancestors, who had lived there previous to the advent of the Russians, and 172 they call them by the same name as they call their present underground dwellings (see pp. 448, 453). These dwellings are therefore the dwellings of the Koryak, and not those of another tribe, and they are not very ancient.

Seen from the outside, these remains form circular or nearly circular

342 172 shallow pits with small embankments, and resemble the remains of underground dwellings on Yezo, as described by Dr. Grimm.[1] Grimm calls attention to the charred posts found in his excavations. In some pits I also found that the posts which evidently supported the roof were completely charred. The Koryak explained this by stating that the Russian conquerors or other foes had set fire to these dwellings, — a practice quite frequent in antiquity when those besieged in the underground house would not surrender.

[285]

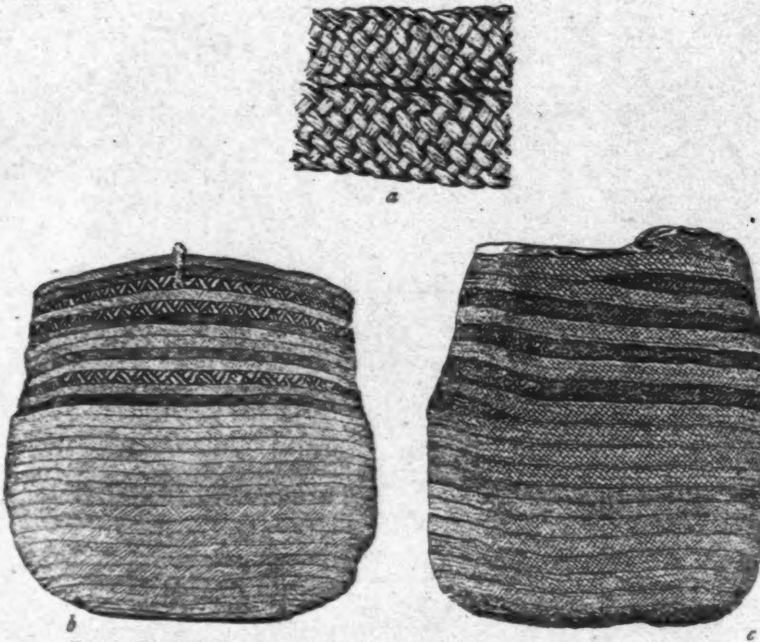

Fig. 164, Braided Baskets. *a* Detail showing technique of basket; *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]) Baskets. Height, 40 cm., 41 cm.

172 Much to my regret, I was unable to carry on systematic excavations. The method of my travels precluded a long stay in those regions. Besides, it was in the month of July, when the soil was still frozen to the depth of one foot; so that digging was impossible, and the ground had to be broken with an axe. Therefore no amount of precaution could prevent the breaking of the articles found. Being unable to make regular and extensive excavations, I confined myself to digging up the centres of the holes in the hope of

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[1] Grimm, Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Koropokguru auf Yezo u. Bemerkungen über die Shilkotan-Aino (Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio, 1892, Band V, pp. 369-373).

discovering the location of the fireside. I really did find charred logs, coals, stones forming the hearth, potsherds, and remains of tools. Let us now consider the potsherds. 172

All the potsherds found by me are made of coarse clay, containing fine gravel and pieces of quartz. They are quite thin (4–12 mm.), so that their manufacture has little in common with that of the thick and clumsy clay lamps and unbaked quadrangular kettles of the modern Chukchee and Asiatic Eskimo described by Bogoras.[1] The potsherds found in the excavations are black with soot and fat, and were evidently well baked, as they remained strong and hard, although they had been lying in the wet soil. 172 323

The Koryak themselves well know that the potsherds now found are remnants of the clay vessels in which their near ancestors used to cook their food. The Koryak call a clay pot sæku'keña, i. e., "clay kettle" (from sæ, "earth and clay;" and kukeña, "kettle or pot"). Iron kettles are called by them polounto-kukeña.

In a myth[2] it is related how Yiñea-ñeut, when a child, was deserted by her father Big-Raven in an underground house. There she grew up alone, caught birds, and cooked them in the clay pot she found behind the fireplace. The mentioning of pottery in mythology shows that the Koryak themselves assign to pottery an ancient origin.

A fairly accurate idea of the size and form of the whole pots may be gained from the fragments. The restoration of a pot is shown in Fig. 165, *a*. Its mouth has a diameter of about 21 cm., and its height must have been approximately 24 cm., while the walls are 4–8 mm. thick. The pot is moulded with the hand, and the outside bears all over it the impressions of close-woven twined basketry, such as is shown in Fig. 161. Evidently this impression was made by taking a piece of twined fabric in one hand, and pressing it against the moist pot, the twined woof being placed so that the lines run at right angles to the rim. In some fragments of pots the impress of this woven fabric is very distinct. Another fragment in the collection indicates that the pot of which it once formed a part must have had a still larger diameter. The piece is too small to reconstruct the exact form of the pot, but it would seem that the pot was not less than 30 cm. wide at the mouth. All the pots are covered with a heavy layer of soot. A thick potsherd showing a decorated rim is shown in Fig. 165, *b*.

The unquestionable existence of pottery among the Koryak in the recent past presents great interest, in view of the fact that the former existence of pottery among other so-called palæ-Asiatic peoples has been disputed by many writers. 171 323

Let us consider, first of all, the Kamchadal, a neighboring tribe kindred to

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Figs. 102—104, pp. 185, 186.

[2] See Part I, p. 306, No. 114.

[3] See Steller, p. 322; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 45.

171 322 the Koryak. True, Steller and Krasheninnikoff[4] visited them after they had been considerably influenced by Russian culture; but, in speaking of the ancient Kamchadal method of cooking food, they mention only boiling in wooden troughs by means of red-hot stones, and there is nowhere in the writings of these authors a reference to clay vessels. Schrenck considers the absence of pottery among the Kamchadal as proved.[1]

171 252 I have found accounts which stated that the Koryak also used red-hot stones for boiling. However, in these statements I do not see any contradiction to the fact that there are traces of the existence of pottery among them. The latter, to my mind, seems a later invention than boiling by means of red-hot stones; but, even after the invention of pottery, cooking by means of red-hot stones might have continued.

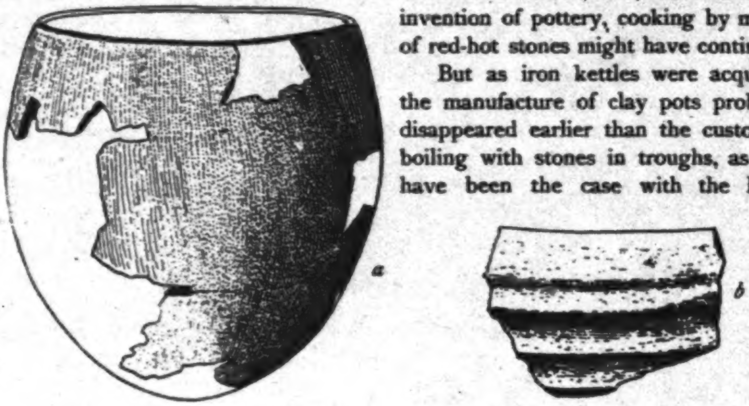

Fig. 165, a ([illegible]), Pottery Vessel; b ([illegible]), Rim of Pottery Vessel.

171 174 323 But as iron kettles were acquired, the manufacture of clay pots probably disappeared earlier than the custom of boiling with stones in troughs, as may have been the case with the Kamchadal. Witsen[2] states, based on information given by Cossacks, that the Kamchadal used to make clay vessels. In an old underground Kamchadal dwelling, Dittmar found "small clay vessels" of most primitive workmanship. "The clay crumbled under the hands, it had evidently been badly (if at all) baked," says Dittmar. As the pots were saturated with blubber, Dittmar thinks it possible that they had been lamps, and not cooking-pots;[3] but this opinion may be offset by the shape and size, especially the depth, of the pots found.[4] Besides, in another passage, Dittmar quotes the tale of an old Kamchadal who brought to him the stone implements that he had dug out

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[1] Schrenck, II, p. 140.

[2] See Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p. 673.

[3] See Dittmar, p. 213.

[4] Dittmar gives the following measurements of the pots: upper diameter, 12 cm.; lower, 10 cm.; maximum width, 14 cm.; depth, 10 cm. This vessel, therefore, had an aperture smaller in diameter than the middle part, and its bottom was still smaller than the aperture. Clay lamps are of different shape (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Figs. 102, 103, pp. 185, 186; Nelson, Plate XXVIII). Nelson gives 2¾ inches (i. e., less than 7 cm.) as the depth of two lamps (Nelson, p. 64). The Koryak stone lamps (see p. 566) are 4-6 cm. deep.

171 of ancient underground houses, and who said that potsherds of coarse clay
174 vessels are often found among other objects in excavating ancient underground
dwellings on the eastern coast of Kamchatka.[1]

323 Lastly, the Gishiga Cossacks, who often visit Kamchatka on duty, told me personally that they came across the same kind of sherds of clay pots as I found in the ruins of ancient Koryak houses.

At present neither the Gilyak and Ainu, nor the Kamchadal and Koryak, make clay pots. Schrenck expresses the opinion that even in antiquity this art was unknown to the Gilyak and Ainu.[2] Concerning the statement of the Japanese traveller, Mamia Rinso, that the Gilyak on Saghalin manufactured clay ware resembling that of the Chinese and Japanese, Schrenck supposes that this art was introduced by the Chinese and Japanese at a quite recent date, and has been lost again. On the other hand, Schrenck finds that the potsherds collected by Pfeiffer, Lopatin, and Polyakoff in various parts of the Amur region and in Saghalin, samples of which were in his hands, were so old as to have no ethnological connection whatever with the tribes inhabiting the region at the present time.[3]

114 Leo Sternberg, the latest student of the Gilyak tribe, in his brief pre-
174 liminary sketch of the Gilyak, published in the "Ethnographical Review,"[4] ex-
presses an opinion concerning the ancient Gilyak pottery identical with that
323 of Schrenck. In his opinion, the Gilyak were not familiar with pottery. Further on, I shall briefly touch upon his arguments. The Gilyak themselves call the remains of the ancient underground dwellings on Saghalin Island, where the potsherds were found, kugi-tulkč, which means "Ainu little pits;" i. e., the Gilyak attribute them to the Ainu. Following the course of his arguments, Sternberg further supposes that these little pits did not belong to the ancestors of the present Ainu either, for the Saghalin Ainu themselves attribute them to another people by the name of Tonchi.[5]

Here I reach a question interesting in the highest degree, — the question, Who were the ancient inhabitants of Japan and of the underground dwellings in Yezo and other places, — the Ainu, or another pre-Ainu people? This question divides Japanese and other investigators into two camps. Of the Japanese scholars, Professor Koganei especially, espouses the former view; Professor Tsuboi, the latter. Concerning Saghalin, my friend Dr. Sternberg apparently seems to side with Tsuboi; while Dr. Laufer, a member of our

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[1] See Dittmar, p. 189.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 139. Schrenck, by the way, expresses the opinion that pottery was unknown to any of the so-called palæ-Asiatic peoples, with the exception of the Eskimo. He supposes that the Eskimo came to America from Asia, and classes them among the palæ-Asiatics; but this opinion, as we see, is utterly refuted by the facts.

[3] See Schrenck, II, p. 141.

[4] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Review, published by the Ethnographical Section of the Imperial Society of Friends of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography, Moscow, 1904, Parts 1, 2, 3).

[5] Ethnographical Review, 1904, I, p. 5.

114 expedition, expresses views in harmony with Professor Koganei's.[1] Of the
174 recent works devoted to this question, one of especial interest is Professor
323 Koganei's excellent article, "Ueber die Urbewohner Japans."[2]

I can touch upon this question only so far as it bears upon pottery.
323 On the one hand, remnants of primitive pottery have been discovered on
171 the Chukchee Peninsula, in Baron Korff's Bay,[3] in Kamchatka, on the coasts
of the Okhotsk Sea and its bays, on the Kurilian Islands, at the mouth of
174 the Amur, on the islands Saghalin and Yezo; on the other hand, the Eskimo
of northwestern America even now make clay pots, and have left traces of
this art which existed among them in the past.[4]

Whether pottery was known to the Aleut, we do not know as yet. Veniaminoff says that the clay vessels he saw among the Aleut had been obtained by them from the Russians.[5] In the description of the articles found by Dall[6] in the grave caves of the Aleut, we find no remains of clay vessels; but until archæological investigations have been undertaken in the Aleutian Islands, it cannot be asserted that pottery was unknown to the Aleut. Judging by the results of our expedition, the Indians of the North Pacific coast never had pottery.[7]

Territorially speaking, we have thus found, so far, that pottery in its primitive stage was widespread on the northern coasts of the Pacific Ocean from the islands of Japan around almost to the coast strip of southern Alaska.

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[1] See Berthold Laufer, Die Angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin (Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Jena, 1900, Band V, Heft 6).

[2] Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokio, 1903, IX, pp. 297–330.

[3] Bogoras (The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 186) says that certain potsherds found by him in the ancient "jaw-bone houses" are thinner than the above-mentioned clay lamps and kettles, and point to another type of clay pots in the past.

[4] Thus we have Baron Wrangell's statements of the beginnings of the nineteenth century, that the Eskimo in Alaska made pots (Wrangell, Statist. und ethnog. Nachrichten über die Russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwestküste von Amerika, St. Petersburg, 1839, p. 147): Dall's information concerning the seventies of the last century (Dall, Alaska and its Resources, London, 1870, p. 218) and the present-day information of Nelson (Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, pp. 201, 202). Concerning the inhabitants of the island Kadyak, we possess the following information, dating from the beginning of the last century: "From clay they make fire-pots, in which they melt whale fat. Formerly they could also bake pots, but now this art is lost, possibly for the reason that they found our kettles more convenient" (see Voyages to America of the Naval Officers, Khvostoff and Davydoff, St. Petersburg, 1812, Vol. II, p. 104). Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 305) states that the Konyag of Kadyak cooked meat in clay pots. At the end of the last century Murdoch found on Point Barrow fragments of pottery which, according to him, existed earlier than iron kettles (Murdoch, pp. 91, 92). G. B. Gordon, in his Notes on the Western Eskimo (Transactions of the Department of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 83), based on data collected by the expedition sent to Alaska in the summer of 1905 by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, states that at present the art of pottery has died out among the western Eskimo, but the older people still remember the time when lamps and cooking-vessels were made of clay. Plates XXIII and XXIV of the same paper show different types of clay vessels of the western Eskimo.

[5] Veniaminoff, Notes on the Unalashka District, Part II, p. 239.

[6] Dall, On the Remains of Prehistoric Man obtained from Caves in the Catherine Archipelago, Alaska Territory and especially from the Caves of the Aleutian Islands (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1878, Vol. XXII).

[7] This conclusion is based on the results of the excavations made by Mr. Smith at the mouth of the Fraser River, in the southern part of Vancouver Island, and on the coast of Washington; but it would be very important to extend the archæologic investigations also to other parts of the coast-line between the Alaskan Eskimo and Columbia River and the interior Athapascans, in order to draw a final conclusion.

As to the question what tribes have left remains of this art, there is still disagreement in the majority of cases. That the clay pots, of which potsherds have been found by me in Koryak territory, were made by the recent ancestors of the Koryak, there can be no doubt. The same may be said in regard to the Alaskan Eskimo, but here is involved the question of their original gradual distribution. So far as mythology is concerned, I have accepted Professor Boas's theory that the Eskimo came to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean from the east.[1] In questions of somatology we have some data pointing to the change of the physical type of the Eskimo from the east westward, as we approach nearer and nearer to the Pacific Ocean.[2] 323 171 174

The central and eastern Eskimo had lamps of soapstone, but we find no indication that they now can or formerly could make clay pots. If we consider as correct the theory that the Alaskan Eskimo came from the east, and that their physical nature and their traditions have changed in the new locality under the influence of the Indians, then they may have adopted the art of making pottery, too, after their arrival on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, from the former aborigines, as their eastern fellow-tribesmen evidently did not know this art.[3] I should remark that I bring forward these considerations only as an attempt at solving the question concerning the primitive culture of the Asiatic-American tribes.

Regarding the Ainu, it is impossible, it seems to me, not to agree with the considerations of Koganei, that the pits on Yezo, Saghalin, and the Kurilian Islands, which contain the potsherds now holding our interest, are remnants of the dwellings of the ancestors of the modern Ainu. For the Gilyak, we must for the present accept the opinion of Sternberg, — the best authority on this tribe, — who argues that the Gilyak are new-comers on Saghalin Island and at the mouth of the Amur, and suggests that they may have been neighbors of the Aleut.[4] Still one cannot help remarking that Sternberg's chief arguments offered as proof that the clay potsherds from the "little pits" on Saghalin belong to neither the ancestors of the Gilyak nor to the ancient Ainu,[5] are identical with the arguments of Tsuboi concerning the last-mentioned tribe alone.[6] These arguments consist in the following. In the myths there are no allusions whatever to the former use of pottery by the Gilyak or Ainu; on the contrary, the traditions of both tribes attribute this art to other tribes, the Gilyak attributing it to the Ainu. The Ainu of 114 174 323

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[1] See Part I, p. 359.

[2] See Dina Jochelson-Brodsky, Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers nordostsibirischer Völker (Doctor's Dissertation of the University of Zürich), Braunschweig, 1906.

[3] Unfortunately, no archæological researches have been made in the territory of the northern Athapascans and Tlingit.

[4] If this supposition should prove correct, the finding of remains of pottery on the Aleutian territory would be of importance.

[5] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Review, I, p. 5).

[6] See Koganei, Ueber die Urbewohner Japans, pp. 304, 305.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

114 Yezo, on their part, attribute this art to the mythical tribe Koropokguru,
174 while the Ainu of Saghalin claim that the mythical tribe Tonchi made the
323 pots which have been found in the ruins of underground dwellings.[1] He also thinks that if the Gilyak and Ainu had known this art before, it would not have been lost.

I shall not expatiate upon the linguistic interpretation of the words "Tonchi" and "Koropokguru," which may be found in the works referred to.[2] I wish only to remark that oral tradition cannot take the place of history if it does not agree with the data of archæology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and comparative culture. In the last-named respects much remains to be done, but what has already been done with reference to the Ainu completely proves that the Koropokguru are the ancestors of the present Ainu. It is enough to read the description of the contemporary underground dwellings of the Ainu on Shikotan to come to the conclusion that after their destruction they would form the same kind of pits as we still find on Yezo.[3] It is quite possible that the names handed down by tradition of what purports to be vanished tribes are but the ancient names of territorial groups or clans of one or another of the now existing tribes, just as I have been able to prove concerning the so-called vanished tribes of the Khodintsi, Omoki, Kongienisi, etc., of the Kolyma region,[4] that they are not vanished tribes, but ancient local names of the divisions of the Yukaghir tribe.

The present-day absence of pottery among the Ainu and Gilyak cannot be proof that they never had it formerly, either. We possess many proofs, and among others my own data collected among the Koryak, that pottery may disappear with the advent of metal utensils.[5] Likewise nothing is proved by the absence of any mention of pottery in the myths. The memory of peoples that possess no knowledge of writing is, on the whole, very short with reference to facts relating to their past life. To give an instance, I was surprised when the Arctic Yakut who came to the extreme north very recently did not know, when questioned by me on this point, that their ancestors had manufactured clay pots, and not even that their more southerly fellow-tribesmen are still making pottery. That the present pottery of the Yakut, still made with the hands, without the potter's wheel and without knowledge of the art of glazing, is of ancient origin, has been completely proved by Sieroszevski in his work on the Yakut.[1]

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[1] It should be remarked that so far no traditions ascribing them to mythical tribes have sprung up with reference to the potsherds found in 1865 in the excavations of underground dwellings at the mouth of the Amur (see Schrenck, II, p. 141), and to the remnants of such dwellings between Khabarovsk and the mouth of the Amur (see Laufer, Die angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin, in Centralblatt für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgeschichte, 5. Jahrgang, Heft 6, p. 329).

[2] See Laufer, Die angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin, etc., p. 325; Koganei, Ueber die Urbewohner Japans, pp. 314, 315.

[3] See Grimm, Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Koropokguru auf Yezo u. Bemerkungen über die Shikotan-Aino (1892); Hitchcock, The Ancient Pit-Dwellers of Yezo, Japan (Washington, 1892).

[4] See Jochelson, On the Question of the Vanished Tribes of the Kolyma District (Bulletin of the East Siberian Section of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, Irkutsk, 1897, Vol. XXVIII, Part I).

[5] On the disappearance of pottery among the eastern Indians of North America, upon the arrival of the whites, see Charles Rau, The Archæological Collection of the United States National Museum (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Washington, 1876, Vol. XXII, p. 73). Concerning the inhabitants of the island Kadyak and the western Eskimo, see p. 642, Footnote 4. There are indications that in southern Siberia, primitive pottery was forgotten and lost by the local inhabitants about the time of the arrival of the Russians (see D. Klementz, The Antiquities of the Minusinsk Museum, Tomsk, 1886, p. 65).

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After this chapter had been written, I had the pleasure of meeting in Berlin Dr. E. Baelz, formerly professor at the University of Tokio. He had the kindness to place at my disposal the manuscript of his most interesting paper, "Zur Vor- und Urgeschichte Japans,"[2] in which he discusses the Ainu question. Professor Baelz is in full accord with Professor Koganei, and thinks that the remains of underground dwellings and the primitive pottery of the stone age in Japan belong to the ancestors of the present Ainu. He states, that according to Batchelor, the best authority on the Ainu language, the word "Koropokguru" means simply "inhabitants of underground dwellings." The Ainu themselves have traditions relating to the former use of pottery; and among the Kurilian Ainu clay pots like those of the stone age are in use even now. Clay figures representing men, which were found by Professor Baelz together with potsherds and other remains of the stone age, are represented with full beards like those of the Ainu. Professor Baelz's theory on the origin of the Ainu offers, however, great difficulties. He maintains their relationship to the Caucasian race. If this theory is accepted, we must assume that the Ainu, after reaching their present seat, adopted the material culture of the palæ-Asiatic tribes and of the American tribes of the northern shore of the Pacific Ocean.

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[1] See Sieroszevski, The Yakut, p. 377.

[2] Published in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1907, pp. 281–310.

XI. — ART.[1]

531 The art of the Koryak — expressed in carving, engraving on bone and wood, drawing, and ornamentation of implements — is similar in many respects to the primitive art of ancient man of that epoch of the stone age of southern Europe which is called by the French archæologists "époque magdalénienne."[2] The climatic conditions and the surroundings of the life of man at that period were, according to geological, palæontological, and archæological data, much like those of the life of the primitive peoples of to-day in the polar and near-by regions of the Old and New Worlds.

[114] The resemblance between the graphic art of the Eskimo and that found in the archæologic remains of the cave-dwellers of southern Europe has led some European archæologists to formulate the theory of the origin of the Eskimo from the cave-dwellers of France,[3] — a theory which is far from being well founded. However, the art of the modern Koryak, as regards sculptural carving and dress-ornamentation, is above the art, not only of the cave-dwellers of Europe, but also of the modern Eskimo.

321 322 SCULPTURE. — For carving, the Koryak employ different kinds of wood, the antler of reindeer and the horn of mountain-sheep, bone of whale, teeth of the white whale and the bear, walrus-tusks, and mammoth-ivory. Sometimes the horn of the narwhal, brought from the shores of the Arctic Ocean, is also used. The material most suitable, on account of its solidity and fineness of grain, is ivory of the walrus and mammoth, especially the latter, which is as hard as the former.[4]

321 Both the walrus and the mammoth tusk, before being carved, are put for some time into boiling water, which makes them softer for a while. Walrus-tusk is used to a greater extent than is the mammoth-tusk, because this latter is not found so frequently in the Koryak territory as in the more

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[1] The manuscript for this chapter was prepared by Mr. Jochelson while in Europe, and consequently he has not been able to consult the specimens in his collection. For this reason some matters of detail have been added by the editor, and also the greater part of the discussion relating to the technique and rhythmic arrangement of the designs on clothing, basketry, and rugs. — ED.

[2] See G. et A. de-Mortillet, Le Préhistorique (Paris, 1900), p. 241.

[3] See Hoffman, p. 764.

[4] Mammoth-tusks, which are obtained as the result of occasional palæontological finds, furnish good material for carving if extracted directly from the frozen ground. Tusks so obtained usually have no cracks, are solid inside, clean and white, and not much inferior in quality to ivory. If, however, previous to being found, the tusk has been washed out of the ground and exposed to the air for any length of time, undergoing the process of weathering, it loses its consistency, begins to crack, and assumes a yellow color resembling that of tobacco-juice. Concentric layers are formed on the outside, which gradually separate from the rest of the mass, and crumble, making it unfit for carving-purposes. Articles made of walrus-tusk also lose their original whiteness when exposed to moisture for a long time. Old carvings from walrus-tusk, both of the Koryak and of the Eskimo, also acquire the yellow tobacco-color.

northern regions of the Chukchee territory, — in the tundra along the shores 321
and on the islands of the Arctic Ocean.

The shoulder-blades and vertebræ of the whale are also used for carving. Not being hard, this bone is well adapted for the purpose; but the coarseness of its grain and its dirty-gray color give to the articles made from it an unattractive appearance.

The antlers of reindeer and the horns of mountain-sheep also furnish good material for carving. They are inferior in fineness of grain to ivory. They are sufficiently smooth, and consist of a uniformly hard and tough but not fibrous mass, so that they can be carved and rubbed in all directions. Before being worked, they also are softened in boiling water. Owing to their dark color, however, they do not furnish a material satisfactory to the æsthetic taste of the primitive sculptor, and are used only in the absence of the white walrus or mammoth ivory.

Miniature toy figures of human beings, birds, and other animals, or spoons
ornamented with different figures, are frequently made from reindeer-antler 171
and sheep-horn. It is worth noting, that, according to Hoffman, quite a 321
number of specimens of Eskimo workmanship, upon which both simple forms of ornamentation and pictographic records occur, consist of pieces of reindeer-antler shaped into the desired form, and obtained from the barren-ground or woodland caribou; but no specimens of horn of the mountain-sheep or mountain-goat, which are employed by the more southern Coast tribes, have as yet been found in the Eskimo collections of either the United States National Museum or the Alaska Commercial Company in San Francisco, Cal.[1] Nor are any cases on record of sculptural carvings of animals made of reindeer-antler by Eskimo. Carvings in musk-ox horn are known, however, from the Eskimo tribes of the west coast of Hudson Bay.

Wood as material for carving is employed principally by the Koryak of 322
Penshina Bay, since they do not hunt walrus; but along the shores of Bering Sea, wood-carvings are seldom found, owing to the absence of wood in that region. Nor do we find many small wood-carvings of animals among the Eskimo. The Koryak employ for carving all kinds of wood found in their territory, such as larch, poplar, alder, birch, and stone-pine. As a rule, wood, owing to its fibrous quality and the lack of uniform density in its different layers, cannot be considered good material for sculptural work; and the impracticability of its use is further increased by the primitive instruments employed. The most suitable material, on account of its density, is furnished by the birch-tree and by the roots of the stone-pine; but the latter are so hard that they can be worked only with great difficulty by means of the knife.

Stone is not used by the Koryak as a material for sculptural purposes. 324

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[1] See Hoffman, p. 777.

324 This may probably be explained by the fact that the Koryak practised the art of polishing stone very little. As is well known, but few traces of the working of stone for artistic purposes have been found in palæolithic stations of Europe. Among the Eskimo carvings in the National Museum at Washington, we find some specimens of animal figures made from soapstone and flint.[1]

Nor do the Koryak use clay for moulding figures, and we do not know
323 if they ever used it for that purpose. In the excavations of ancient dwellings
532 of the Maritime Koryak, mentioned before, I found traces of their former art in pottery which disappeared with the introduction of metallic utensils; but no remains of clay toys have been found.[2]

There is no doubt that among the works of art of North America, the Eskimo carvings of animals resemble those of the Koryak most closely. The Eskimo, the Koryak, the Kerek, and the Chukchee are the only primitive tribes among whom miniature sculpture has been so strongly developed.[3]

517 All the tribes mentioned here use the same technical processes in carving.
Their carvings are realistic in character, are of small or even miniature size,
532 and to a great extent are made as much for the pleasure which the carvers
171 derive from their work as for the satisfaction of the æsthetic tastes of the people. The difference between the Eskimo and Koryak carvings is, that the latter are less available for practical application than the former, and are of greater artistic worth. In that regard the Chukchee carvings resemble more closely those of the Eskimo, judging from the collection furnished by our Expedition and from the collection of the Ethnographical Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.[4] Even the Kerek carvings are inferior to those of the Koryak in their finishing touches. The Chukchee and the Kerek carvings still further resemble those of the Eskimo, in that they are more frequently decorated with engravings, consisting chiefly of dots and lines, than those of the Koryak.

532 The plastic art of the Indians of the North Pacific coast, in so far as it
171 is expressed in carving, is entirely different from that of the Koryak and

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[1] See Murdoch, pp. 398, 399.

[2] Nelson obtained on the Lower Yukon, where the art of pottery was formerly developed, a pair of rudely modelled clay dolls (see Nelson, Fig. 126 on p. 342, and p. 343). In the excavations of the ancient Ainu underground dwellings were found, among the remnants of pottery, clay figures of men. Some figures collected by Professor E. Baelz are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde of Berlin (see p. 645). It is possible that the Koryak made figures of unbaked clay, and that therefore no trace is left of them, as articles made of unbaked clay crumble in the moist ground. The avidity with which the Koryak seize upon every material fit for sculpture may be judged from the fact that their children, as soon as they convinced themselves that the plaster I used could be cut with the knife, started to make toy dishes and animal figures from the pieces which fell on the ground while I was making my masks. Before trying the use of the knife, however, they touched the plaster with their tongues, to see if they could make more palatable use of it.

[3] Among European nations, the Swiss are known for their miniature sculpture from wood and ivory. Really artistic articles may be found quite frequently among the Swiss products; but as a rule, their figures of animals, notwithstanding the careful and detailed finish, produce a less vivid impression than some of the crude figures of the Koryak, in which the most characteristic posture of the animal is brought out.

[4] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plates XX, XXI.

Chukchee. Although some samples of Indian art among the collections of 532
the Amerian Museum of Natural History are proof of the ability of Indian 171
artists to give their carvings quite a realistic and artistic expression of animal forms,[1] yet the general tendency of the Indian art of carving is purely symbolic, aiming principally at bringing out the most characteristic parts of the body of the animal at the expense of its other parts, and of a realistic presentation of the animal as a whole.

The carvings of the western neighbors of the Koryak, the Tungus and the Yakut, can in no wise be compared with their own. The former lack all artistic merit. Taking as a fair sample the collection of Yakut carvings obtained by me, consisting of figures of animals or human beings made from mammoth-tusks. we find it to consist of rigid figures having only an outward resemblance to men and animals. The artist was unable to put life and motion into them. It is seldom that any of the Yakut can carve even such crude figures. Near Yakutsk, for instance, two or three Yakut are known to turn out open-work from mammoth-ivory. They also turn out rigid realistic carvings of the kind I am describing. They make combs and boxes from mammoth-ivory, ornamented with open-work carving. Yet these articles are rather products of mechanical art, made to meet the demand of the Russians, than works of art for art's sake.

The art of the Yakut, principally their decorative art, is of purely Central Asiatic, Chinese, or Russian origin, and consists of curves, spirals, and conventionalized animals and plants. Only the enormous wooden kumiss goblets and cups, from which the Yakut drink, and make sacrificial libations during the religious kumiss festivals, are supplied with primitive technical ornamentation, judging by the Yakut names of the carved figures.[2]

When we speak of Koryak or Chukchee carvings, it should be added 184
that we refer to the Maritime people only. The Reindeer Koryak, with very 532
few exceptions, have not developed that art. This is not due to the fact that the reindeer-breeders have no æsthetic tastes, but to their lack of the necessary leisure. The Maritime Koryak, on the contrary, spend the winter almost idly in a more or less warm house, and have sufficient time to indulge in the pleasure derived from the art of carving. The same reason may be advanced to explain why only the men engage in carving: the women are too busy with the household, and apply their æsthetic taste to the ornamentation of their dresses.

It is worth noting, that, among the Koryak carvings, we seldom find 532
figures of reindeer, and the few we do find are poorly executed. The con- 174
clusion might be drawn from this, that fondness for carving developed among

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[1] See Boas, Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., IX, p. 125).

[2] See Jochelson, Kumiss Festivals of the Yakut and the Decoration of Kumiss Vessels (Boas Anniversary Volume, New-York, Stechert, 1906, pp. 257–271).

532 174 the Koryak before the beginning of reindeer-breeding, and that through force of habit the artists used for their models principally objects of maritime life.

The carvings of the Maritime Koryak along the shores of Bering Sea — the Alutor people and those on the rivers Opuka and Poqač — are more artistic than those of the inhabitants on the shores of Penshina Bay. The latter, moreover, lack such material as walrus-tusks, since walrus are not found in their home; and the artists there have to be content mainly with wood, and have to obtain their walrus-ivory through barter.

532 517 Among the objects of Koryak miniature sculpture are not only quadrupeds, birds, fish, and other animals, but also human beings. The artists render the figures of human beings or of animals in the round or in relief, mostly in high-relief mounted on a base.

Carvings representing Men. — In carvings representing men, wrestling-matches or the beating of drums, as well as hunting-scenes, are most frequently selected, on account of the animated motions of these actions. In wrestling, as well as in domestic shamanism or in the beating of drums for their own pleasure, men strip to the belt. This is the form in which the artist strives to present vividly the human body. Female figures are carved less frequently, and always dressed. Unlike the Chukchee women, the Koryak women do not strip at home. Besides, the realistic presentation of the female body is much more difficult than that of the male, and it is also more difficult to put life into the figure of a human being clothed than into a nude figure. The striving of the Koryak artists toward the realistic presentation of the human form pertains mainly to the upper part of the body. The curves of the back and the tension of the muscles are very strikingly reproduced in ivory by good artists. The Koryak artist does not take the trouble to finish off in detail the feet of men or of animals. Human heads are more poorly finished than are those of animals.

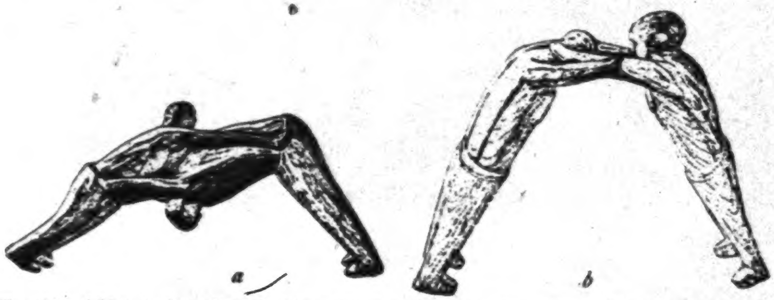

Fig. 166. a ([illegible]), b ([illegible]). Wood-Carvings representing Wrestlers. From Mikino. Height, 7.5 cm., 14.5 cm.

Let us begin with the less artistic models from the shores of Penshina Bay.

532 Figs. 166 and 167 represent different forms of wrestling of two contestants. In Fig. 166 two wrestlers are trying to throw each other. In both of these groups some care is bestowed upon the modelling of the back, the muscles of the shoulders and the curvature of the spine being indicated. In Fig. 166, *b*, an attempt is also made to model the chest. This specimen is not quite complete, the two arms on the farther side being carved out, but still connected by a piece of wood, which on the nearer side has been whittled away. The farther arms of the wrestlers are so placed that the man on the left rests his straight left arm against the right shoulder of the man on the right; while the man on the right grasps the arm of the man on the left, from above, on the inner side of the elbow. The chests of the wrestlers shown in Fig. 166, *a*, are not modelled in detail.

Fig. 167 represents wrestlers pulling each other. In these figures neither back nor chest is modelled so as to bring out muscular details. In *a* the contestants, with a leather noose thrown around their heads, are pulling it in opposite directions with the backs of their heads. In *b* the contestants, sitting on the ground with the soles of their feet firmly pressed against each other's, pull with the hands. In *c* the contestants, also sitting on the ground, are holding a stick, which each is pulling in his own direction.

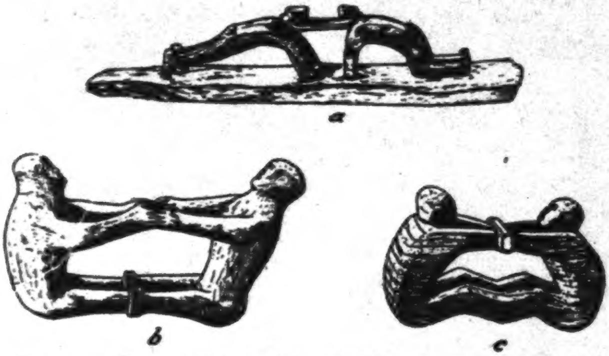

Fig. 167, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Wood-Carvings representing Wrestlers. Length, 16 cm., 11.5 cm., 8.5 cm. *a*, *b*, From Big Itkana; *c*, From Paren.

Fig. 168 represents a man beating a drum. His position is very characteristic. The back and the left shoulder are well modelled, the head being forward and turned to the left. The modelling of the twist of the neck, brought about by this turn of the head, is particularly well executed.

All the carvings in Figs. 166–168 are made from different kinds of wood. In spite of the crudeness of the work, the absence of detail, and the lack of proportion in the parts of the bodies, the figures reveal the attempts

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of the artist to make the position and the curves of the body correspond with the movements expressed in the figure.

Figs. 169 and 170 represent carvings from walrus-ivory. With the exception of Fig. 170, *a*, made at Opuka, all the other figures were carved in Paren and Kuel. The details of these carvings alone put them above the wood-carvings of the same villages. To a considerable extent this feature depends on the quality of the material; but, aside from that, the carvers of these figures were the best masters of the art to be found on the shores of Penshina Bay. The idea of representing people in motion — singing, dancing, and beating the drum in different fantastic postures — must be called bold for a primitive sculptor.

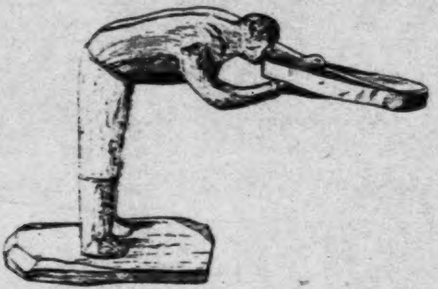

Fig. 168 ([illegible]). Wood-Carving representing Drummer. From Mikino. Height, 10.3 cm.

The Koryak sculptor has no model to copy from. In his creative art he must reproduce from memory exclusively, without the aid of the accessories of modern artists, the real forms impressed upon his mind. As yet he is unable to reproduce the details, or to finish the parts of the body in the carved figures, true to nature. The figures themselves represent a more or less vague sketch of the artist's idea. All the little figures of dancing shamans in Figs. 169 and 170 resemble very much the unfinished work of a modern sculptor, in which the posture is well defined, the proportion of the parts is preserved, and a certain animation is to be seen. As little finished as are the faces of the dancing shamans, one can read the expression of ecstasy in some of them, as in Fig. 169, *b* and *d*. In all these specimens the muscles of the back and the neck are much better modelled than those of the chest and of the limbs. In most of them the details on the limbs are entirely wanting. In the specimen shown in Fig. 169, *d*, an attempt is made to model the chest too. On all the drums the cross-strings forming the handle are indicated on the inner side. On some of them the cords are undercut, so that they are similar to the cords made of nettle-threads, of the actual drums, although thicker. In others they are simply indicated by bars extending across the drum, which are not separated from the flat surface indicating the inner side of the drum-head. In all these specimens the drum and the drum-stick are connected by sinew or skin string. The iron rattles on the drum[1] are not indicated.

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[1] See Part I, Fig. 19, p. 55.

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It should be noted that most of the carvings in Figs. 169 and 170 are made without mountings; and, in order to give them stability, the artist had to guess at the position of the centre of gravity. The drum, which is heavy as compared with the figure of the man, is designed to shift the centre of gravity to the fore part of the figure. All the drums held by the men in Fig. 169 and in Fig. 170 *b*, and the drum-sticks belonging to them, are carved separately from the human figure, and inserted in notches in the hands, the fingers being left entirely unfinished. On the contrary, the carving shown in Fig. 170, *a*, representing a dancer with a drum and a drum-stick, is wrought from one piece of walrus-tusk, including the base. This figure was made on the river Opuka. Its extremities are finished better than those in the preceding figures, and the hands have carved fingers as well. The drum-stick is too large as compared with the drum; but this license was taken to give support to the drum. It should be noted that not all the figures show the upper edge of the trousers, although it is supposed that the men are stripped only to the belt.

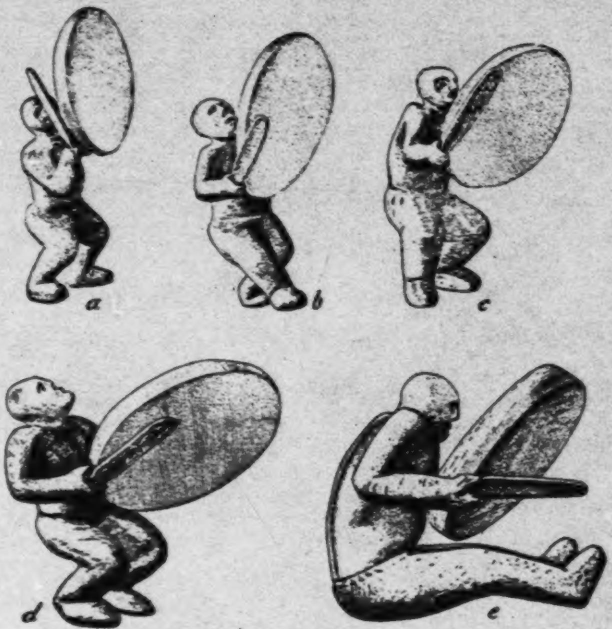

Fig. 169. Ivory Carvings representing Drummers. From Paren. ½ nat. size.
a ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]), *d* ([illegible]), *e* ([illegible]).

532 321 517 The carvings represented in Fig. 170 differ from the preceding in that more care is bestowed on the representation of the head. While all the preceding figures have no hair and no ears, we find here the characteristic hair-dress of the Koryak shown. The middle of the head is shaved, and the ring of hair is indicated by an ivory ring with hachure. In Fig. 170, *b*, the ears are also represented. While in the first of these two specimens the lively motion and the characteristic pose of the head deserve particular praise, as also the attempt to represent the hand holding the drum and the rattles attached to the drum, the figure shown in *b* is very disproportionate. It is, however, the only one of this group in which the muscles of the arm are represented with any detail. The left profile of the man is particularly good. On the left side the folds in the skin of abdomen and chest, brought about by the forward inclination of the body, are also represented remarkably well. On the drum all the attachments are represented in detail.

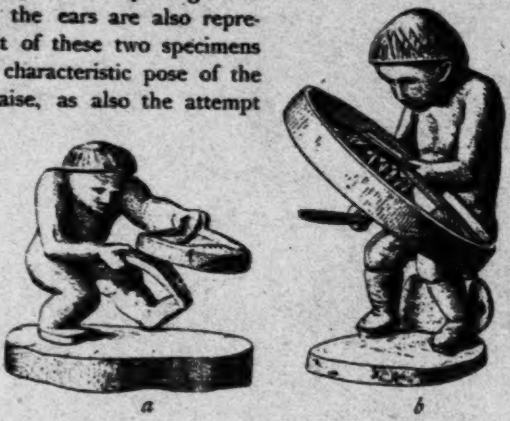

Fig. 170, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Ivory Carvings representing Drummers. Height, 5 cm., 12 cm. *a*, From Opuka River; *b*, From Kuel.

Fig. 171 shows two men producing fire with the bow-drill. The execution of these figures is similar to that of the figures shown in Fig. 169.

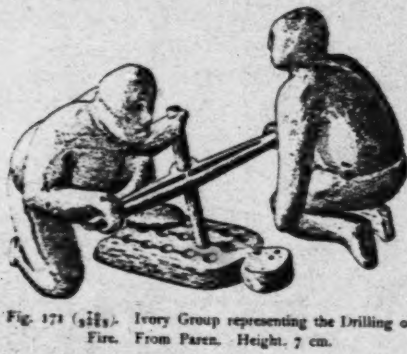

Fig. 171 ([illegible]). Ivory Group representing the Drilling of Fire. From Paren. Height, 7 cm.

A still higher technique and greater artistic merit are to be found in the figure of a man on a base, holding a drum, which was obtained by Mr. Bogoras on the shore of Bering Sea (Fig. 172, *a*). It is carved from walrus-tusk. The plastic curves of the back and the tense muscles of back and sides are rendered with anatomical accuracy and realistic vividness. The chest is flat, and the muscles are not indicated. This may be due to the difficulty of reaching the chest. The surface of the chest is rough, while the whole rest of the figure has a high polish. The head is executed in great detail; and the cut of the eyes, and the form of the cheek-

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

bones, are quite characteristic of the Siberian type. The same vivacity, though less artistic execution, marks Fig. 172, *b*, which represents a man who has caught by the antlers a young reindeer which is trying to pull back. In Fig. 172, *a* and *b*, the heads of the human figures are represented as having the hair cut in a circle, and tonsured in the middle. 532 321 517

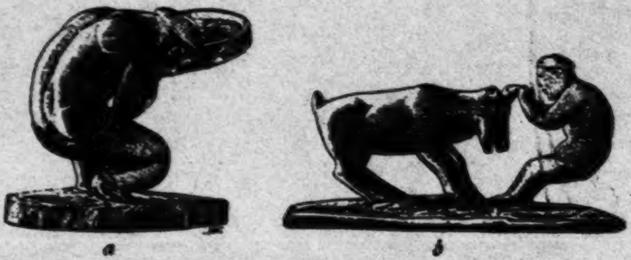

Fig. 172. Ivory Carvings. *a* ([illegible]), Drummer (height, 6 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Man and Reindeer (height, 4.5 cm.).

Fig. 173, a human figure in sitting posture, made from wood in the settlement of Big Itkana, represents the captain of an American whaling-schooner who goes to Penshina Bay nearly every summer. The figure is painted black. This figure is marked by the absence of any artistic merit like the other wood-carvings of the Koryak of Penshina Bay; but it is interesting to note that the figure is given a droll aspect with the hat pulled over the eyes, the buttoned-up coat, and the hands thrust into the pockets. Similarly we find in the Chukchee collections of carvings of the Ethnographical Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg a human figure — judging by the cap, an American or Russian, — in a comic and rather indecent posture.[1]

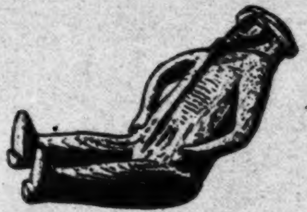

Fig. 173 ([illegible]). Wood-Carving representing Captain of a Whaling-Vessel. From Itkana. Height, 9 cm.

Among the walrus-tusk carvings from the shores of Bering Sea, representing human beings, we found also specimens without any artistic value, as is shown by Fig. 174, *a*, *b*. These two crude carvings, — with arms indicated, but not separated from the rest of the body, — although obtained by me in the settlement of Kuel (Penshina Bay), had their origin on the Opuka River (Bering Sea).

Fig. 174, *a*, represents a woman in a sitting position, with a child on her lap. The hole in the lower part of the figure shows that it is intended

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[1] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XXI, Fig. 12.

532 to be carried on a strap, and to serve as a toy, not as a specimen of real
517 art. This explains why the figure has no finish. The face of this figure is
321 perfectly flat.[1] Fig. 174, *b*, also appears to represent a woman. The occurrence of engraved and etched concentric and single circles, dots, and lines, which are common ornaments on the animals carved from ivory by the western Eskimo, are to be noted on this figure, and also the suggestion of an Eskimo woman's jacket, with its characteristic hood and front flap. On the back the row of circles with dots is continued by two more circles on each side, leaving the middle of the back, just over the legs, undecorated. Over this row is another horizontal row of five circles with dots, which extend over the back from arm to arm. The collar-like shoulder-part is continued over the back with a slight curve downward. The space between the double line, which is continued from the front over the shoulders, and the sharp lower edge of the garment, is occupied by a line of seven black dots which slant a little upward from left to right. On the middle of the hood at the back are two circles with dots, — one over the other, — and a number of vertical lines of dots which curve forward at their lower ends. This figure probably represents an Eskimo woman, or it may have been made by an Eskimo artist.

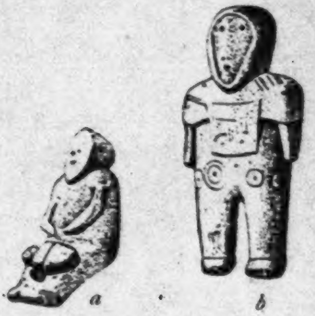

Fig. 174. Ivory Carvings. *a* ([illegible]), Woman and Child (height, 2.5 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Woman in Fur Dress (height, 6.5 cm.).

In connection with the various Koryak carvings, the wooden figures of men should be mentioned, made without any artistic finish, with their extremities on pivots, like mechanical dolls. These figures serve as toys for children, and are to be found also among the Chukchee.[2]

532 At a previous place I called attention to the crudeness of the images and the conventionality of the figures of idols and amulets.[3] Compared with
778 the carvings of the Koryak of the coast of Bering Sea, the images of their
517 anthropomorphic "guardians" appear like the products of a backward tribe.[4]
In connection with this question, I advance the hypothesis that the cause of the crudeness of religious carvings lies in the vague conception of the artist as to the appearance of the invisible anthropomorphic beings. Between the

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[1] Compare Part I, Fig. 56, p. 114.

[2] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XXI, Fig. 7.

[3] See Part I, p. 115.

[4] In a note published in C. Lumholtz's Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians, Professor Boas discusses the crudeness of amulets and other sacred objects, as compared to the elaborate finish of objects of art. He calls attention to this phenomenon among the Huichol Indians, the Gold, the Gilyak, and other tribes (see Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. III, p. 287).

two classes of carvings, the religious and the realistic, there are, of course, 532
intermediate stages, especially in carvings that serve practical purposes; but, 778
in so far as realistic sculpture aims to afford pleasure, it has a development 517
independent of religion: its only source is in the æsthetic need of man.

Of course, all our wants, both material and spiritual, influence each other to a certain extent. So religious ideas have almost always influenced the character of art, and the influence has generally been detrimental.[1] I even go so far as to think that the symbolic tendency in the plastic art of the Indians of the North Pacific coast is also due, to a certain extent, to religious ideas. The symbolism of these Indians in sculpture is a perversion of true realistic art. The high technique displayed by Indian artists in their carvings of masks, helmets, and other articles, clearly proves that realistic representations of animals are not beyond their power.[2]

Professor Boas explains the symbolic tendency of the Northwestern Indians by the dependence of the art of sculpture on the material, — that is, that, since it serves for decorative purposes, the subject to be represented is more or less subordinate to the object on which it is shown,[3] — but it is quite possible that the symbolism of the carvings made in connection with totem-posts was due to a vague conception, on the part of the artists, of the totem ancestors, whom they imagined now as real animals, and now in anthropomorphic form. The only features which are essential, therefore, for the recognition of the ancestor, are those that are most characteristic of his animal state, at the expense of the secondary features. The application to the human face, of the characteristic features of the head of the animal which serves as a totem, may be explained in the same way.

Carvings representing Animals. — In the archæologic remains of the 532
stone age of the Old and New Worlds we find, among works of primitive
art, representations mainly of human figures, and very few of animals. In 517
the miniature sculpture of the Eskimo, principally made of ivory, we see, on the contrary, a tendency to reproduce mostly animal forms; but in the Chukchee and Koryak carvings we find, side by side with animal forms, also those of human beings.

Carvings of human beings have been described in the preceding pages. I shall now take up specimens of carvings of animals. Here I must repeat what I have already said, that the carvings of animals among the Koryak and Chukchee are much less frequently adapted to definite purposes than they

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[1] Taking our illustrations from the history of the sculpture of civilized nations, we see, that, among the Greeks, religious ideas corresponded with the requirements of realistic art; Buddhism, and to a certain extent Christianity, introduced a great deal of conventionalism into sculpture; while the Semitic religion entirely suppressed this branch of art.

[2] See Boas, The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 1897, Vol. IX, p. 124).

[3] Ibid., pp. 123—176.

532 517 are among the Eskimo. Among the Koryak, as well as among the Chukchee, real artistic carvings of animals have for their object solely the satisfaction of the artistic taste. I had opportunities to see how carvings brought to the settlements along Penshina Bay from the shores of Bering Sea were preserved in the work-bags of the women, who would frequently take them out only to look at them. To what extent the artistic instinct is developed among the Koryak may be judged from the fact that they easily recognized drawings and pictures in the books which I showed them, and always recognized the photographs of their friends. On the contrary, the northern Yakut, the Tungus, and even the Yukaghir, frequently failed to recognize photographs which I took of their friends. Some of them even failed to recognize that the photographs represented human faces.

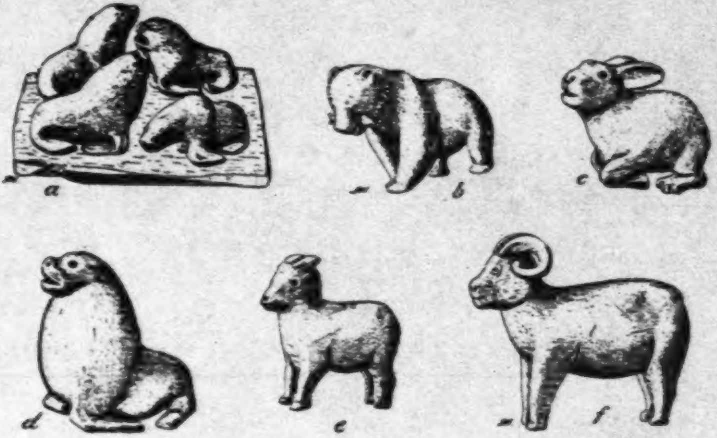

Fig. 175. Ivory Carvings representing Animals. *a, b, e, f,* From Opuka; *c, d,* From Poqač. *a* ([illegible]). Group of Sea-Lions (height, 3 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Bear carrying a Fish (height, 4 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Hare; *d* ([illegible]), Sea-Lion (height, 4.2 cm.); *e* ([illegible]), Young Mountain-Sheep (height, 3.7 cm.); *f* ([illegible]), Mountain-Sheep (height, 5 cm.).

Specimens of Koryak carvings representing animals are shown here in Figs. 175–179. Those represented in Fig. 175 were obtained by me among the Maritime Koryak on Penshina Bay, but were made originally by the inhabitants of the coast of Bering Sea. All are carvings from walrus-tusk. [36] That shown in *a* represents a group of four sea-lions (*Eumetopias Stelleri* Peters) on an ice-floe; *b*, a black bear (*Ursus arctos* L.) with a fish in its mouth; *c*, a white hare (*Lepus variabilis* Pall.) in a sitting posture; *d*, a sea-lion (*Eumetopias Stelleri*); *e*, a mountain-lamb; and *f*, a mountain-sheep (*Ovis nivicola* Eschholtz).

As I said before, in speaking of Koryak carvings in general, the feet of

532 517 the animals are imperfectly made, although these carvings represent the work of the best artists. It should be said, however, that the unmounted animal carvings could not stand if the feet were made properly. To give them greater stability, the feet of the two sheep (*e, f*) are not entirely separated. On the other hand, the flippers of the sea-lions on the ice-floe, which serves as a stand (*a*), are finished very vividly as compared with those of the single sea-lion without stand (*d*). On the whole, however, the position and the motion of the animals of the carvings are rendered with such realism as to call forth vividly its picture in the mind of the spectator, and they testify to the great skill and æsthetic taste of the artist.

In comparison with these specimens, the carvings of Chukchee artists are of far inferior artistic merit.[1] Even more inferior than these specimens are the Eskimo carvings of animals made at different places, and obtained by different collectors, although the nature of the Eskimo carvings, and the method of working them, are exactly the same as those of the Chukchee and Koryak.[2]

Among the Koryak carvings we do not find, for reasons which are perfectly apparent, any figures of the polar bear; but we do find them among the Chukchee;[3] and it is remarkable that the Chukchee carvings of this animal, judging from the specimens reproduced by Bogoras, are distinguished by the same artistic faults as those made by the Eskimo. Without explicit description, it is difficult to recognize the polar bear in the Eskimo carvings intended to represent that animal.

778 532 517 The walrus and seal are very vividly reproduced in Koryak carvings; but the figures of whales are lifeless, and resemble very much the Eskimo carvings of whales (compare, for instance, the wooden whale in Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72, with the Eskimo figures of whales).[4] However, the whale reproduced on p. 72 is made for a religious ceremony; and carvings made for religious purposes are, as I have said, inferior to those made for æsthetic purposes. This becomes especially clear when comparing, for instance, the realistic figure of a bear in the carving in Fig. 175, *b*, with the crude wooden bear made for a festival on the occasion of a bear-hunt.[5] [463] Artistic carvings are produced only by men endowed with special skill and with a leaning towards art, while religious carvings are made by any Koryak.

532 517 825 Fig. 176 represents fishes, a worm, and a grasshopper. Three of these (*a, d,* and *e*) are made from walrus-tusk, one (*b*) from mammoth-ivory, one (*c*)

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[1] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plates XIX en dash XXI.

[2] Compare Boas, Central Eskimo, Plate IX, opp. p. 653; Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 113. See also Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, pp. 398–401; Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, pp. 345, 346; E. Bessels, Die amerikanische Nordpol-Expedition, p. 108.

[3] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XX, Fig. 4.

[4] See Murdoch, p. 403, Fig. 407; Boas, Central Eskimo, Plate VIII, opp. p. 652.

[5] See Part I, Fig. 39, p. 88.

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from bone of whale. All of these carvings were made on the shore of Bering Sea. The one shown in *d* is especially vivid. Fig. 176, *a*, judging by the fin on the back, near the tail (evidently the adipose fin) represents a fish of the family *Salmonoidæ*, probably *Salmo lagocephalus*. The fish is ornamented with engraved dots and lines painted black, similar to the etchings of the Eskimo, especially those of Alaska; but they are made with more idea of symmetry. We find similar ornamentations in the carvings of the Kerek and Chukchee. Fig. 176, *c*, represents a flounder. The tail and the fins are indicated by small engraved lines; and the entire body is covered with dots on the front, while on the back the ornamentation consists of a herring-bone pattern running from head to tail. An exactly similar flounder is contained among the Koryak carvings of the Museum of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, where there is also to be found another specimen without dots.[1] A similar figure of a flounder with dots is in the Eskimo collection of E. W. Nelson, made in Alaska.[2]

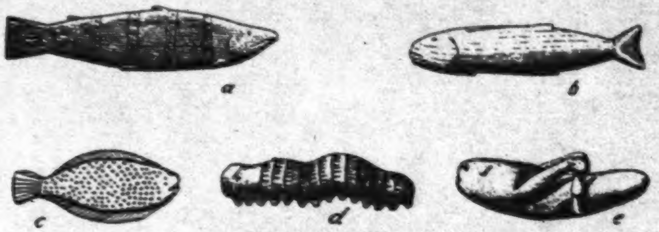

Fig. 176. Ivory and Bone Carvings representing animals. *a* ([illegible]), Salmon (length, 6.6 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Fish (length, 5.6 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Flounder (length, 3.5 cm.); *d* ([illegible]), Caterpillar (length, 4.7 cm.); *e* ([illegible]), Grasshopper (length, 4.2 cm.).

Fig. 177 represents carvings of birds. All of them were made near Bering Sea, and *a* and *c* are carved from walrus-tusk; *b*, from mammoth-ivory. Fig. 177, *a*, represents a sea-bird, probably a cormorant. The neck and head of the bird are life-like, but the wings are not indicated; and there are no feet, the bird being represented as sitting on the water. As a rule, the common way in which the Koryak represent birds in their carvings is to make them appear in a floating or sitting position, so as to avoid the necessity of making the feet: another way is to represent them soaring with outstretched wings. Little figures of birds are carved by children from various materials. Near Penshina Bay they are made from reindeer-antler and mountain-sheep horn, also from birch-wood or roots of the stone-pine.

In the Koryak collection of the American Museum of Natural History there are a large number of small carvings of water-birds, birds of prey, and

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[1] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XXII, Figs. 15, 16.

[2] See Hoffman, The Graphic Art of the Eskimo, Plate LVII, Fig. 1.

others. There are also wooden partridges with well-defined wings. Some of 532
the carvings representing birds are ornamented with black dots, like some 517
Eskimo carvings of birds.[1] Turner mentions a collection of carvings of water- 825
birds made from ivory by the Eskimo of Hudson Bay, mainly identical in type with the similar carvings of the Koryak and Chukchee, but not ornamented with incised designs.[2]

According to Professor Boas, the Central Eskimo use carvings — some representing birds, others men or women — in a game similar to dice, which they call "images of birds."[3] Murdoch obtained a collection of carvings representing birds and a wolf from the Asiatic Eskimo at Plover Bay. The carvings were supposed to be merely works of art, but Murdoch admits that the Asiatic Eskimo also use them for games.[4] Turner, on the other hand, remarks about his collection of ivory carvings representing birds made by the Labrador Eskimo, that he never heard of their being used in games.[2] Nor have I ever heard of the Koryak using bird carvings in games.

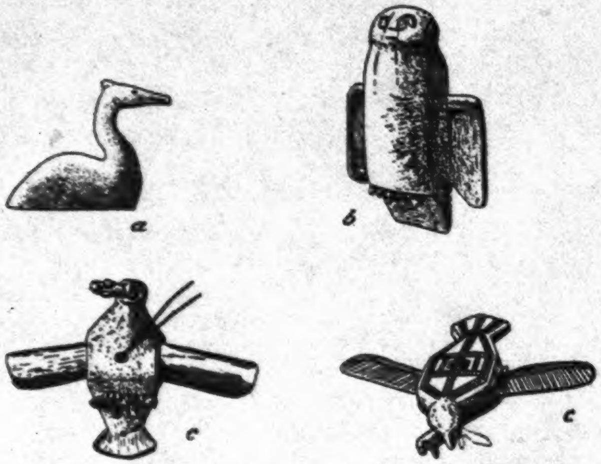

Fig. 177. Ivory Carvings representing Birds. *a* ([illegible]), Swimming Cormorant (height, 3 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Hawk (height, 7 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Eagle with Movable Wings (height, 5 cm.).

The nature of the carvings in Fig. 177, *b*, *c*, makes them less realistic than the miniature carvings representing birds. The introduction of claws as a substitute for feet seems to me to be the first step in the process of con-

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[1] See Boas, Central Eskimo, Fig. 522, p. 567; Nelson, Fig. 125, p 342; Murdoch, Fig. 364, p. 365.
[2] See Turner, The Hudson Bay Eskimo, Fig. 83, p. 260.
[3] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, Fig. 522, p. 567.
[4] See Murdoch, p. 365.

532 ventionalization of the plastic art, which developed among the Indians of the
517 North Pacific coast. Moreover, the tail, wings, and body in Fig. 177, *b*,
825 representing a mouse-hawk, are much inferior in their realism and artistic finish to most of the Koryak carvings. Fig. 177, *c*, represents an eagle with a fish in its talons, and in the beak a little animal, the hind part of which is broken off. This figure served as a mechanical toy; it has detachable wings, which are made to move by means of a thread. This made it difficult for the artist to observe realism in making his figure. The upper side of the figure is ornamented by etched designs; the wings, by lines indicating feathers; and the back and tail, by dots and squares, — the conventional way of representing the body and tail of a bird.

Fig. 178 represents carvings which differ in material, and were made in different places. The one in *a* was made in the settlement of Shestakovo (Penshina Bay), from wood, and the work is well done. The tense posture of the dog in harness, with tail curved upward in expectation of the start, is quite vivid, but the rigid feet are not well executed. The dog is painted black. The carving marked *b*, a pair of wrestling bears, was made in Paren (Penshina Bay), from reindeer-antler. Wrestling bears are a favorite subject among Koryak artists, but near Bering Sea they are carved from walrus-tusk with greater skill. In our collection there are two bears in the act of coition, made from wood, and carved with great realism. The specimen shown in *c* was made from mountain-sheep horn, in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay). On a

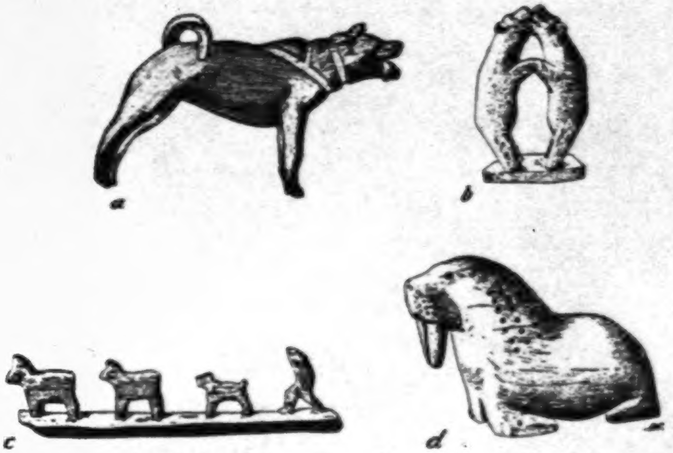

Fig. 178. *a* ([illegible]), Wood-Carving representing a Dog (height, 7 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Carving made of Antler, representing Wrestling Bears (height, 3 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Carving in Mountain-Sheep Horn, representing Sheep and Hunter (length, 7.3 cm.); *d* ([illegible]), Ivory Carving representing Walrus (height, 4.5 cm.).

common mounting we have two mountain-sheep pursued by a dog and a man. 532
The latter figure has its head broken off. Its feet display motion, but this 825
cannot be said of the other figures in the group. In *d* is represented a 517
walrus in sitting position, made at Opuka (Bering Sea), from walrus-tusk. Although the upper part of the body is very realistic, the carvings made from walrus-tusk along Bering Sea are generally more artistic. This specimen is of interest in that it is ornamented with dots in Eskimo fashion. Such ornamentation is very seldom found on the carvings from the coast of Penshina Bay.

Specimens of carvings of animal groups and hunting-scenes have been shown in Fig. 175 *a* and Fig. 178 *c*. Figs. 179 and 180 represent specimens of small carvings of more complex groups, which do not serve any practical purpose, and must therefore be classed with art pure and simple. The most interesting feature of these carved groups is the absence of bas-relief. The mounting serves simply as a base for the group, which is carved out of one piece with the former; or the groups form high-reliefs (Fig. 179, *b*). However, I have also seen bas-relief carvings in which the figures were raised less than half their height above the base. Among these carvings, certain groups represent some household or hunting scene; others, as in Fig. 179, *a*, a free combination of several scenes having nothing in common. This specimen represents on one side a man aiming his gun at a bear; on the other side, a man getting into a hand-to-hand fight with a bear; and in the middle, a rock with a bird sitting on it. This group is carved from walrus-tusk, and was obtained by me in Paren (Penshina Bay), but was made at Poqa'č (Bering Sea). The high-relief carving shown in *b* comes from the settlement of Levatı (Penshina Bay), and is made from stone-pine. On the right hand is shown a whale pursued by hunters in a skin boat. The edge of the boat was broken off accidentally in working the brittle wood with a knife. The form of the boat, the prow being narrower than the stern, shows that it is of the type of the upper part of Penshina Bay. On the left side is shown a ground-seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) on an ice-floe, and two hunters stealthily approaching, — one in a skin boat, and the other in a dug-out. The hunters have hunting-hoods on their heads, which make

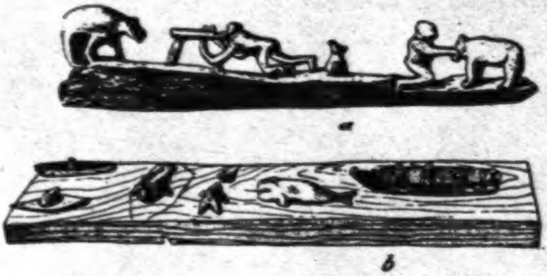

Fig. 179, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Ivory and Wood Carvings representing Hunting-Scenes. Length, 14 cm., 20.5 cm.

532 them resemble the heads of seals. The carvings do not show any oars, either
525 in the large skin boat or in the small boat. The middle of the high-relief
517 carving represents a bear approaching a ringed-seal (*Phoca hispida*), which was evidently left on the ground by the receding tide.

Fig. 180, *a*, represents a large skin boat with oarsmen, and is carved from walrus-tusk. It was obtained in the settlement of Big Itkana (Penshina Bay). According to the Koryak, it was made in that settlement; but it is very strange that the shape of the boat, the prow being wider than the stern, should resemble the Koryak skin boat of Bering Sea. This is shown by the position of the man at the stern and the four oarsmen sitting with their faces toward the stern. A child is shown sitting in the bottom of the boat, near the stern. Fig. 180, *b*, is a carving made at Opuka (Bering Sea), from walrus-tusk, and represents an ice-floe with six walrus on it, and two hunters close by, their guns resting on supports and levelled. The seal-skin boat of the hunters, with the broad prow of the Bering Sea type, is also on the ice-floe.

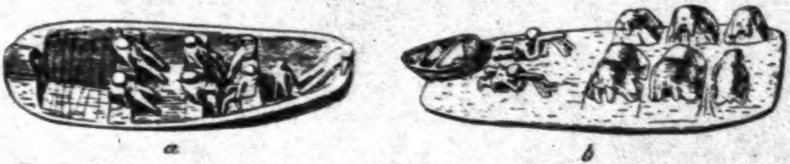

Fig. 180. Ivory Carvings. *a* ([illegible]), Boat (length, 8 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Walrus and Hunters (length, 9.5 cm.).

Fig. 181 shows a carving of walrus-tusk from Paren (Penshina Bay), and represents a sledge drawn by six dogs, with the driver and his whip, the latter serving as a brake. The sledge, dog, harness, and base are all carved from one piece, while the driver and his whip are carved separately. It is interesting to compare the driver of this sledge with an Eskimo figure (made of ivory)[1] from Point Barrow, representing a man in sitting position. Both carvings are very much alike.

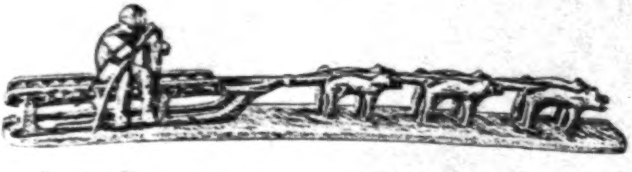

Fig. 181 ([illegible]). Ivory Carving representing a Dog-Sledge. Length, 21.5 cm.

Fig. 182, carved from walrus-tusk at Paren (Penshina Bay), is a specimen of architectural carving, and represents a dwelling of the Maritime Koryak before it is covered with earth.[1] On the roof is seen a man coming up the ladder through the opening. One of the poles is mounted with the head of a sacrificial dog, and next to it is the spear with which the dog was stabbed.

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[1] See Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, Fig. 394, p. 396.

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Fig. 183 represents a model of a dog-sledge with a ten-dog team and the driver. This model was made by a Russo-Koryak half-breed by the name of Fletcher. He was born in the Russianized Koryak settlement Yamsk,[2] and is now engaged in trading at Gishiginsk. He owes his American name to the fact that when his father or grandfather was baptized, a Russianized American who had settled at Tighil in Kamchatka acted as his godfather.

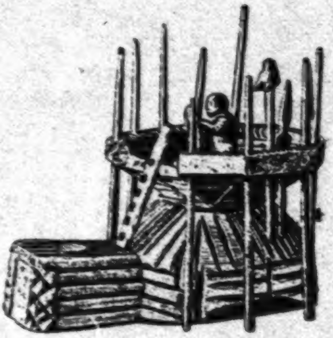

Fig. 182 ([illegible]). Ivory Carving representing a House. Height, 11 cm.

The skilfully finished model of the sledge is made of birch-wood; and the dogs, of stone-pine. The way the dog-carvings are finished reveals an artistic talent of high order. The artist has not only put life and motion into the wood-carvings, but has skilfully rendered the different postures of the dogs as determined by the temper of each animal, the phase of its motion, or other factors. Thus the forward pair of dogs are made with tails hanging down. Being the leaders, they are intent upon following the trail pointed out by the driver by shouts,[3] to which the dogs are listening. The drooping tails indicate fatigue or intense strain on the part of the dogs. The hindmost pair of dogs are also characteristic. Usually the lazy dogs are put next to the sledge, so that they can be more easily reached by the whip. One of the dogs in the last pair, fearing the whip, is pulling very conscientiously, as is shown by its lowered head. The other dog is turning its head on the run towards the driver, to make sure that he is not harboring any evil designs against it.

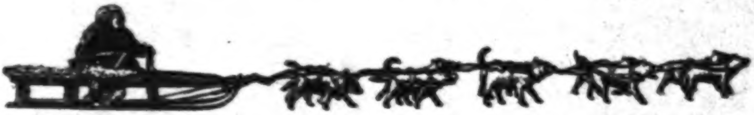

Fig. 183 ([illegible]). Wood-Carving representing a Dog-Sledge. Length, 70 cm.

Of course, this carving cannot be considered as primitive Koryak. Fletcher, being able to read, had seen specimens of art of civilized nations in the

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[1] For a description of dwellings see pp. 453–461. [2] See p. 436. [3] See p. 505.

532 825 drawings of illustrated magazines, which may have influenced him; but his skill and his native artistic instinct were inherited by him from Koryak ancestors.

517 In explanation of Fig. 183, I should add that the dog-harnesses, central line, and the lashings of the sledge, were made by Fletcher of leather. For the figure of the driver he made a wooden head with a face showing very well the Koryak type. The figure is dressed like other Koryak dolls.

532 415 *Household Articles ornamented with Carved Figures.* — I have stated before that carvings were less frequently of practical use among the Koryak than among the Eskimo. Nevertheless small household articles ornamented with carved figures of men and animals, such as we find among the Eskimo, are also to be found among them. Figs. 184 and 185 are reproductions of such articles.

Fig. 184, *a*, is a dipper made from alder-wood in the settlement of Big Itkana (Penshina Bay). The handle of the dipper shows a carving representing two wrestlers. Only the upper parts of the bodies are shown. Fig. 184, *b*, represents a spoon made on the shores of Bering Sea, from the horn of mountain-sheep. Fig. 184, *c*, was made from mountain-sheep horn in Alutor (Bering Sea). The handle is ornamented with carvings representing two bears.

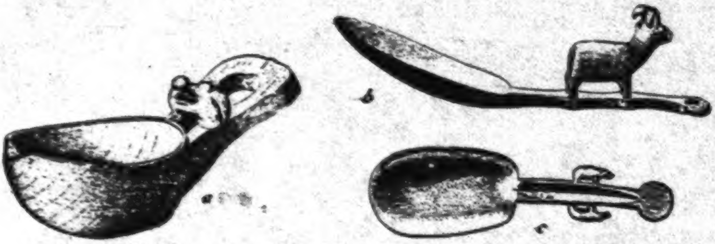

Fig. 184. Carved Dipper and Spoons. *a* ([illegible]), Dipper with Carving representing Wrestlers (length, 16.5 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Spoon with Carving representing Mountain-Goat (length, 25 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Spoon with Carving representing Two Bears (length, 14.5 cm.).

[292] [276] Among small articles ornamented with carved animals, our collection contains also belt-clasps with the figures of two seals, and a pipe with the figure of a seal, made from walrus-tusk in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay).

412 532 Fig. 185 is also a reproduction of specimens of carvings made for ornamental purposes. That marked *a* represents a snow-beater made from antler of wild reindeer by a Reindeer Koryak of the Opuka River, and is ornamented with a carved head of a mountain-sheep; *b* represents an awl used by women in ornamenting their dress with slit-embroidery.[1] The handle of the awl was carved from wood in Big Itkana (Penshina Bay), and the orna-

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[1] See p. 679.

mentation represents a sledge with a team of eight dogs. Apparently the whole handle represents at the same time a bear, the point being the snout, the ears being indicated just under the sledge, and the two prominences on the lower side representing fore and hind feet. It resembles in form the bear figures used by the Eskimo in the cup-and-ball game.[1] The specimen shown in *c* is a pipe made of bone in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay), and very crudely ornamented with the carving of a human face.

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The Koryak carvings of animals on household articles follow the rule

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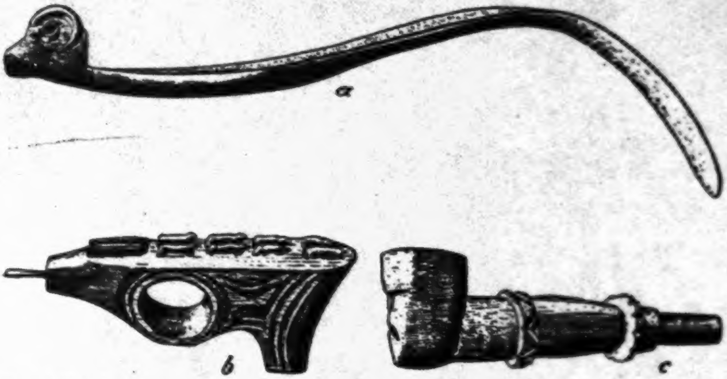

Fig. 185, *a* ([illegible]), Snow-Beater (length, 52 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Awl (length, 11 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Pipe (length, 22.5 cm.).

of modern ornamental carvings, — that of serving to embellish and brighten up the ornamented article without obscuring it. For that reason, ornamental carving may retain its realistic character of pure art. Among the Indians of the North Pacific coast we find a tendency to cover the entire article with an ornamental animal. It has been pointed out by Professor Boas[2] that this tendency has resulted in depriving carvings of their realism. Judging by some illustrations of objects in the work of Nelson,[3] this inclination prevails to a considerable extent also among the Alaskan Eskimo. Professor Boas ascribes this tendency of the Alaskan Eskimo to the influence of the art of the adjacent Indians. Perhaps a trace of this proneness to turn an ornamental animal into a real article, certainly its inception, is to be found among the Koryak and Eskimo of other localities, but in a most primitive form. Thus the wooden cup for the whale festival among the Koryak[4] represents that animal. In the Eskimo collections from Point Barrow we find a bone

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[1] See Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 566.

[2] See Boas, The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 1897, Vol. IX, p. 124).

[3] See Nelson, Plates XLII, LXII, and Figs. 40, 59, pp 144, 200.

[4] See Part I, Fig. 30, *h*, p. 72.

531 171 ladle, and boxes for harpoon-heads, in the form of whales;[1] and among the Eskimo of Hudson Bay we find ivory needle-cases carved in the form of whales.[2]

531 517 778 I believe that the æsthetic taste is as strong and spontaneous a longing of primitive man as are beliefs. Whoever has lived among primitive people knows well how strong is their passion for all kinds of ornaments. In one of his stories from the life of the Chukchee, Mr. Bogoras pictures a hunch-back shepherd gathering variegated pebbles, and spending his leisure time in laying them out in different combinations for his own pleasure.[3] Mr. Bogoras told me personally that the incident was drawn from real life. Undoubtedly there are cases when an article which first served as an amulet becomes, in the course of time, an ornament; but there are cases, on the other hand, when an article of art becomes an amulet later on. For that reason we must prove in each particular case the course of inter-action of the two psychological factors, — the religious and the æsthetic, — and this it is not always easy to settle. Taking, for instance, the wooden figure of the whale for the whale festival,[4] it is difficult to tell whether the whale-carving was first made from a mere desire on the part of the artist to imitate nature, or whether the necessities of the ritual furnished the impetus for carving the whale. Personally I am inclined to the former hypothesis. We find a similar phenomenon in the Eskimo custom of putting the carving of a whale into the mouth of a new-born male infant in order to make him a good hunter.[5]

In the Koryak carvings, and to a certain extent in those of the Eskimo, in so far as they are not adapted to practical wants, we have an excellent illustration of the spontaneous development of primitive art independent of religion. Those amulets which consist of wooden limbs or parts of animals, instead of the entire animal, cannot be classed with pure art, because they serve, not as expressions of real sense-impressions, but of vague ideas of anthropomorphism and the substitution of a part for a whole. This accounts for the crudeness of the images of Koryak idols, as pointed out by me before, which distinguishes them from carvings made for the pleasure of carving. Ornamental carving still retains in many cases the realism and the finesse of art for art's sake; such as, for instance, the mountain-sheep on the spoon illustrated in Fig. 184, *b*.

532 524 Less attention is paid to finish and realism in the carving of toys. A large number of objects in miniature carving, used as toys, are very poorly executed. These objects can easily be recognized by the hole made in them, by means of which they can be strung on a thong. Children quite frequently

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[1] See Murdoch, Fig. 45, p. 105; Fig. 231, p. 249. [2] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig. 136, p. 93.

[3] Tan (nom-de-plume of Mr. Bogoras), Sketches and Stories, Vol. III, Chukchee Stories (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 120.

[4] See Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72.

[5] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 160; Nelson, p. 290.

carry whole bunches of such toy carvings so strung. Probably for the same purpose, many Eskimo carvings have holes in them. The workmanship of the walrus-bone carving in Fig. 174, *a*, representing a woman with a child, may be explained by the fact that it was meant for a toy. 524 532

Dolls. — In connection with the carvings which serve as toys, and are made by men, I will speak briefly of the dolls, which are made by women. They differ from carvings which represent human beings, first of all, by the fact that the main attention is paid to the dress of the toy, which is made by the women and girls very carefully and tastefully. In this respect the Koryak dolls are much like those of the Eskimo. Dolls representing women show underneath the coat the wide trousers of the combination-suit tucked into the boots; while the head has braids of hair, wool, or beads, attached on the side or at the back. Fig. 186, *a*, shows a doll representing a woman with braids, but the long coat conceals the wide trousers of the woman. [462

Fig. 186, *b* and *c*, shows two dolls representing Koryak men, — one in a travelling-coat, and the other in a house-coat. No attention is paid to the face in making dolls. In *c* we find a particularly well carved and typical wooden face; but in *b* there is, instead of a head, a leather cone in the form of a sugar-loaf, with beads attached in the place of eyes. It is interesting to note that dolls are often made with conical heads in a way similar to that in which the Koryak and the Kamchadal represent a certain class of "guardians" and spirits.[1]

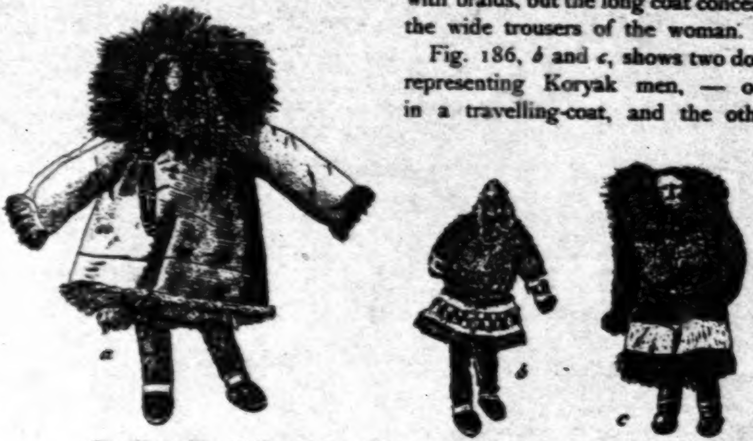

Fig. 186, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Dolls. Height, 23 cm., 15.5 cm., 16 cm.

Even more primitive is the doll of the Reindeer Koryak shown in Fig. 187. It is made of the hoof of a new-born reindeer, and represents a girl with her hair dressed. This doll, by its conventionalism, fully corresponds to the wooden limbs representing "guardians."

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[1] See Part I, p. 38.

321 *Bone Chains.* — In speaking of the skill of the Koryak in carving figures of human beings and animals from bone, the art of carving chains with whole unbroken links from walrus or mammoth ivory must also be considered. Although the completed chain shown in Fig. 188, *f*, resembles in shape a metallic watch-chain, and would seem to be an imitation of it, yet the bone chains, heavier than these, serving as handles for baskets, buckets, etc., were carved by the Chukchee and the Koryak long before they met the Russians. Krasheninnikoff, in his time, could not help admiring the workmanship of such chains made from walrus-tusk, and brought to Kamchatka from the Chukchee Cape.[1] Among the Eskimo bone bag-handles, we find even now chains with links carved out of a single piece of ivory. In Nelson's collection there are numerous specimens of chains that serve as bag, drag, and other handles.[2]

Chains of different sizes, carved out of a single piece of bone or wood, and serving as handles and for other purposes, are found also among the Gilyak and Ainu. Specimens of such chains are in the American Museum of Natural History as well as in the British Museum in London, and in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

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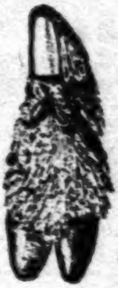

Fig. 187 ([illegible]). Doll made of a Reindeer-Hoof. Height, 10 cm.

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321 Not all the Koryak are equally skilful in the work of carving in general, and of chain-carving in particular. In each locality there are men who are specially skilful in this or that branch of the art. Thus, for example, there is a blacksmith in Paren, on the western coast of Penshina Bay, by the name of Kıya'učnın, who is known for his skill in carving bone figures of men and animals; while the Koryak A'xa, of Shestakovo, is known for his ability in carving bone chains.

321 Fig. 188 represents chains of his workmanship in all stages: *c* is a sawed-off piece of walrus-tusk; *d*, a piece which has been whittled down with a knife to a quadrilateral form bearing the marks of the first few future links; *e* shows the progress of the work in carving the links; and *f* represents the completed chain. Here we notice that in carving the links, the chain *f* has gained in length as compared with the tusk, as shown in *d*, to the extent of 12 cm., the tusk being 32 cm. long, while the chain measures 44 cm.

The Koryak used stone implements in working bone before they knew of iron. The walrus-tusks were split into strips by means of stone chisels and wedges, and the work was continued by means of stone knives and awls. At present tusks are sawed by means of an iron saw, home-made or imported, and the rest of the work is accomplished with the aid of a knife.

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[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 50.

[2] See Nelson, Plate XLIII, Fig. 1; Plate XLVI, Figs. 4, 7, 10; Plate LII, Fig. 16; Plate LXVI, Figs. 18, 19. See also Hoffman, Plate LV, Figs. 1-3.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Fig. 188, *b*, represents the knife which Axa used in carving his chain; 321
a shows the sheath of the knife. The artist uses nothing but the knife in
his work. Other Koryak also use curved knives.[1] The polishing of the 412
carved articles is done with soft reindeer-skin. Considering the shape and size of the rings of Axa's chain, one cannot help admiring the precision of eye and the sense of symmetry of this primitive turner.

Fantastic Carvings. — Among the Koryak animal carvings, some are 532
found with monstrous forms; for instance, in my collection there is a little figure of a partridge with two heads. The Koryak from whom I obtained this carving could give me no satisfactory explanation of it; and I do not know whether it was the product of the individual fancy of the artist, or whether it represents some mythical bird. Among the carvings of the Eskimo of Point Barrow, reproduced in Murdoch's work, we also find figures of animal monsters, among which there is an ivory carving of a ten-legged bear and a double-headed animal carved from antler.[2] Murdoch's illustration repre-

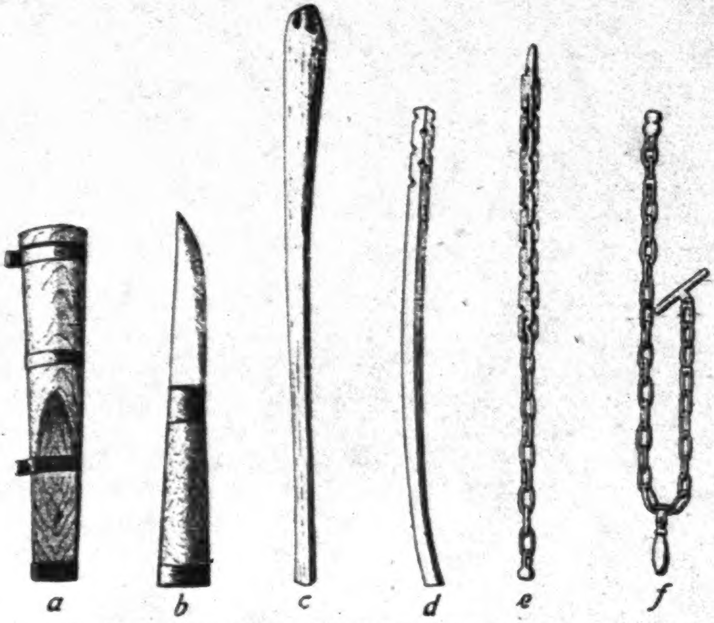

Fig. 188 ([illegible]). Carving-Knife with Sheath, Ivory Chain in Process of Manufacture, and Completed Chain. ½ nat. size.

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[1] See Fig. 144, *d*, p. 621.

[2] See Murdoch, Figs. 412, 414, 416, pp. 405–407.

532 senting a giant holding a whale[1] recalls a Chukchee ivory carving in the collection of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, representing a human figure with three pairs of white whales on its breast.[2] This figure corresponds with the Chukchee myth of a giant who once came from the American shores to the Chukchee coast, where he went to sleep, and remained asleep all winter, while the white whales came out on the shore and gnawed at his flesh.[3]

531 171 ENGRAVINGS. — We have seen that the realistic animal carvings of the Koryak, like those of the Eskimo, are frequently ornamented by means of incised designs consisting of plain dots, rings, or lines; but we do not find any complex engravings of patterns or figures of pictographic character, such as are found on the carvings of the Alaskan Eskimo.

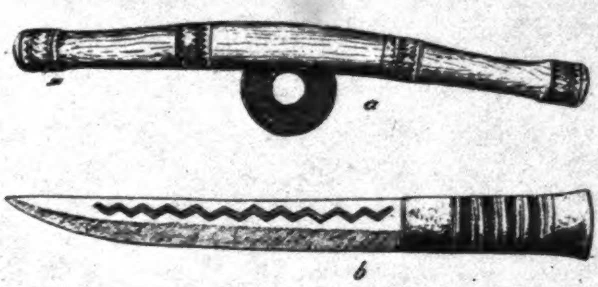

Fig. 189. *a* ([illegible]), Skin-Scraper with Ornamented Handle (length, 46 cm.); *b*, Knife with Incised Designs (length, 37.5 cm.).

In the collection of carvings in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, there are two bone pipes with engravings of diminutive figures of men and animals. These pipes were acquired among the Kerek, but had their origin among the insular Eskimo of Bering Sea.[4]

412 531 The tools and implements of the Koryak are mostly devoid of all ornamental engravings. The few ornamental engravings which are found on the tools and other household articles may be divided into the following classes, — the simplest, or Eskimo-like; the pictographic, or engravings resembling those of the northern Indians of the interior and the Alaskan Eskimo; and the conventionalized, adopted from Asia. Figs. 189–191 represent specimens of the first group of ornamental engravings.

Fig. 189, *a*, represents an iron skin-scraper. Its wooden handle is ornamented with lines and zigzags. It was obtained in Paren.[5] Fig. 189, *b*, represents a belt-knife of Koryak make. The blade is ornamented with a zigzag design. The wooden handle is entirely covered with brass, which is decorated by grooves and lines which enclose fields of hachure. We meet the zigzag ornamentation with acute or obtuse angles also in the ornamentation of garments (see, for instance, Figs. 209, 216). 531 412

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[1] Murdoch, Fig. 415, p. 406.

[2] Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XX, Fig. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 57.

[4] Ibid., Plate XXV, Figs. 8, 9.

[5] A similar ornamentation is found on the Eskimo bone knife and bone skin-dresser in Hoffman's book, Plate XV, Fig. 3; and Plate XVIII, Fig. 2.

Fig. 190 represents a woman's implement used in the ornamentation of funeral dress. It consists of a common handle made from walrus-tusk, with two flat chisel-edged awls of different widths which turn on pivots. When the smaller awl is required, the larger one is turned aside, and the smaller one is given a vertical position as required in use, and *vice versâ*. The ends of the awls are of iron, but in olden times they were of stone or bone. These tools are used in making slits at uniform intervals in seal-skins painted black.[1] Through the slits thus made are passed narrow strips of leather cut from the skin of a dog's throat. This skin, when finished, is whiter and finer than the finest chamois-skin. In this way, in the middle of the black strip of seal-skin, an ornamental ribbon is formed, in which the black and the white narrow strips or squares succeed one another (see Fig. 197). These strips are used in trimming the coats and other parts of funeral dress. The parallel lines engraved and etched lengthwise on the handle of the implement represent the strips of seal-skin, while the short parallel cross-lines represent the slits made by the awl. The line ornament on the implement may thus be called a textile ornament. The middle of the obverse of the handle, and the whole reverse, are decorated with a herring-bone pattern, with the apex towards the cutting-end. On the reverse of the handle the lateral lines of the herring-bone pattern cover the whole surface. The haft of the wider awl has the ribbon-ornament shown in the illustration, and consisting of alternate squares on three sides; while the design on the reverse face consists of the two diagonals, the four triangles thus formed being filled in by two or three triangles the sides of which are parallel to the diagonals. The reverse of the haft of the narrower awl is decorated with two intercrossing herring-bone designs covering the whole surface, — one with the apex towards the awl, the other with the apex towards the handle, — the middle line of the two being the same. The outer and inner sides of this handle are decorated with a peculiar irregular design, which apparently consists of a chain of rhombi, their obtuse angles adjoining, extending along the haft. In each rhombus an attempt seems to have been made to place another rhombus parallel to the outer one, while some of the intervening outer triangles 413 531 294

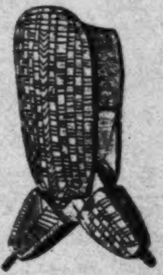

Fig. 190 ([illegible]) Slitting-Tool. Length, 9 cm.

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[1] This method of ornamentation will be described later on (see p. 679).

531 are filled in with smaller parallel triangles, and others remain undecorated. 413 The implement was obtained by me in Kuel. The device shown in Fig. 191, *a*, is also made from walrus-tusk, and was obtained in the same place. It is 274 used as a reel for winding embroidered and ornamented strips of skin or fur on its axle. These strips are used for trimming the edges of clothing. The axle and the two bone disks are decorated with dots, circles, and chevrons. Fig. 191, *b*, represents a bone ear-spoon collected by Mr. Bogoras in northern Kamchatka. The handle of the spoon is ornamented by a row of rhombi running lengthwise, and touching each other at their angles, inside of which vertical lines are engraved. The rhomboidal ornamentation resembles the engravings on Tlingit neck-ornaments,[1] which contain rhombi without etched lines inside. As we shall see further on, the Koryak women, in decorating their fur rugs, used rhombi to represent ice-floes (see Fig. 238). The reverse side is shown in Fig. 191, *b'*. Here may also be mentioned an engraved harpoon-head (Fig. 191, *c*).

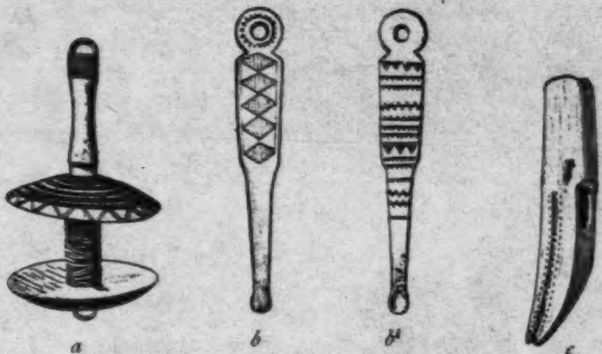

Fig. 191. *a* ([illegible]), Reel (length, 8.5 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Ear-Spoon, Obverse and Reverse (length, 7.3 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Harpoon-Head (length, 10.5 cm.).

531 Fig. 192 represents three snuff-boxes of birch-bark, made in Kamenskoye. [276] Those shown in *a* and *c* can be closed with separate wooden covers; the handle of the cover in *c* represents a dog's head. The cover of *b* opens on 314 a pivot made of tin tubes and wire. The engraved ornamentation is almost the same on all the snuff-boxes. It consists principally of dots, triangles, and concentric circles. The circles are somewhat similar to the circle-ornament attached to clothing (see Figs. 224 and 227). The cover on *b* is ornamented with the representation of a conventionalized plant, the veins being made of inlaid wire, while on *c* there is a row of double rhombi on the side.

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[1] See Hoffman, Plate IX, Fig. 1.

Figs. 193 and 194 represent specimens of engravings of a pictographic nature. 532 Fig. 193 represents two women's knives.[1] Outlines of running reindeer are engraved on the blades by means of a steel awl. 412 The outlines of the reindeer are somewhat inferior in vividness to the engravings of reindeer figures on ivory made by the Alaskan Eskimo; but allowance should be made for the material (iron) on which the Koryak artist engraved the reindeer. A middle line may be observed on the reindeer in *b*, which is absent in *a*, and consists of a series of minute vertical dashes. This line represents the spinal column.

Fig. 194 represents two cutting-boards[2] used by women in dress-making. 294- The boards contain ornamental engravings on the under side. 532 The patterns for dresses are cut on the unornamented side. The boards are engraved by the men 532 (the brothers or betrothed of the women to whom the boards belong), for amusement. The engravings consist of household and hunting-scenes; and the workmanship differs from that of most Eskimo engravings in that the figures of human beings and animals are not merely indicated by lines and by contours, but are cut out intaglio. Moreover, some parts of the figures are frequently made somewhat more prominent than others, after the manner of bas-reliefs, which makes the figure of the animal more vivid than ordinary engraved silhouettes.

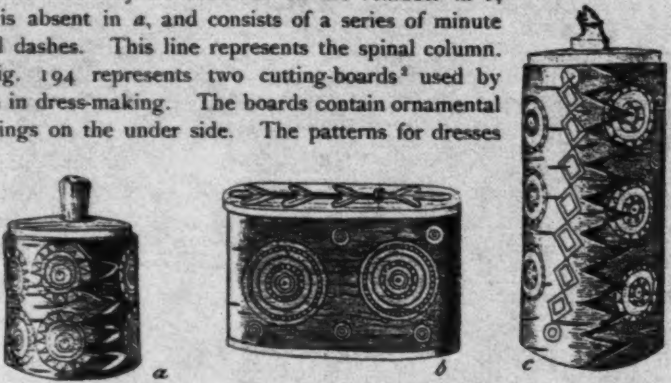

Fig. 192. *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Birch-Bark Boxes. Height, 6 cm., 7 cm., 14 cm.

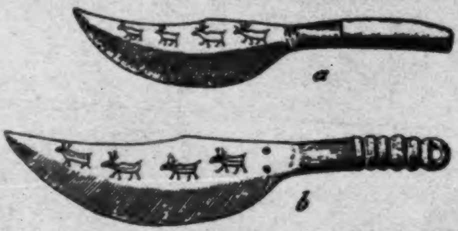

Fig. 193, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Knives with Incised Designs. Length, 26 cm., 29 cm.

Both specimens reproduced here were collected on the Palpal from Koryak living on the coast of Bering Sea: *a* was made on the Opuka River; *b*, on the Poqa'č River. In *a* is represented a scene from the life of fisher-

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[1] See p. 621.

[2] See p. 627.

532 men. The make-up is conventional, and there is lack of perspective. Thus on the left side we see a woman, who, in a kneeling position, is carving fish on the ground in order to dry it in the sun; farther to the right, what seems to be the figure of a man, holding a disembowelled fish and the severed head of the fish in his hands, is running toward the drying-frames in order to hang them up for drying; still farther to the right, a man is trying to catch a fish by means of a pole and hook. The boundary-line between the water and the shore does not appear. Evidently the river or the sea must be in the background, behind the man and the drying-frames. The lack of perspective does not appear so clearly in Fig. 194, *b*, for the reason that all the objects represented there are in one plane. It represents a hunter kneeling on one knee, with a flint gun, the butt of which is pressed against his shoulder, while the barrel rests on a wooden stand. He is aiming the gun at a bear, which is attacked in the rear by a dog. Although the figures are only silhouettes, the posture of the man and the motions of the animals are brought out with remarkable vividness. Moreover, the proportions between the different objects have been well observed. It is interesting to note here, that the specimen shown in Fig. 194, *b*, was made by a Reindeer Koryak of Poqa'č, a young man of twenty-five years, whom I have seen on the Palpal. This proves that among the Reindeer Koryak we also find men with a high artistic taste. [517]

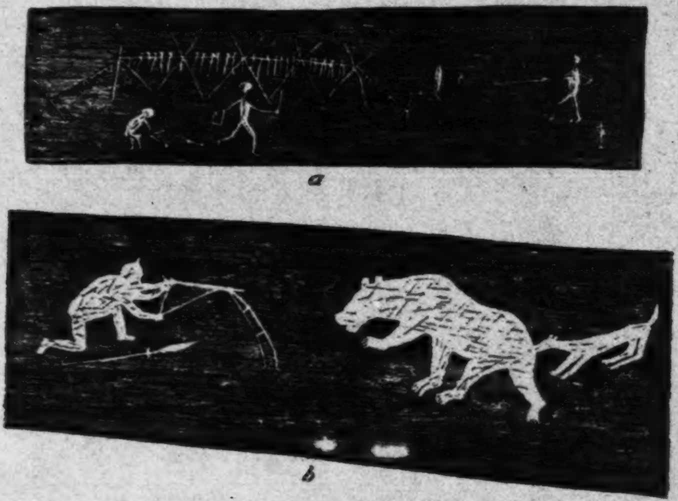

Fig. 194. *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Cutting-Boards with Incised Designs. Length, 40 cm., 60 cm.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Along the shores of Penshina Bay the ornamentations on cutting-boards frequently consist of figures of steamers or schooners which land from time to time at the settlement. These engravings resemble in every respect those of the Eskimo in their manner of representing schooners and steamers.[1] 532 177

Figs. 195 and 196 represent forms of engravings of foreign origin adopted from the Tungus and other neighbors. Fig. 195, *a–c*, represents specimens of workmanship of Koryak blacksmiths,[2] with ornaments engraved and with inlaid copper and brass. The art of the blacksmith being of recent origin among the Koryak, their decorations on articles of iron are adopted from other tribes. In my opinion, the ornamentations of the belt-knife (*a*), of the "large knife" (*c*),[3] and of the spear (*b*), shown in Fig. 195, came down to the Koryak from the Amur natives through the medium of the Tungus; and the Amur people, in their turn, adopted them from the Chinese. This ornamentation appears as a simplified conventionalization of the simple and combined cocks, which we see in the Amur spear (Fig. 195, *d*).[4] The ornamentation of the wooden handle of the knife *a*, which is inlaid with tin, is evidently adopted from the Yakut, among whom such knife-handles are often found; and the ornamentation represents, as I was told, in a conventional way, the larch-tree. The short handle of the large knife *c* is made of bone of whale.

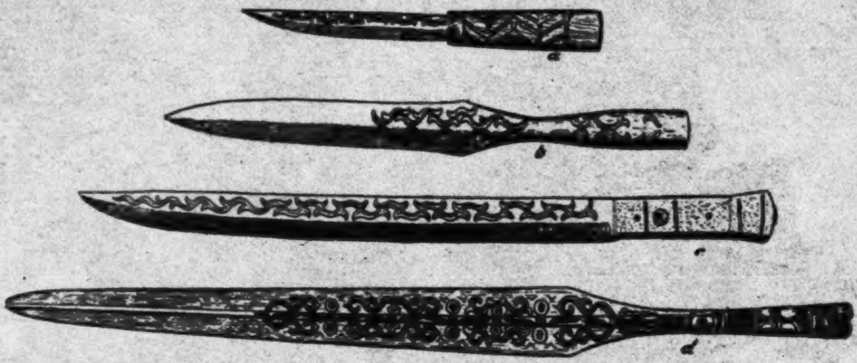

Fig. 195, Knives and Lance-Heads with Engraved Designs. *a* ($\frac{70}{8471}$), Koryak Knife (length, 29 cm.); *b* ($\frac{70}{8467}$), Koryak Lance-Head (length, 45 cm.); *c* ($\frac{70}{8472}$), Koryak Knife (length, 60 cm.); *d* ($\frac{70}{939}$), Lance-Head from the Amur River (length, 75 cm.).

The interior part of the ornament of the cutting-board (Fig. 196, *a*) is also of the Amur type. The middle of this board serves for winding embroi- 294 532 177

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[1] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, Plate v, Fig. *f*; Hoffman, Figs 29–31, p. 797. Samples of Koryak cutting-boards with figures of steamers are in the Koryak collection of the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

[2] See p. 611.

[3] See pp. 561, 620.

[4] See Laufer, The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes.

294 532 177 dered trimmings used for dresses, fur strips for coat-trimming, and other strips for dress-ornamentation. The combination of curved lines in this ornamental engraving is not of Koryak origin; but, instead of the spiral ornament of the Amur tribes, we have here a series of arches, the ends of which meet on one side. The rings with stars on the snuff-box (*c*), were adapted by the artist from a drawing on Russian printed calico. I shall speak more fully of such adaptations further on. It will suffice here to call attention to the perfection of the circles, and the sense of symmetry shown in the outlines of the stars, notwithstanding the fact that the Koryak artists, besides the point of the knife, have no instrument, such as a pair of dividers, for making curved lines.

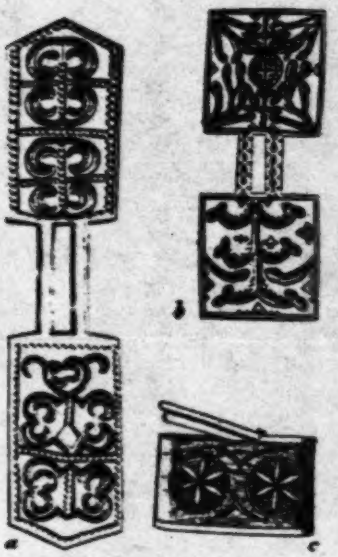

Fig. 196. *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), Cutting-Boards (length, 43 cm., 21.5 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Birch-Bark Box (height, 5.5 cm.).

I could get no explanations as to the fantastic ornamental engravings of Fig. 196, *b*, which are far from being symmetrical; but there is no doubt that we have to do here with mixed elements of primitive geometric ornamentation and conventional plant-forms, possibly the stone-pine.

531 294 ORNAMENTATION OF DRESS. — In the ornamentation of clothing and fur rugs, we see a combination of different influences, similar to that which we observe in the case of engravings on cutting-boards, boxes, and implements. We find here both the most primitive ornaments — consisting of dots, dashes, and rings — and other geometrical patterns in the shape of triangles, rhombi, and squares. Further, there is a technical style of ornamentation, representing nettings, for instance; animal ornamentation, consisting of a realistic representation of individual animals and human beings, or of groups of them, of a pictographic nature; and, finally, there is the conventionalized plant-ornament. The last kind of ornamentation I consider the latest acquisition adopted from the Russians.

[462] While the carvings and engravings are the art of man, the ornamentation of clothing and rugs is the result of the artistic efforts of woman. The simplest dress-decoration consists in the binding of skin dresses with fur, or in the trimming of fur clothing with fur of a better kind than that of the clothing, or of a different color, and in the use of white, black, and red dyed skin, either with the hair removed or placed flesh side outward, the hair which is on the inside of the coat being shorn.

Technique of Ornamentation. — The designs on garments are throughout arranged in horizontal or vertical strips, as may be seen in Figs. 216, 217, 225, 227. These strips consist of a series of parallel stripes, each showing a particular design. In all Koryak ornamentation of clothing, these strips are made separately. In making them, they are wound on reels like those illustrated in Figs. 191, *a*, and 196, *a*, *b*. After the strips have been finished, they are sewed together.

The methods of decorating these strips are quite varied. A great many designs are made by a method which may be called "slit-embroidery." This method is applied particularly for making designs consisting of narrow white lines on a black background, the black background being thick black skin, — chiefly the skin of a ringed-seal dressed and dyed black, — and the white being produced by means of prepared thin white skin of the dog's throat and of sinew-thread. A series of narrow slits are made in the black skin which is to be decorated (Fig. 197). A strip of white dog-skin of the same width as the slits is laid under the line of slits, and a small loop of this skin is pushed from underneath up through the slits, where it is caught by a sinew thread, which lies on the surface of the skin, and is passed through the loops, which are then drawn tight. In some cases ($\frac{70}{8081}$), instead of laying the dog-skin under the black skin, the slits are not cut through, but are connected by splitting the skin from one slit to the next slit. In this case the dog-skin is passed right along between the outer and inner layer of the black skin. It is caught in the same way as described before. The principal types of designs made in slit-embroidery are shown in Fig. 198.

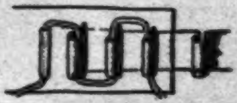

Fig. 197. Technique of Slit-Embroidery.

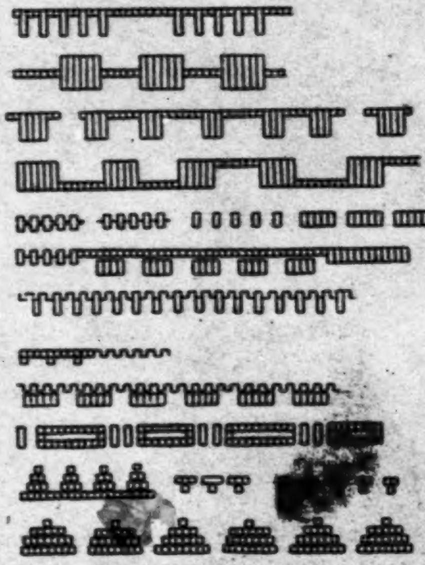

Fig. 198. Slit-Embroidery Designs.

The technique of the slit-embroidery is such that the designs necessarily consist of long connected series of rectangular figures; the white skin which is pulled through the slits forming a series of short parallel lines the ends of which are

294 531 connected by the white sinew thread. The width of the rectangles varies considerably, since often a series of slits forming one straight line are connected by a single thread (Fig. 198). Sometimes also, instead of rectangles, the designs consist rather of an angular meander, a single thread being pulled through the skin loop in one direction, then across to the next loop, and back in the other direction. Some of the finest of these slits are not more than 1 mm. in width, while the rows of slits are sometimes as near together as .25 mm. Coarse slits of this kind are as wide as 2 mm., and the rows are about 1 mm. apart.

The designs consist, on the whole, of groups of rectangles, either held together by chains or separately arranged in rhythmic groups. Other designs consist of triangles rising over a wave-line or over a connected line, or entirely isolated.

In making up rows of designs in this technique, all the slit-embroidery gives thin white lines on a black background. Although the dog-skin, when seen near by, is a little more yellow than the white sinew, this difference disappears by contrast with the dark background. The same method is sometimes used for making red fringes at the borders of garments. In this case the lowest border consists of a strip of bare white skin. Dog-skin is pulled through the slits as described before, and in these slits tassels of red yarn or of the hair of young seal dyed red are caught. Sometimes there are double slits, so that the tassel is caught as shown in Fig. 199, *a*.

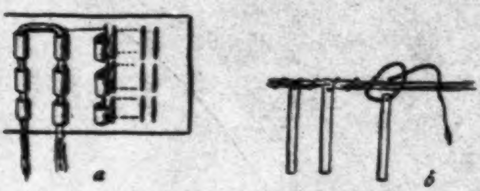

Fig. 199. *a*, Tassels done in Slit-Embroidery; *b*, Caught-in Strips.

In some cases single white cross-strips on a narrow black background are made by winding a narrow strip of white skin once around the black strip, which is then sewed to the preceding strip in such a way that the ends of the white winding are just in the seam, where they are held in place.

Whenever wider white lines on a black background are desired, another technique is applied. This consists in the application of short narrow strips of stiff white reindeer-skin, — more rarely of white dog-skin, — which are caught in the seam between two adjoining strips of dark skin (Fig. 199, *b*), the whole seam being overlaid with sinew or hair (see p. 681). When a narrow strip of squares is to be formed in this way, the lower ends of these strips are caught in the same way in the next seam below. This same method is applied in making the fringe along the lower border of garments (see Figs. 207 and 212). In this case, strips of such skin alternate with tassels of the hair of young seal dyed red, both being caught in the seam, which, however, is not overlaid with sinew. The hair of the tassel is doubled over and the small strip of skin placed in the bend, and the two are caught in this way, generally by three stitches. The hair which lies under the skin makes in this way a somewhat raised seam. The same method is used for emphasizing the stitches of a white seam. In this case very short pieces of stiff, white skin are caught in the manner described before, and are cut off close to the overlaid sinew.

When narrow black strips or small black squares on a white background are desired, still another method is used. A narrow strip of black skin about 3 mm. in width is wrapped with white dog-skin about 1 mm. wide. In the middle of the outer side a longitudinal narrow strip of white dog-skin is applied under the winding. This method is used, for instance, in the garment $\frac{70}{6031}$.

For overlaying seams and for making curved or diagonal designs on black bare skin, a method which we might call "sinew or hair appliqué" is used. The sinew or hair is laid on in the desired form, and is stitched over with finer sinew, the stitches passing through the upper layer of the skin, and not appearing on the under side.[1] For overlaying, hair from the mane of the elk and reindeer, and hair of the mountain-sheep, are used. This method is the same as the one used in sewing coiled grass baskets (see p. 632).

A succession of disconnected white squares on a black background is made in the same style of embroidery by weaving in white dog-skin, which passes through a series of slits ($\frac{70}{3282}$).

Whenever red fur is desired as an inset in these designs, it is made by applying tassels of dyed hair of young seals to reindeer-skin, the flesh side of which is dyed red and turned outward. These tassels are arranged close together in horizontal rows, each tuft of hair being turned over in the middle and being held by a stitch which passes only through the outer layer of the skin (see Fig. 199, *a*). Other patterns, such as checker-work and realistic figures, are almost always made of skin mosaic, each strip being finished by itself, and being sewed to the preceding strip. All the sewing is done on the right side; and wherever the seam is not covered by other ornamentation, it is overlaid with sinew or hair. Mosaics in which complicated forms are set in are made from patterns cut from the thick skin of the thong-seal, which is used for cutting out the various figures, say of white skin, with or without hair. The same pattern is used to cut out the figure from the black background. The white figure is then inserted in the opening thus made. In this way black and white silhouettes of animals or other figures are obtained on a white or a black background. The conventionalized plants and geometric figures are more difficult to cut out and sew in than animals. Frequently the designs are made up of such small pieces, that it is surprising how such tedious work can be done at all. Not every woman can cut out figures. There are specialists among them who supply these figures.

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[1] The same type of overlaid seams is found in Norton Sound, Alaska.

On some coats made of skin without hair, designs are also formed by small tufts of hair of young seal dyed red, which are sewed on in rows or in straight lines and zigzags, the tufts appearing like red spots on the white background of the coat. Such tufts are also used to make triangular forms on white or black backgrounds by being sewed in as described before (see Fig. 210).

Long narrow strips of skin, almost like fringe, appear sometimes in the long strips of embroidery along the lower border of coats (see Fig. 210). These are generally caught in the same way as the fringe at the bottom of the coat, which was described before, each strip of skin being caught separately. In the coat here referred to, they consist of long narrow strips of bare white skin decorated with equidistant black cross-lines.

Tassels consisting of bare skin are made of long pieces of skin slit up into from five to eight narrow strips, which are sewed on flat to the back or front of the coat. Generally these are arranged in rows, the strips being sewed on in pairs or in groups of three, four, or five. Sometimes tassels are made of threads of reindeer or elk[1] sinew, white or dyed red. Sometimes tufts of hair of young seal dyed red are tied for quite a distance down the base of the tassel, thus producing the effect of fur tassels with string ends. A more complex fur tassel is made up of small pieces of white and dark reindeer-fur, the ends of each piece being sewed together so that it forms a bell-shaped bead, which is wider open at one end than at the other. These are strung on a strip of skin, to which they are attached so that they cannot slip off. In many cases the upper part of these fur-bead tassels consists of a single strip which divides farther down. In one coat ($\frac{70}{2964}$) the fur beads are so small, and trimmed down so regularly, that they almost appear like bone beads. In some cases glass beads are strung on with the fur tassels.

On some of the dyed dancing-garments the ornamentation consists principally of white skin appliqué on the red background of the garment. The principal designs that occur in this form are rows of triangles. The same kind of triangles occur commonly on the fur coats with embroidered borders.[2] Other designs in appliqué-work are shown in Fig. 200. For designs in appliqué see also the woman's coat shown in Fig. 116, p. 589.

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[1] It should be noted that the Koryak obtain elk sinew or hair for ornamentation from the Chukchee, Tungus, Yukaghir, as there are no elks in their own territory.

[2] Similar patterns occur in the decoration of Greenland garments. They are made in appliqué-work, which, however, is never caught in the seams, nor woven. It is simply sewed on.

Still another method of skin ornamentation consists in stamping designs in red color on bare skin. A series of wooden stamps used for this purpose are shown in Fig. 201. A coat decorated by means of these stamps is shown in Fig. 218.

Embroidery in silk and yarn is made by long flat stitches, which, however, do not pass through the skin, but only under the upper layer. The patterns are laid out in the following way: Looking at the design which serves as a sample, the woman marks on the skin with the end of a bone knife the necessary curves, circles, etc., and then covers these marks with embroidery. The Alutor Koryak women are especially fond of bead-embroideries.

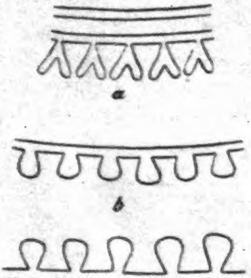

Fig. 200, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Designs in Appliqué-Work.

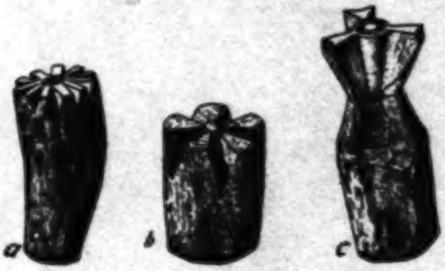

Fig. 201, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Stamps. From Kamenskoye. Height, 7 cm., 6 cm., 11 cm.

Fig. 202 represents a belt embroidered with beads (*a*), and a pouch (*b*) for flint and touch-wood, which is sewed to a plain leather belt. The line-ornament of belt *a* is embroidered in three colors, — blue, black, and white; while the ornament with human figures on the pouch is made of beads of two colors, — white and blue. The belt (*a*) is represented here without buckle and strap.

Designs. — In order to be able to distinguish the latest designs in ornamentation from the ancient ones, we must first of all turn to that of funeral dress or of other articles connected with ritual, such as the dress used in dancing at whale festivals, or to the ornamentation of articles no longer in use, such as quivers. The ornamentation of funeral clothes is especially marked by conservatism.

On most of the funeral garments, ornamentation is made entirely of slit-embroidery, overlaid seams, caught-in strips, and skin mosaic. Sinew and hair appliqué occurs also, but not so frequently.

The designs made in slit-embroidery have been described before, and it has been stated that caught-in strips and wound strips result in similar

274 531 designs: characterized, however, by wider white lines as compared to the remaining black background. The more complicated forms do not appear in this technique: but we have, on the whole, series of rhythmically arranged rectangles, as shown, for instance, in the narrow strips containing white bars in Fig. 208.

There is another figure frequently found in the ornamentation of funeral and sometimes of ordinary clothing, — inscribed arches with elongated sides, or ovals with one end cut off. These figures may be seen on the two funeral quivers before mentioned.[1] Embroidered figures of this kind are found on ancient Chukchee quivers[2] and on some articles of the Alaskan Eskimo.[3]

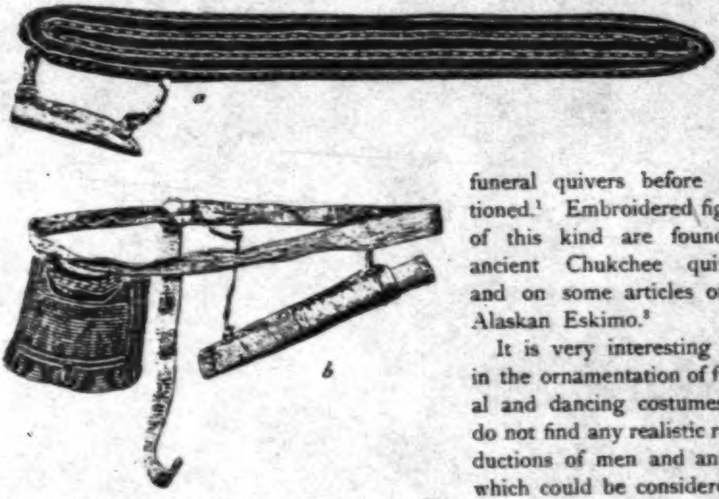

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Fig. 209 Bead-Embroidery. a ([illegible]), Belt (width, 7 cm.); b ([illegible]), Pouch (height, 12 cm.).

It is very interesting that, in the ornamentation of funeral and dancing costumes, we do not find any realistic reproductions of men and animals which could be considered as "guardians" of the dead or of the shamans, or of other persons who perform the religious dances. In the shamanistic costumes of the Yakut, the Tungus, and other Siberian tribes, we do find figures of "guardians" of shamans in the form of outlines of men and other animals. These figures are embroidered on the dress with sinew-thread; and sometimes figures cut out of leather, cloth, tin, or copper, or wrought from iron, are sewed on the dress.

517 171 Professor Boas has called attention to the difference in the decorative style applied in ceremonial and common objects among the Indians, the Eskimo, and the Gold of the Amur River.[4] Their ceremonial objects are

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[1] See Part I, Fig. 50, p. 107; also Fig. 43, p. 106; and Fig. 227 of this part.

[2] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XI, Fig. 1; The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 76, p. 157.

[3] See Nelson, Plate XLV, Figs. 15, 31, 32; Plate XX, Fig. 6.

[4] See Boas, The Decorative Art of the North American Indians (Popular Science Monthly, October, 1903, pp. 484, 485).

517 covered with more or less realistic designs, while the decoration of ordinary
171 garments represents geometrical motives. I have stated that the same phenomenon occurs among the Yakut and Tungus in reference to the decoration of their shaman's and ordinary wearing-apparel. We see the reverse among the Koryak. Their funeral and dancing garments are covered with geometrical designs, and realistic designs are found only among the decorative motives of ordinary coats and on fur rugs.

532 In the ornamentation of funeral garments there is only one case of a figure resembling a starfish,[1] and another resembling a frog. An ancient
425 Chukchee quiver has embroidered figures resembling the Russian letter Ж,[2] which could be mistaken for a conventionalized frog. I point this out, because, in the Gilyak cult, the frog plays an important part, and its figure serves as an amulet.[3] In Yukaghir mythology the frog is mentioned,[4] but neither in the Koryak nor in the Chukchee myths do we meet with the frog.[5]

531 This may be the proper place to say a few words as to the part played by figures in the decorative art of the Koryak in general. If we are to assume that, in the case of all tribes, every ornament has, or had at one time, a certain meaning, then I must confess that I have not succeeded in finding the required explanations, either because the Koryak have forgotten the meaning of their ancient ornaments, or because the particular persons from whom I tried to obtain the explanations were not familiar with them, in which case the subject still remains to be investigated.

I was able to ascertain that all ornamental designs on dresses, as well as the tattooings, are called by the same name — kaʹli or keʹle — as is used by the Koryak to designate, not only all kinds of drawings, but also the printing in books and Russian letters. Some Koryak said that simple, double, and concentric circles represent the sun, the moon, or the stars. I
[124] was told on one occasion that zigzags represent mountains; on another, that they represent waves. Cross-like figures are supposed to represent flying birds; but I was told that as a general rule the ornament had no special significance. Even the information as to zigzags I obtained only after insistent questioning, which may have stimulated the answer. The impression obtained by me was, that the persons interrogated were considering their replies while being questioned. For that reason, I do not attach special importance to their answers. It will be clearly apparent from what follows, that the women

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[1] See woman's funeral overcoat, Part I, Fig. 51, p. 108.

[2] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate 31, Fig. 2.

[3] See Schrenck, III, p. 750.

[4] See Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 3.

[5] Mr. Sternberg has called my attention to the resemblance of some figures in the Koryak-Chukchee decorative art to Gilyak representations of the frog; but I have never seen a frog in the country of the Koryak. Neither Krasheninnikoff (I, p. 490) nor Ditmar (Reisen in Kamtschatka, p. 345) found it in Kamchatka. If the ornament in question really represents a frog, this pattern must have been adopted from the south. I should add, however, that, according to Slunin's assertions (see Slunin, I, p. 339), one species of frog has been found in Kamchatka.

531 use the designs employed in the ornamentation of the common dress, which have undoubtedly been adopted from the Russians or the Tungus, merely for beauty, without reference to their meaning.

Although, in the ornamentation of the common dress, we meet with ancient designs which we have seen on funeral clothes, yet we frequently find, also, realistic representations of men and animals, combinations of curved lines, and conventionalized plants. The realistic reproductions of animals in dress-ornamentation may have developed as a result of the imitation by women, in their designs, of the objects produced by men in their sculptural art. Combinations of curved lines and conventionalized animals, such as we have seen on knives and spears, were adopted, in my opinion, from the Amur through the medium of the Tungus; while the conventionalized plants, as we shall see further on, were copied from the designs on the calico prints imported by Russian merchants. Some woman referred to the Russo-Koryak half-breed Fletcher[1] as the author of certain patterns. These were mostly figures representing conventionalized plants, copied from designs on imported calico or cloth. The woman using them knows that the design represents plants and leaves, but personally I know of no case where a woman would imitate plants which grow naturally before her eyes.

531 177 It is claimed that, among advanced agricultural tribes, the plant-ornament appears in decorative art after the animal-ornament. I should add, however, that, as regards the plant in Fig. 204, (*3*), or that on the rug in Fig. 239, I was told that it represents the flower of the dog-brier, which grows in abundance in the valleys of the Koryak rivers. One Koryak even told me that some women copied the figures for the leather patterns from leaves and flowers of living plants. I admit the possibility of this, although personally I have not met such women. As the habit of observation on the part of man when on his hunting expeditions furnishes him with material for carvings and engravings, so does the observation of woman when gathering berries, herbs, and roots, supply her with material for designs.

How women copy figures from drawings on imported calico prints and other tissues is shown in Fig. 203, representing specimens which I obtained from a girl in Kamenskoye. Fig. 203, *a*, represents a conventionalized plant-ornament as it appeared on a piece of Russian calico which I obtained from the woman; *b*, the pattern, is a copy reproduced by the woman from *a*. The pattern is cut out of a piece of the thick skin of a thong-seal. We can see that the copy is rather crude. It shows a freehand, rough silhouette. This design was used in cutting out the patterns from the dark fur of the fawn in the following manner: the pattern is put on the obverse side of the fur, and by means of a bone knife its outline is drawn on the skin (some women even use Russian pencils for that purpose), and the figure is then cut out with the woman's knife, following the outline. Fig. 203, *c*, shows how the conventionalized plant is sewed into the strip of white fur of a young reindeer, in place of the figures, which were cut out in the described manner by means of the pattern (*b*).

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[1] See p. 665.

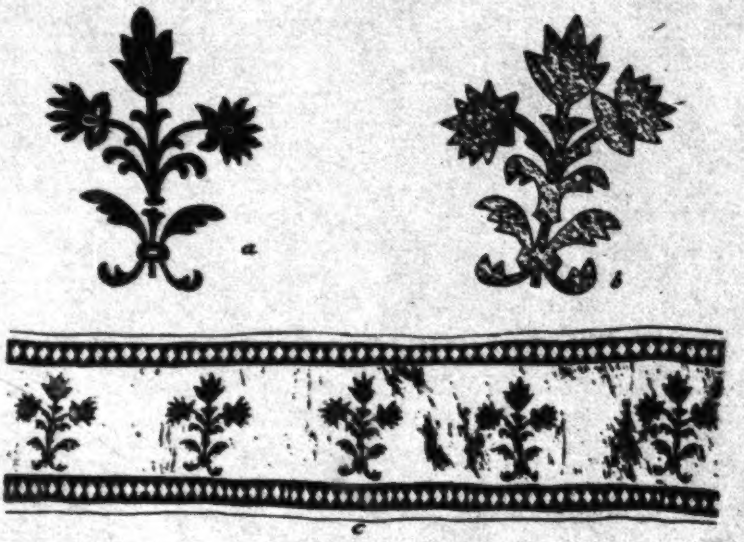

Fig. 203, *a* ([illegible]), Calico Pattern for Plant-Design *b*; *b*, A Copy of the Pattern; *c*, Border of Coat showing Application of Plant-Design.

Fig. 204 represents a piece of a fur strip for trimming the bottom of an overcoat. The ornamental figures are a mixture of ancient animal and plant ornaments. One figure represents a dog running, with its tail turned upward and its tongue hanging out. The other figure represents the silhouette of a horse with a saddle, and a pack behind the saddle. In this

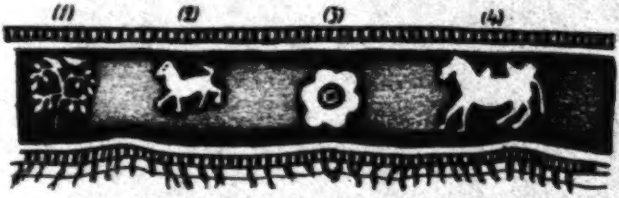

Fig. 204 ([illegible]). Skin-Mosaic Border of Coat. Width, 21 cm.

other respects the arrangement of the border is the same as in the specimens just described. In a few coats (for instance, $\frac{70}{6131}$ and $\frac{70}{3440}$) the strips with appliqué triangles are replaced by slit-embroidery. The same is done in specimen $\frac{70}{3233}$, where, however, in the upper border, the slit-embroidery representing standing triangles is inserted between a strip of blue cloth with appliqué standing triangles and yarn embroidery. Under the embroidery, in the place usually occupied by the hanging appliqué triangles, we find black skin with rectangles in slit-embroidery. Two of these coats in which the slit-embroidery is used are dancing-coats made of skin dyed red. 531

Rhythmic Repetition of Designs. — More interesting than the succession of strips making up the border is the rhythmic repetition of motives in each strip and in the combined pattern constituting the whole width of the border. On the whole, there is a strong tendency to use alternate patterns intended to break the uniformity of an uninterrupted long border; but in many cases the rhythmic arrangement is much more intricate. In other cases the whole front of the coat is occupied by one pattern, while a change of arrangement takes place on the back. In still other cases the right and left sides of the back show different patterns. In the majority of cases there is one place in which the symmetrical or rhythmic arrangement of the patterns is interrupted. This place is generally found under the left arm, not quite so often under the right arm. In some cases an exceptional pattern which does not fit into the whole rhythmic series is inserted at this place. This may be due to the difficulty of adjusting the strip to the garment; but from this difficulty a tendency seems to have developed to make a break in the design, even when not necessary.

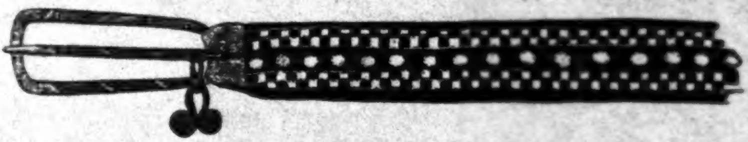

Fig. 205 ([illegible]). Funeral Belt. Width, 4.5 cm.

It seems best to illustrate the peculiar tendency to rhythmic arrangement by the discussion of a number of borders. Fig. 205 represents part of a belt used in a man's funeral dress. The checker-work is made by weaving white dog-skin through slits in black hide. The ends of the slits are connected with appliqué hair embroidery. Each pair of white appliqué circles on the central strip is succeeded by one red circle. 291 531

Fig. 206 also represents part of a belt of a funeral dress. It consists of a strip of black skin on which right-angled figures are made in slit-embroidery. The numbers of links in the central connecting chain vary somewhat from three to six, the distances between the bars and squares not being quite

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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regular. On the whole, the squares and their distances apart are a little wider in the middle of the strip than at the ends. Towards the ends the squares are a little narrower, and they are slightly closer together. The end squares number about eight stitches across. The middle squares number ten or eleven. Throughout, the same width of the design, thirteen stitches, — that is, six stitches either side of the middle line, — is preserved. The second square from the left, here illustrated, shows an irregularity in the bottom row, in that two adjoining slits are treated as a unit.

Fig. 206 ([illegible]). Funeral Belt with Slit-Embroidery. Width, 4.5 cm.

Fig. 207 is part of a wide border of a funeral coat which is trimmed with dog-fur. The whole border consists of alternate strips of black and white skin sewed together. The lowest strip is made of shorn reindeer-skin with the flesh side up, dyed red. The designs on the upper row are arranged quite symmetrically. As shown in the illustration, these are of varying lengths, which are arranged as follows: —

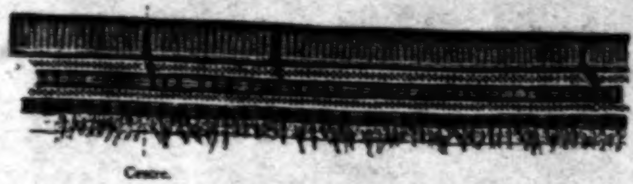

Fig. 207 ([illegible]). Border of Funeral Coat with Slit-Embroidery. Width, 8.5 cm.

Centre.
cm. 8 12 8 17 12.5 22 9 9 22 12 17 8 11 8 cm.
Under arm. Under arm.

At the intervals hair tassels are caught in the seam. The vertical bars on this design consist, in the middle part, of single rows of stitches; while at both ends of the strip there is a tendency to substitute double rows, although not quite regularly. Seen from a distance, the impression is given that the middle part, which was probably placed on the front of the coat, contains finer and more regular work than the back, where the vertical bars are farther apart and heavier. The whole middle portion of the central black strip of the design consists of a regular alternation of rectangular fields of six and three stitches, as shown in the illustration, except that there is a slight irregularity in the occurrence here and there of three 3-stitch fields instead of two 3-stitch fields, as would be required by perfect regularity. This portion of the black middle strip extends from the point where the 17 cm. bar of the top row on the left adjoins the 12.5 cm. bar, to the middle of the 17 cm. on the right. The whole rest of the left side of this strip is occupied by one continuous row of 3-stitch squares with only slight variations, while the whole rest of the right-hand side continues with a design the same as the one in the lower black strip, only a little narrower. If this interpretation is correct, the front would be occupied by one design, and the left and right of the back each by a different design. The white strip under the central black strip just described is embroidered in red yarn, except that portion which is under the two narrow bars of the upper row in the middle of the whole strip, which is done in green. It is obvious from this arrangement that the point indicated in the illustration is the centre of the front of the design. The usual fringe of caught-in strips and hair tassels finishes the lower edge.

Fig. 208 represents a strip for trimming the skirt of a woman's dancing-dress. The outer border of triangles is done in white skin appliquéed on dark-red skin. The central ornamental row is done in slit-embroidery. The series of two patterns shown in this illustration are repeated three times along the lower border of the coat. There are two types of circular designs on the middle row, — one with a cross in the middle, the other forming a double star. On the whole, they alternate in groups of three.

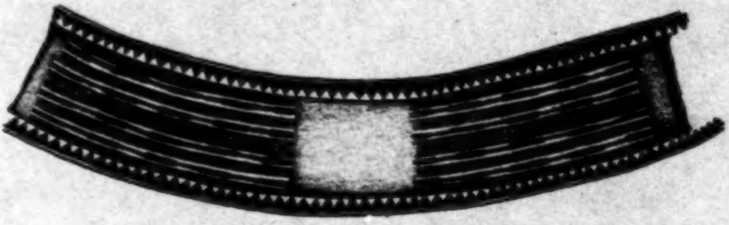

Fig. 208 ([illegible]). Part of Border of Woman's Dancing-Dress. Width, 17.5 cm.

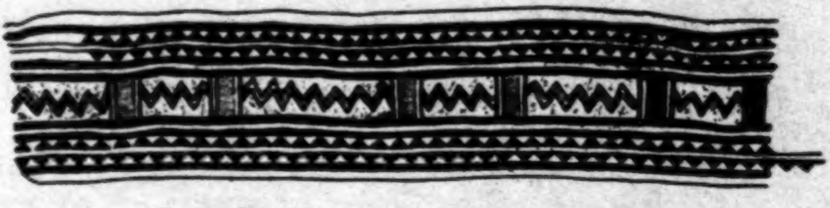

Fig. 209 ([illegible]). Part of Border of Funeral Dress made of Skin Mosaic.

Fig. 209 represents another strip for trimming the skirt of the funeral

531 291 dress. This one is made of small strips and pieces of black and white fur of young reindeer, sewed together, with the fur outside. The ornamentation is exclusively linear and geometric. The double zigzag on the middle strip, interrupted by cross-strips of white and black fur, is frequently found, both in ancient and modern Koryak ornamentation.[1] The fields containing the zigzag are separated by rectangular fields consisting of a broad middle stripe of red, bordered on each side by a narrow strip of black and white skin. Most of the red strips are made of reindeer-skin inserted with the inner side outward. To these are sewed four rows of tufts of young seal-skin hair dyed red. The seven red strips on the left are made of dyed skin without hair-tufts. The white strips with zigzag are not of equal length, but there is no clear evidence of intentional order in their arrangement. In one part of the design a wide and a narrow one seem to alternate quite regularly, while in other parts there seem to be groups of narrow ones followed by groups of wide ones. The triangular borders above and below seem to be arranged so that each stripe is quite independent of the others. There is no attempt to make the triangles either alternate or coincide so as to form rhombi.

The motive of a very beautiful border of a skin coat is illustrated in Fig. 210. It consists of a series of strips of skin embroidery, wrapped skin, and caught-in strips; the two broad white strips being made of wrapped skin, while the central and lowest strips are made of caught-in strips. The rhythmic arrangement of the motives in this specimen is very elaborate. The long fringe which is caught in a seam near the upper border is repeated at regular intervals. The slit-embroidery is interrupted at these places; and in place of the white bar design in the central strip, a piece of white skin is inserted under each fringe. The division of the upper row of slit-embroidery into three parts of unequal length will be noticed. Just under the intervals there are two tufts of seal-fur, a little wider below than on top, and these are set off more definitely by the arrangement of the caught-in strips in the lowest two rows. The beaded effect in the lower seams is brought about by very short caught-in strips of reindeer-skin.

It may be well to discuss at this place the rhythmic arrangement of more modern patterns, because apparently the principles of their rhythmic arrangement are the same as those used in older patterns. In the border shown in Fig. 204 the figures are arranged in one wider and one narrower symmetrical group. The wider group was probably intended to form the front of the coat. In this case, the front would contain the figures in the order —

flower, horse, dog, bush, dog, horse, flower;

while the grouping on the back between the two terminal flowers would have been dog, bush, dog.

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[1] See Part I, Figs. 43, 44, p. 106; Fig. 48, p. 107; and Fig. 53, p. 109.

Some of the rectangles with rhombic checkers in an embroidered stripe (Fig. 211) have a white background. In these there are two rows of blue (or purple) rhombi at each end, and two middle rows of red rhombi (design 1).

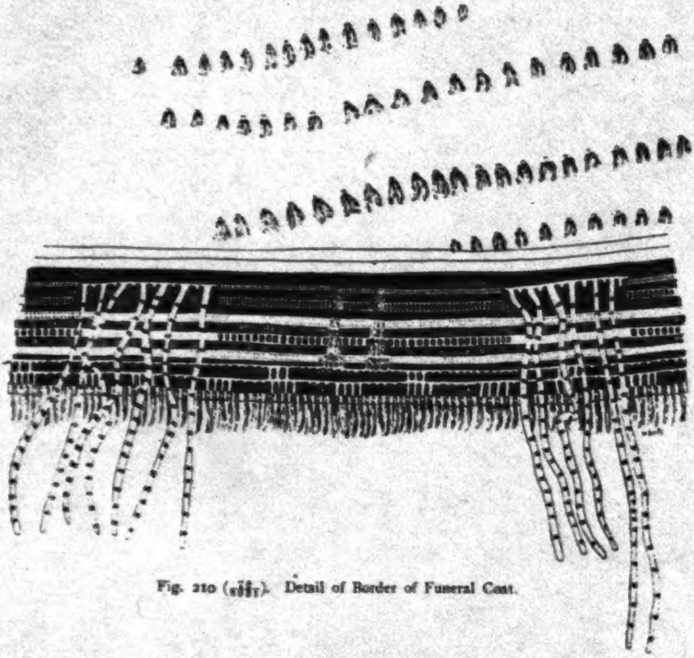

Fig. 210 ([illegible]). Detail of Border of Funeral Coat.

Other rectangles have a yellow background, with red rhombi at the sides and blue ones in the middle (2). Besides, there is one rectangle with red background and black rhombi (3). The colors of the crosses are irregularly

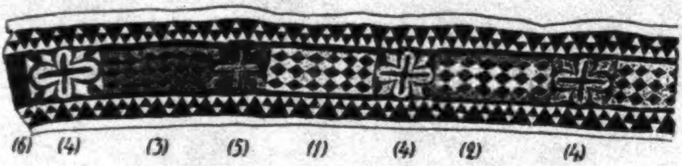

Fig. 211 ([illegible]). Part of Coat-Border made of Embroidery in Skin Mosaic. Width, 16 cm.

arranged. There are four with predominating red and white (4), and five with predominating yellow and blue (5). The most symmetrical arrangement of this type would result in a yellow rectangle in the middle of the front.

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One end of the strip (shown in the illustration) shows three short blue bars on a red background (6). The peculiar cut at this end fits into a corresponding cut at the other end, and shows that the strip has been taken off as it is from a garment. The general impression of the design is that the symmetry of the crosses is subordinate to the symmetry of the rectangles. For this reason I have placed the crosses in the arrangement of the symmetry in the upper line.

4 5 5 5 4 5 4 4 5 4 6
2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 3 1
Front. Back.

The embroidery in Fig. 212 consists of four distinct elements, — one flower with leaves on each side (1), one branch with curved leaves (2), and one branch with terminal flowers (3); besides these, there is one other element

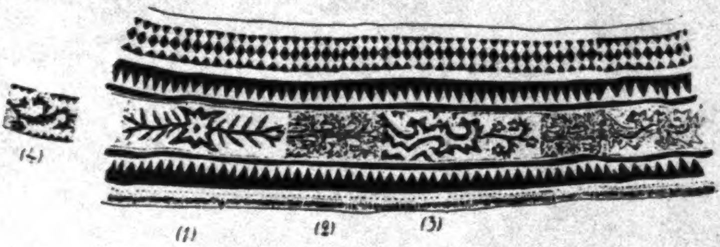

Fig. 212 ($\frac{70}{3770}$). Part of Embroidered Coat-Border. Width, 25 cm.

which occurs only once on the back of the coat, which is marked (4). The embroidered strip is not sewed symmetrically to the coat, but it has evidently been planned in such a way that the arrangement in front of the coat corresponds to the following sequence: —

2 3 2 1 3 1 2 3 2;

while the back is occupied by three designs of the pattern (3). On the back the small design (4) is found, the small designs on the whole back being arranged in the order —

2 2 4 2.

On another coat ($\frac{70}{3744}$) not illustrated here a similar kind of embroidery is found. The pattern consists all round of alternating rectangles containing a sinuous stem with triangular leaves and terminal flower (corresponding to design 3 of Fig. 212). This alternates with a symmetrical double design consisting of central flower and two pairs of diverging branches, which join again near the end, enclosing a heart-shaped space, and then diverge again, bearing at their recurving ends a single terminal flower. The only irregu-

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R44Koryak RY4

larity in this design is again under the left arm, where one half of a symmetrical design is inserted between the two designs that would regularly succeed each other at this place.

The embroidered design of the coat $\frac{70}{5212}$ is the same as the one just described, the symmetrical design being in the middle of the front and of the back. Here an irregularity occurs under the right arm, where two of the asymmetrical designs are placed in succession. This asymmetry is emphasized by the division of the background of the design into a right darker and a left lighter half.

On a third yarn-embroidered coat $\frac{70}{8604}$ an irregularity is found under the left arm, where, in place of the symmetrical design, is inserted a rectangle which is divided into five equal strips running in the direction of the border. The upper, middle, and lower stripes are red; while the intervening ones consist of nine squares of colored yarn, the middle one being green, and these being followed on both sides by a series of white, blue, yellow, blue squares.

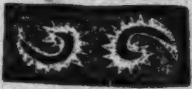

Fig. 213 ([illegible]). Embroidery from Lower Border of Coat.

The embroidery of another coat (Fig. 213) consists of rectangles with a double-leaf design, which alternates with a red background and a background in greenish and bluish tints. The red varies from a light pink to a deep red, while the others vary from a very dark blue, almost black, to a bright green.

In one coat (Fig. 214) we have all round a double-leaf design on a single background alternating with another design consisting of three crosses. This pair of designs occurs in regular succession five times, but under the left arm it is interrupted by the two new patterns shown on the right-hand side of the figure.

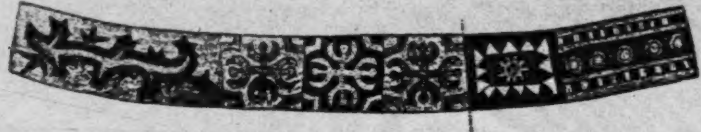

Fig. 214 ([illegible]). Designs from the Lower Border of an Embroidered Coat.

In still another coat (Fig. 215) we find the same series of designs in symmetrical arrangement on the front and on the back. The middle is occupied by a cross, and the other designs follow as indicated. Under the right arm an additional design, consisting of the central cross and the rhomboidal fields with central dots, appears; while under the left arm a single field is added, differing in color from all the others, but related to them in form.

Fig. 216, *a*, represents an ornamented coat of reindeer-fur. The middle strip of the coat-border consists of conventionalized plants embroidered in colored

531 silks. The designs in front are symmetrically arranged. The centre is occupied by a double leaf, evidently the same as the leaf with flower which is
291 found to the left and to the right in the second position. Adjoining the central leaf is a simple flower, which on the front of the coat occurs again

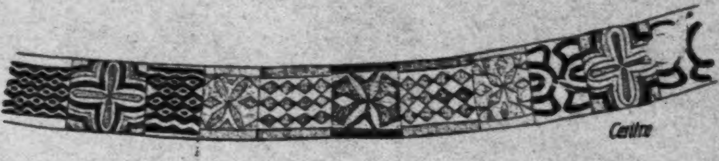

Fig. 215 ([illegible]). Designs from the Lower Border of an Embroidered Coat.

following the flower with double leaf. Under the left arm of the coat the symmetry is broken by the insertion of a single flower in place of the flower with double leaf, which occupies the corresponding place under the

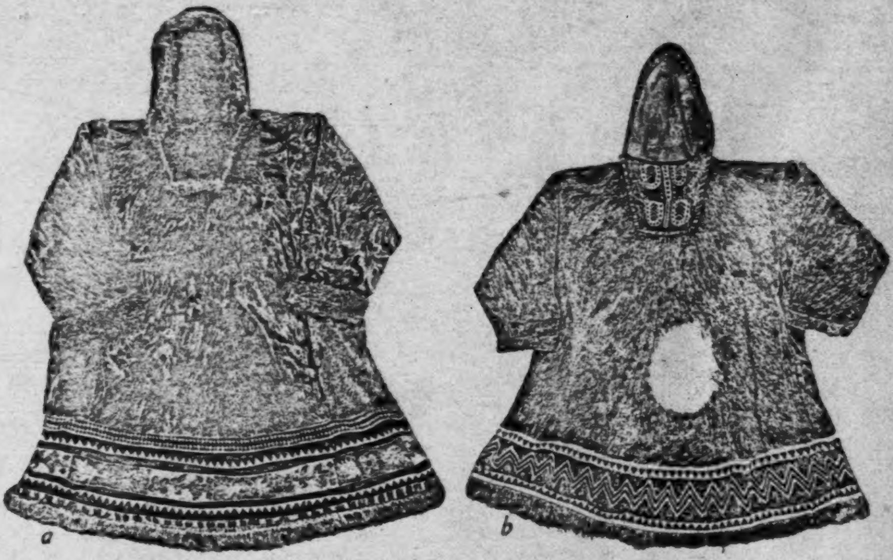

Fig. 216, a ([illegible]), b ([illegible]). Fur Coats.

right arm. On the back we find four single flowers, all turned in the same direction. The color-scheme seems very irregular. In front the central field is blue with a red leaf. The two adjoining fields are bright yellow,

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with, on the one side a red, on the other side a purple, flower. The following fields of central flower with double leaf are, on the right-hand side of the coat, a central blue and lateral purple background, on which the flower is embroidered in red with yellow outline, the leaves with light greenish-blue, and red veins. On the left-hand side the central background is black, the lateral background blue, on which the flower is embroidered in fawn-color, the leaves in bright red with greenish-blue veins; i. e., the reverse arrangement of those on the right side. On the whole, it would seem that in the color-scheme, yellow and pink and intermediate tints are almost equivalent, while blue and purple and intermediate tints are also equivalent.

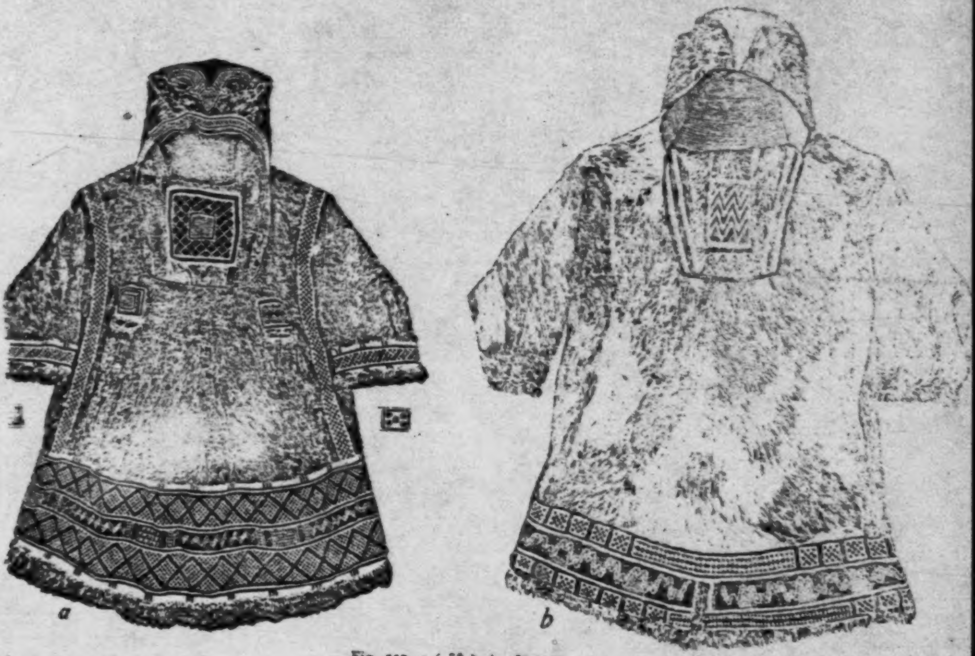

Fig. 217, a ([illegible]), b ([illegible]), Fur Coats.

In the fur coat $\frac{70}{6131}$ a break in the continuity of the design along the lower border occurs under the left arm. The narrow white strip of skin which forms the upper edge of the border alone is continued. All the other designs are replaced by a single piece of reindeer-skin, which is set in. Besides this, one element of the embroidered design is replaced by a piece of reindeer-skin.

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In the coat illustrated in Fig. 216, *b*, there is a narrow inset in the border on the left-hand side, in which the zigzag pattern is continued; the zigzags, however, being much closer together than in the rest of the pattern.

In the beautiful coat illustrated in Fig. 217, *a*, there is also a break in the lower border on the left side of the coat. Instead of the upper and lower strips of checker-work, we find stripes of plain dark fawn-skin. In the upper one there is a central square field surrounded by a narrow white stripe, and containing seven rows of dark and light checkers. The lower row has three such squares with somewhat coarser borders and checkers. In the middle row the zigzag ornament, which at this place should be interrupted by a rectangular inset, is continued as a zigzag line. This interruption of the regularity of the border may be seen in the illustration.

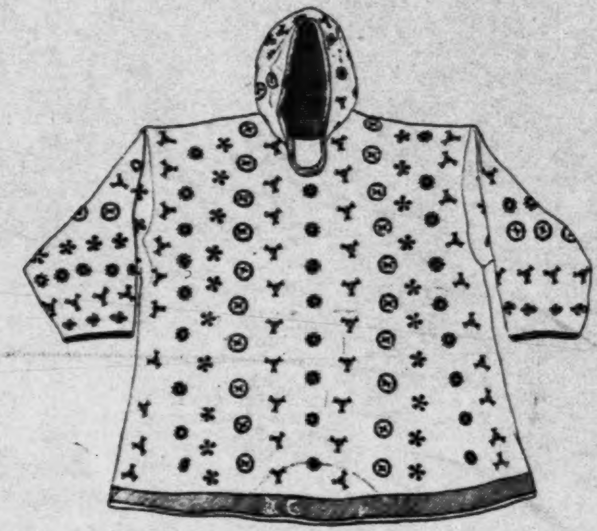

Fig. 218 (70/3467). Skin Coat with Stamped Designs.

Fig. 217, *b*, shows a man's coat made in Kamenskoye. The middle strip of the ornamental trimming of the skirt is embroidered with beads of three colors, — blue, black, and white. The zigzag in the middle resembles the repetition of the letter M, and consists of two side curves of white beads and a middle curve of red beads. The portion of the blue background under some of the crests of the wave-line is made in light-blue color, which alternates with dark blue, but not quite regularly. The left side of one crest rises over a line of blue; and the adjoining crest, including the two lesser crests on each side, rises over a black background. On the left side, from the middle of the front to the middle of the back, this arrangement alternates regularly; while on the right side of the coat the light blue under one wave-crest alternates with dark blue under two wave-crests. In the middle of the five wave-crests on the back, which rise over light blue, a number of red beads are placed in the middle under the crest of the wave. The blue all round the coat, over the waves, is made of blue beads of medium deep color. The arrangement of the lower border is asymmetrical.

Fig. 218 represents a shirt of soft dressed white reindeer-skin, which bears the imprint of stamps in the shape of rings, stars, etc., all of a red color obtained from the extract of alder-bark. The rings and stars are found in ancient Koryak ornaments. The other figures, I believe, were adopted from Russian designs. The shirt is ornamented with six different figures; the stamps for three of them, cut out of wood, being shown in Fig. 201. This method of colored decoration is used by the Indians of the Ungava district in ornamenting their buckskin dress. They also use paint-sticks on these occasions.[1] The arrangement of these designs is symmetrical. If we call the designs from the middle line on towards the sides 1, 2, 3, 4, the arrangement is, for each quarter, 1 2 3 4 1 2 3; the last one (3), which has the circle with the inscribed cross,[2] being at each side under the arms, and belonging to both the design at the back and to the design in front. On the sleeves the designs are arranged in circles running around the arm from the shoulder towards the wrist. The row of designs around the wrist apparently represent a flower.

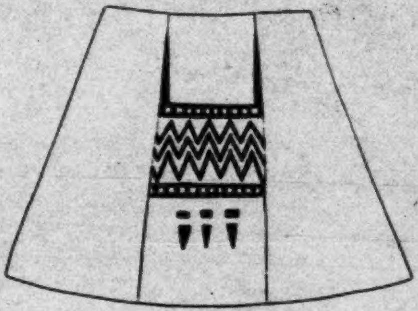
Fig. 219. ([illegible]). Decoration from the Flap of a Skin Coat.

Description of Coats. — The borders the arrangement of which has been described in the preceding pages are generally applied to the skirts of fur coats, as shown in Figs. 216 and 217. In the dancing-coats and in the more elaborate coats, additional decorations are found. Often the flap which hangs down over the chest, and which may be used for protecting the face, is decorated, as shown in Figs. 216, *b*, and 217. On another coat ($\frac{70}{3604}$) the flap is decorated with a white upright cross, under which there are two white circles. Another type of decoration of the flap, which occurs on two coats, is shown in Fig. 219. The flap of a woman's dancing-coat ($\frac{70}{3599}$) is decorated with rhomboidal checker-work made of dark and white fur. The fourth and sixth dark lines of these rhombi from each side are made of skin dyed red, which, even when looked at from a little distance, is hardly distinguishable from the brown reindeer-fur. This whole square has thirteen vertical rows of white checkers. The top of the hood is sometimes decorated with a design which may represent reindeer-antlers, as shown in Fig. 217, *a*. This coat, one of the most beautiful specimens

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[1] See Turner, pp. 296, 297.

[2] In the account illustrated in Fig. 249 this design designates the number 100.

531 292 of skin ornamentation, is elaborately decorated, somewhat in the style of dancing-coats. It is characterized by the decoration of the sleeves, — the vertical strips running up from the lower border to the shoulders, and down in the same way along the back, — and by the decorative patches on the chest. In other cases we find on the ceremonial coats a decorative middle strip, as in Part I, Plate I, Fig. 2; still others contain both the lateral strips just described and the middle strip, as shown in Fig. 51, p. 108. In the men's funeral coats these arrangements are even more complicated, and it seems best to describe a number of these coats in detail. Another characteristic trait of these highly decorated coats, particularly of dancing-coats made of skin dyed red, are tassels, which are often attached to skin rosettes (see Fig. 227).

Figs. 216 *b* and 217 *a* represent two men's coats made of skins of young reindeer, in the ornamentation of which we find only the figures with which we have become familiar in the ornamentation of funeral dress. The designs are made of bits of black and of white reindeer-fur, of tanned leather, and of dressed skins of two colors. The two strips of checker-ornament in Fig. 217, *a*, are made up of squares of skin of three colors, — white, black, and brown. The entire ornament in this coat is made with wonderful skill, regularity, and regard for rhythm and symmetry.

The middle strip of the lower border contains a number of vertical stripes adjoining the triangular and checkered designs in this field. These small stripes are made up of seven or eight rows of bright-red tufts of wool, which appear as a continuous red field, contrasting forcibly, by its brightness, with the subdued colors of the skin. Down along the back are two lateral stripes continuing the checkered lateral stripes of the front, which are the same in design as the small square on the left side of the chest, — two zigzags running down the back, bordered by a single white stripe. Front and back stripes meet exactly on the shoulder. The fields bordered by red, described before, in the middle line of the lower border, are all different. Those on the back are shown in Fig. 217, *a*, under the sleeves. On the back of the hood, just under the two horns of the figure shown in the front view, are two round white spots. The borders on the sleeves are similar in style to the lower border of the coat, the pattern consisting of checkers, — of one diagonal row made of the inner side of the skin, and followed by six diagonal stripes, alternating white and brown. The border of the hood is also similar in style. The small crosses are made of skin dyed red, while all the other squares are white and dark skin. The crosses in the horn-like design on the hood have centres of skin dyed red.

On a woman's dancing-coat (see Part I, Fig. 27, *a*, p. 68) we find elaborate decoration with tassels. The coat has two small beaded circles in front, and three groups of tassels, each consisting of a small patch of white skin with long pendants of the same material. There are also two pairs of black and white beaded strings on the front. On the back there are two circles near the shoulders, while farther down there are three pairs of tassels similar to those in front. They are attached to a small circle of white skin. The tassels attached to each of these are double; and the base of each tassel is wrapped with a piece of fur, which is again wrapped with a piece of blue cloth, around which a narrow strip of white skin is tied firmly in a spiral. These wrappings recall the wrappings of the braids of Eskimo women. On the back of the double-pointed hood there are also two small circles with concentric rings with tassels of white skin.

Patterns made only of skin mosaic are not common in coats of bare skin. One dancing-coat (Fig. 220), however, is decorated in this manner. The checker-work of the middle strip of the lower border is made of skin mosaic, consisting in the main of white and black skin, from which is set off at every ninth white square a large square made up of pieces of skin dyed red. Circles of skin mosaic are often placed at the base of tassels (see Fig. 227).

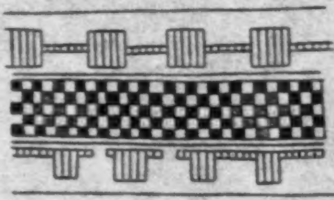

Fig. 220 ([illegible]). Part of Border of a Dancing-Coat.

In Figs. 221 and 222 the details of ornamentation of the woman's funeral overcoat shown in back view in Part I, Fig. 51, p. 108, are given. The top of the hood is ornamented with a horseshoe-shaped border, the open side forward. The top of this border can be seen in the back view of the whole coat. The inside of this horseshoe is occupied by a rectangle standing on its narrow side, which consists of a piece of black skin surrounded by a narrow border of white skin without hair. On the black skin is checker-work made in slit-embroidery, each checker consisting of four rows of from five to eight slits. The rectangle is eight checkers wide by twelve high. The front of the coat has the same design as the back, except that the shoulder-strips terminate on both sides at the seams of the inset, which occupies the upper part of the chest, and which is covered by the chin-flap. That portion of the design rising over the horizontal waist-band shown in the back view is also absent. The border design of the hood, and the upper horizontal border on the front of the coat and the same border on the back, together with the whole border on the upper part of the back, are made up of the same elements (lower part of Fig. 221). In the design on the hood these appear in the order, from the inner side of the border to the outer side, chain of rectangles, circles, chain of rectangles, circles, white. In front they appear in the order white, circles, chain of rectangles, circles, white. It is worth remarking that in the middle of this strip, just over a central vertical strip, two double circles are

531 applied, separated by one single circle. In the closed design on the upper part of the back the order is, from the inner side outward, white, circles,
292 chain of rectangles, circles, chain of rectangles, circles, white, at the bottom and right and left; while on top the outer chain of rectangles is followed by a slit-design, shown in Fig. 221, in which the upper right-hand corner of the closed design on the back, with the adjoining part of the shoulder-strip, is shown. The other strips — those on the shoulders, sleeves, and the vertical strips on the back are shown in the upper part of Fig. 221. They consist of appliqué work with overlaid seams. The large spots in the middle rows are made of skin dyed red. The lower border of the coat is similar to the borders previously described, and is shown in Fig. 222. Under the right sleeve the regular pattern is interrupted. This part is shown in the illustration. The star in the triangle on the back is made of slit-embroidery in white sinew and in colored yarn.

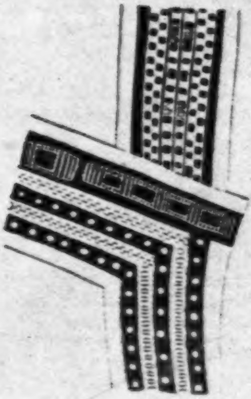

Fig. 221 ([illegible]). Detail of Ornamentation from a Woman's Funeral Coat, Borders on Right Shoulder.

Another coat has the usual lower border, and a vertical strip down the middle of the front in slit-embroidery (Fig. 223, *a*), and on each side on the front of the chest, a rectangle consisting of seven stripes of checker-work on a black background, surrounded by a border of white skin, and with three simple tassels of white slit skin at the bottom. The rectangle on the left side has an eighth row under the seven rows of checkers consisting of six circles. On the back of the coat, on each shoulder-blade, are rectangles of skin dyed red, with complicated irregular designs (Fig. 224) consisting of five checkered circles, a few small white circles, and checkered bars.

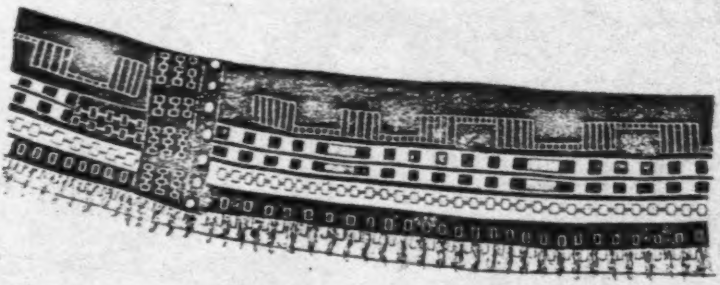

Fig. 222 ([illegible]). Detail of Ornamentation from a Woman's Funeral Coat, Lower Border.

A little lower down, and nearer the middle, are two large checkered rosettes; 531 and down the middle of the back runs a stripe the design of which is shown in Fig. 205. Around the sleeves, in the same position as shown in Part I, 292 Fig. 51, p. 108, is a strip of black and white checker-work. The lower border consists of two narrow strips of slit-embroidery bordering a wide strip of checker-work done in appliqué (Fig. 223, *b*). Below this is a narrower strip, which consists partly of a similar kind of checker-work, partly of circular designs in appliqué-work, partly of slit-embroidery on a black background (Fig. 223, *b*–*d*). The upper wide strip consists of two different halves, occupying approximately the right and left border of the coat. Both parts of this strip are shown in Fig. 223, *b*. The lower border also consists of distinct designs. The design on the right-hand side of the front is seen on the left in Fig. 223, *b*; the one on the left side of the front is shown on the right in the same figure. The left side of the back is shown in *c*, while the right side of the back is shown in *d*.

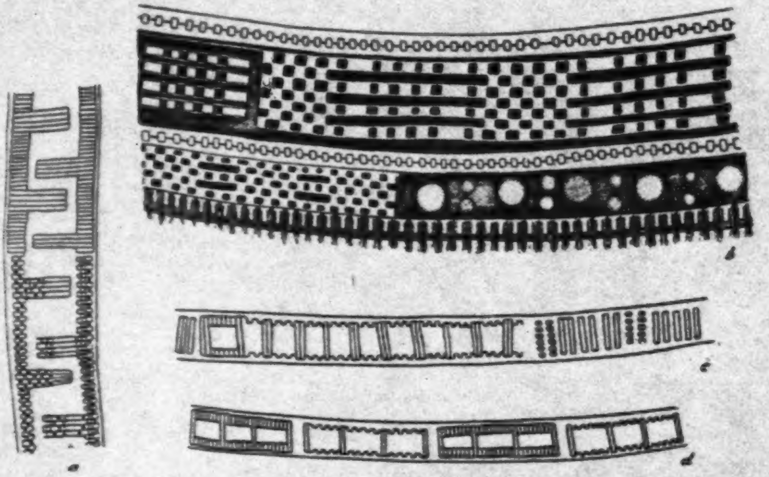

Fig. 223 ($\frac{70}{3878}$). Details of Decoration on a Woman's Funeral Coat. *a*, Slit-Embroidery in White on Black Background down the Front; *b*, Part of the Lower Border (the Middle of the Front of the Coat); *c*, Lower Part of the Border on the Left Side of the Back; *d*, Lower Part of the Border on the Right Side of the Back.

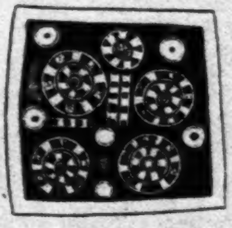

Fig. 224 ($\frac{70}{3878}$). Shoulder-Patch on Back of Woman's Funeral Coat.

Fig. 225 represents the front (*a*) and back (*b*) of a funeral coat; and Fig. 226 shows the front view of the upper part of the hood. The sleeves, skirt, and hood are trimmed all round with shaggy white

531 dog-fur. The flap of shaggy fur sewed on at the neck is raised in the illustration.[1] This is the way it rests on the corpse, so as to cover the face.
292 The ornamentation is of the same character as in the case of the specimens in Figs. 205-208, only the embroidery in front is made mostly with colored silks instead of with the material formerly used for embroidery; namely, sinew-

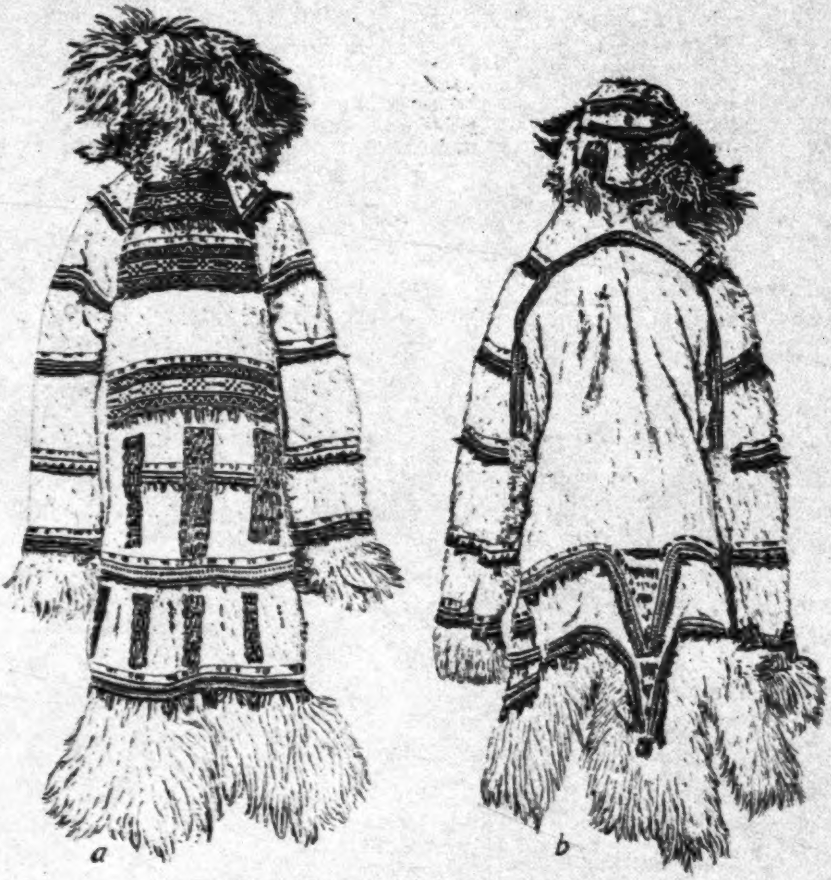

Fig. 225, *a*, *b* ([illegible]). Front and Back of Man's Funeral Coat.

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[1] In the illustration of the funeral coat shown in Part I, Fig. 43, p. 106, this flap is concealed inside so as not to cover up the ornamentation on the chest. I call attention to this to prevent the erroneous conclusion that there are funeral coats without flaps, as is the case with ordinary coats.

thread and hair of reindeer and other animals. The zigzags do not form 531
sharp angles, but a wavy figure. It is of interest to note that some of the
lines on the hood are embroidered with glass beads, which are not found in 292
ancient ornaments, being an article with which the Koryak became familiar [17]
through the Russians or the Tungus. The women very conservatively avoid using beads in ornamenting articles having any relation to the cult. The dark, wide, vertical strips set into the white fur on the front part of the funeral coat are pieces of fur of a young seal dyed red. The tassels of hair under the embroidery are dyed the same color. The dark vertical stripes appear to be the inner side of the skin of reindeer. On the inside of the coat the reindeer-hair cut short may be seen. The flesh side of the skin is dyed red, — in some cases light red, in most cases very dark. These vertical stripes are set with nine rows of tassels (the middle one with twelve), partly made of the hair of young seal, partly (on the middle stripes) made of crewel. Under the strips of embroidery, fringe consisting of red tassels and caught-in strips is sewed on. Along the strip of embroidery just over the lowest row of vertical dark stripes, the fringe consists of alternate red and blue parts, which do not correspond to the lower vertical strips. The tassels under the lowest vertical strip are so arranged that there are five under the broader middle strip, while there are three under each of the four narrower strips which are found on each side of the front of the coat. In addition, there are three in the middle of each white space. Under the second stripe of embroidery running around the sleeve, under the shoulder, the tassels are red and light green. The embroidery between the single stripes on the front consists of black and white checkers, and rectangles consisting of three stripes, in which either the outer stripes are of a reddish to yellowish tinge, and the inner some bluish or violet color, or *vice versâ*. There does not seem to be

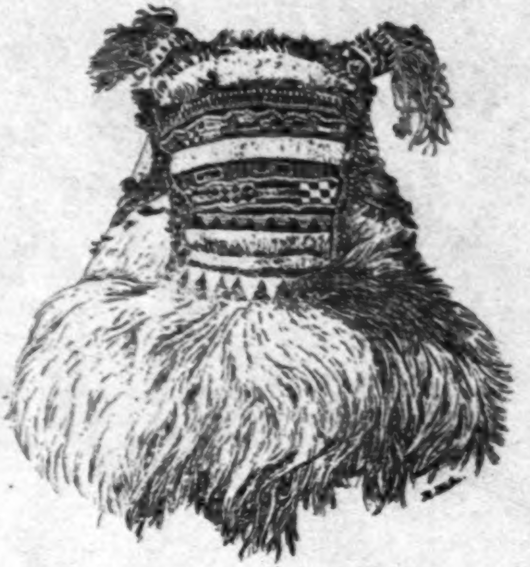

Fig. 226 ([illegible]). Hood of Man's Funeral Coat.

any regular arrangement of these colors. The narrow strip of embroidery running over neck and shoulders, between the sleeves and back, is also set with a red and green fringe. The fringe above the strip at the coat-tail consists of 2 red rows, 1 green, 1 red, 1 green, 2 red rows. At the side, between the two strips across the bottom of the coat, a broad vertical white strip is set in with embroideries. This may be seen on the left-hand side of the back view of the coat. In the seams running along the sides of the coat, from under the arms to the bottom border, there are tufts of red and blue yarn. The cap has two ears made of cylindrical pieces of fur, which may be seen in the back view of the whole garment. The design on the front (shown in Fig. 226) is made up, in the lower rows, of a mosaic of dark and light reindeer-fur, with red tassels between the two upper strips. Over this is the usual type of slit-embroidery surrounding a strip of embroidery in thread. A similar arrangement is repeated on the upper part of the cap. The two rows of embroidery seen in the back view of the coat over the ears adjoin the row of tassels seen on the top of the cap in Fig. 226.

Fig. 227 represents the back of a woman's coat made of skins of young reindeer in Alutor, near Bering Sea. It is ornamented all over with bead-embroidery and loose bead-strings. The figures embroidered with beads on the skirt resemble the oval halves on the funeral quivers (see Part I, Fig. 50, p. 107). The two upper circles on the back are embroidered with beads, while the inner rings of the three lower circles consist of thin disks with imprints of the cross, and figures of animals sewed on. These disks, of course, are of foreign origin. The coat is made with the fur turned inside, and the skin on the outside is dyed brown.

A dancing-coat ($\frac{70}{3471}$) made of skin dyed red has tassels attached to circles. The lower border consists of a strip 12.5 cm. wide, edged above by appliquéed pendant triangles, below by standing triangles. Under the right arm the upper row is interrupted by three pendant bells, while under the left arm the lower row is interrupted by six standing bells.

The coat ($\frac{70}{3169}$) differs in style from the older coats. It is made of reindeer-skin, and has the cut of a European overcoat, the front being tied together with strings. Both sides of the front and the collar are trimmed with a strip of white fur. Each front is trimmed with a strip of alternate black and white checkered rectangles, the latter being bordered above and below by a strip of brown and a strip of white. The lower border consists of two rows of square checkers, beginning with a narrow strip of white, followed by a narrow strip of dark; then follows a 3-row checker-work of dark and white, which, in turn, is followed by one dark and one white strip. Under these is another strip of checker-work made up of squares slightly smaller than those of the upper row. While all the other upper strips are about 1 cm. wide, these checkers are only about 8 mm. wide. Instead of

regular alternation of black and white diagonal squares, we have at intervals 531
of approximately fourteen squares two heavier dark diagonal stripes made up
of the regular diagonal series, — squares of dark fur, immediately followed 292
by another series of squares made of skin dyed red. This is followed by a series of white squares; and next we find another diagonal of squares of skin dyed red followed by the regular series of squares of dark skin. These diagonals run from left below to right above. In one place there are two double dark diagonals separated by fields of checker-work. The sleeves are finished off with checker-work enclosed by one dark and one white strip.

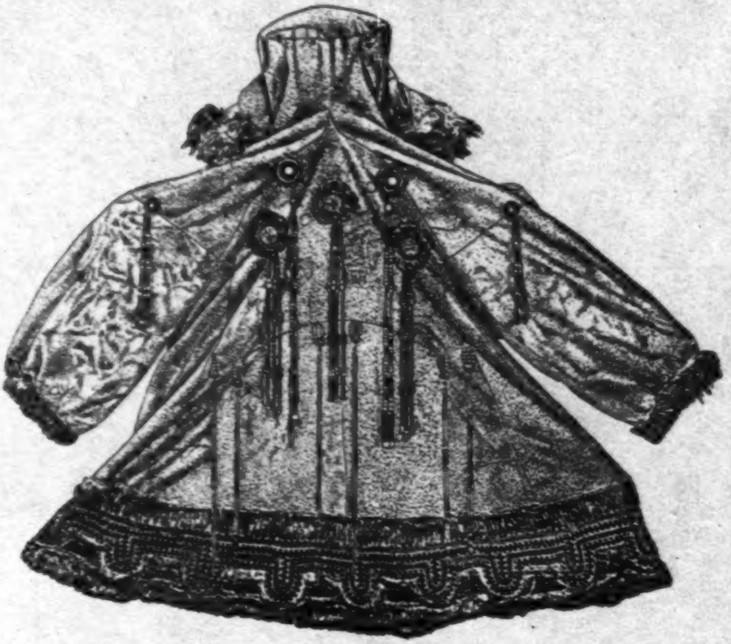

Fig. 227 ([illegible]). Woman's Coat. From Alutor.

Decoration of Bags and Baskets. — The ornamentation of basketry 531
depends upon the technique that is applied. The simplest form of basket-
decoration is that found in open twining.[1] In all work of this kind the 285
decoration is brought about by inserting colored warp-strands (see Figs. 228, 229, *c*). Various effects are produced by the different grouping of the colored strands. This type of decoration is found both on grass bags and nettle-

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[1] See p. 634.

531 fibre bags. Another type of decoration that is applied in this technique is
285 produced by the insertion of tassels made of dyed hair of young seal, or of crewel. The single bunch of hair or the single piece of crewel is caught in the twined stitch in the manner indicated on p. 680. The designs made by these tassels are quite analogous to those applied to clothing, which were described before (see Figs. 210 and 225). The wide rectangle on the bag shown in Fig. 228, *a*, for instance, is made of tassels of seal-hair dyed red, and of red, light blue, and dark blue crewel, which form checkered rectangles like those found on the embroidered strips of the funeral coat shown in Fig. 225. The designs found on the ornamented rectangles on Fig. 228, *b*, form in the top row a zigzag band like that shown in Fig. 209; and below this, checker-work similar to the checker-work found on so many of the coats. It seems that the most typical method of applying the tassel-ornament is in the form of a series of rectangles, decreasing in size from above downward (see Fig. 228). In a few cases the tassels are distributed at regular intervals over the face of the bag. This kind of decoration is found only on the front of the bag. In a few specimens the tassel decoration is also found on close-twined weaving (Fig. 229, *a*, *b*).

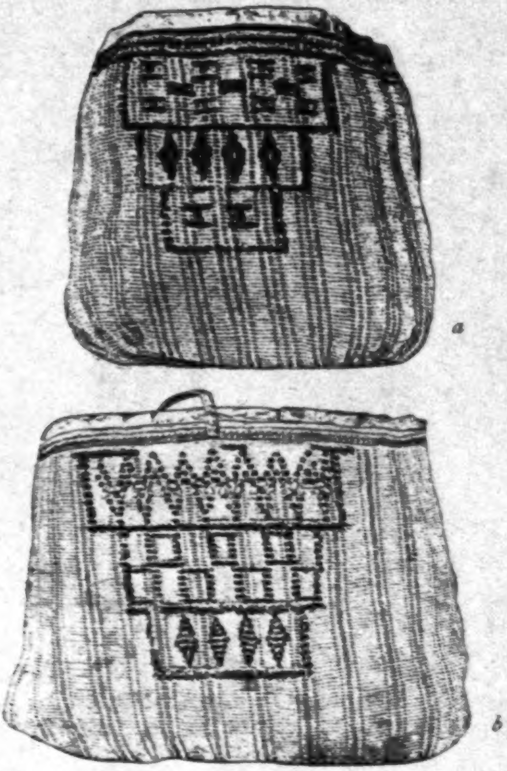

Fig. 228, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Twined Baskets. Maritime Koryak, North Kamchatka. Height, 45 cm., 53 cm.

The designs found in close-twined weaving are quite different from those found in open-twined weaving. The two bags shown in Fig. 228 and a third one in Fig. 229, *c*, illustrate specimens in which the body of the bag is made

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in open-twined weave, while the upper border is made in close-twined weave. In the latter the color effects are brought about by using undyed and dyed woof-strands. In many cases the designs found in this kind of weave recall strongly the slit-embroidery designs which were described before. Thus the design found on the upper border in Fig. 228, *a*, is similar in type to part of the strip shown in Fig. 206, or to the second row in Fig. 207. The top row shown in Fig. 162, *a*, has the same form as the top row in Fig. 207, while the lower rows correspond to the common bar design, which is brought about either by slit-embroidery or by caught-in strips, as in Fig. 210. In Fig. 163 the analogy is even closer, in so far that the rhythmic alternation of the width of the white squares is quite similar to the rhythmic arrangement found in the slit-embroidery. Thus, in the four upper bands of square designs,

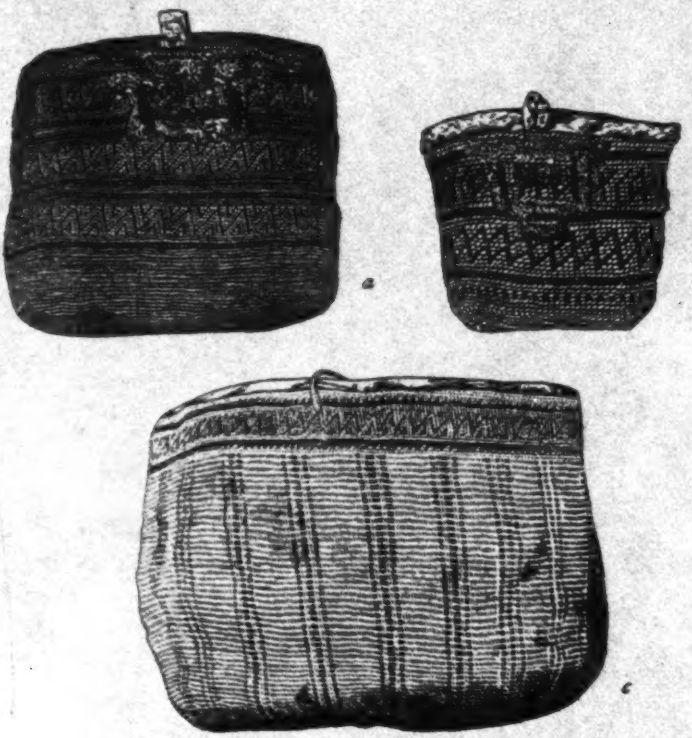

Fig. 229, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), *c* ([illegible]). Twined Baskets. Maritime Koryak, North Kamchatka. Height, 27 cm., 11 cm., 47 cm.

285 531 which are each seven stitches wide, we find the following arrangement. The two outer lines are throughout black; and in the three inner lines the following arrangement of colors is repeated: 1 black, 1 white, 1 black, 2 white, 2 black, 2 white, 2 black, 2 white. The two lowest bands of square designs have a regular alternation of 2 white and 2 black.

Quite a different type is represented by curiously asymmetrical zigzags, which are shown on the border of Fig. 228, *b*, in Figs. 229 *a* and 163. While the zigzags may be related to the zigzags found on clothing, the peculiar arrangement of the design seems to be typical of twined basketry.[1] It is not impossible that in its origin it is related to the triangular border designs surrounding the embroidered strips of clothing (see, for instance, Fig. 212). In Fig. 228, *b*, the zigzag is shown in its simplest form. In Fig. 229, *a* and *c*, and even more in Fig. 163, the same zigzag appears enlarged, and with small triangles inserted in the larger zigzag.

The border of Fig. 229, *c*, has above and below a series of standing and hanging triangles quite similar to those found in the embroidered strips of clothing; and the whole arrangement may perhaps be compared to the band of appliqué embroidery shown in Fig. 208. The standing triangles are also used independently, being arranged in single or double rows.

Another type of decoration which is used in close-twined weaving consists in the application of cross-zigzags which form rhomboidal designs (see Fig. 162 *b*, *c*, and Fig. 229 *b*). In the top row of Fig. 229, *b*, we also have a series of diamonds surrounded each by two angles the sides of which run parallel to the sides of the central rhomb.

Attention may also be called to the decoration at the lower part of the basket shown in Fig. 163, where alternating rows of varying widths of vertical black and white lines, and of diagonal black and white lines, occur.

The ornamental designs on coiled basketry are also similar to the designs used in slit-embroidery. Four distinct methods are employed in producing ornamental effects on coiled baskets. Narrow strips of black, occupying a small portion of a single coil, or forming vertical bands consisting of pieces of black occurring in a series of coils, are made by using material which is dyed black for whipping the coils. The black checker-work shown in Fig. 230, *a*, and the vertical stripes shown in Fig. 230, *b*, are made in this manner. A similar technique is used in the well-made basket shown in Fig. 231. Here the design is made by using dyed nettle-fibre instead of grass for whipping the coils. The method differs from the preceding in so far as in the checker-work the nettle-thread is carried on continuously, and the

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[1] A quite analogous design on twined baskets from Ruanda, in East Africa, shows very clearly that the asymmetrical form of these zigzags is a result of the technique of twining. These African baskets are also very closely woven, and exhibit almost exactly the same design as the Koryak baskets (see collections of the Berlin Ethnographical Museum, Cat. No. III E. 6989). — Ed.

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whipping is merely arranged on the outside in such a way that two successive lines of nettle-thread are followed by two successive lines of grass whipping. Horizontal bands, such as are shown in Figs. 230 and 232, are made in a different manner. A grass coil is inserted, which is overlaid on the outside with one continuous strip of grass which is dyed black. This coil is not whipped by the close stitch, like the other coils of the basket, but is sewed to the preceding coil by a very loose stitch made of nettle-thread dyed

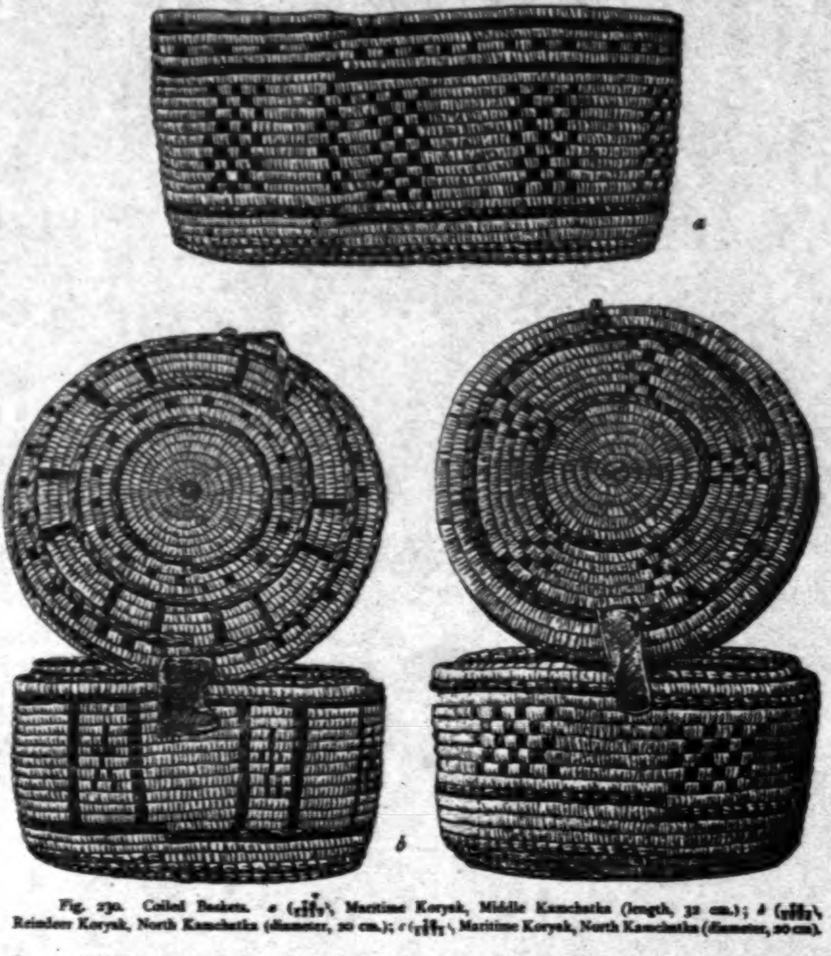

Fig. 230. Coiled Baskets. *a* ([illegible]), Maritime Koryak, Middle Kamchatka (length, 32 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Reindeer Koryak, North Kamchatka (diameter, 20 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Maritime Koryak, North Kamchatka (diameter, 20 cm).

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black. This stitch is identical with the stitch employed in the bottoms of baskets. A fourth method is applied in a few Kamchadal baskets; horizontal bands being made by overlaying an ordinary whipped coil with grass dyed red, or with red, blue, or black strips of cloth. This is held in place by passing every third or fourth stitch over the strip, which is thus woven on the coil (see Fig. 233). Various forms of checker-work, zigzag bands, and rectangles, are the principal figures that are found. The covers of round baskets often bear designs forming rosettes. In one basket Fig. 230, *b*), figures are found which evidently represent human beings.

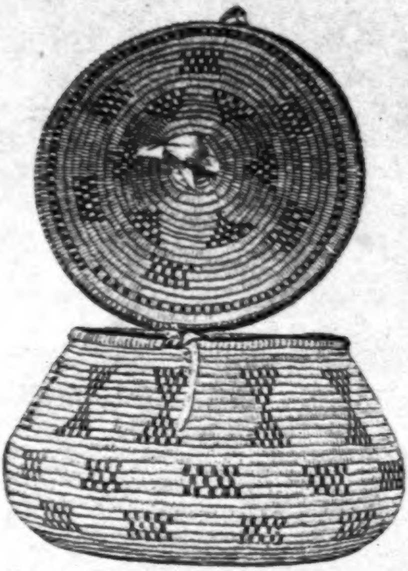

Fig. 231 ([illegible]). Coiled Basket with Designs made in Nettle-Fibre. Maritime Koryak, North Kamchatka. Greatest diameter, 22.5 cm.

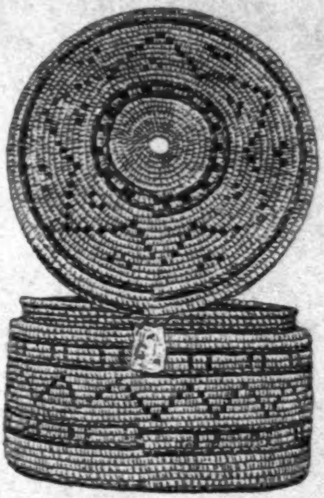

Fig. 232 ([illegible]). Coiled Basket. Maritime Koryak, North Kamchatka. Diameter, 17.5 cm.

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[439]
Decoration of Rugs made of Reindeer-Skins. — It is doubtful whether this art was developed among the Koryak women previous to their contact with the Russians. At present it has developed into a domestic industry. Koryak fur rugs are carried by traders far and wide. They may be seen on the walls or floors and among the furniture of Russians living at Petropavlovsk, Okhotsk, Yakutsk, and Vladivostok. In Irkutsk their price is ten times as high as at home. Among the rich Yakut, Koryak rugs of fine workmanship, made of skins of young reindeer, sometimes take the place of the crude rugs of Yakut production made of cow or horse hides.

In every village of Maritime Koryak on Penshina Bay, I found the women 281
at work on rugs during the winter, but only once did I see a rug used by
the Koryak themselves as an ornament in the house. It covered the platform 531
which served as a sleeping-place for guests. Evidently this industry has 177
developed as a result of Russian demand. To a great extent this is also true of embroidered coats. Every Russian or Yakut merchant, or official in the Maritime or Yakut provinces, if he has to travel on private or official business, buys an embroidered coat of reindeer-skins of Koryak manufacture. It is seldom that the Koryak themselves wear embroidered coats. They are worn only by Koryak traders. Women wear embroidered dresses more frequently than men. I speak here of every-day clothing, and not of festival, dancing, or funeral garments, which are always embroidered. The making of rugs has principally developed among the Koryak of Penshina Bay. They find competitors, especially in silk embroideries, among the Russianized Koryak women of the Yamsk settlement. The Russianized Yukaghir and Chuvantzy women on the Anadyr River and on the lower course of the Kolyma River also enjoy quite a reputation for their art of ornamenting fur dresses and making rugs. The Russianized native women of the Kolyma, however, are less skilful than those of the Anadyr.

[285]
[463]

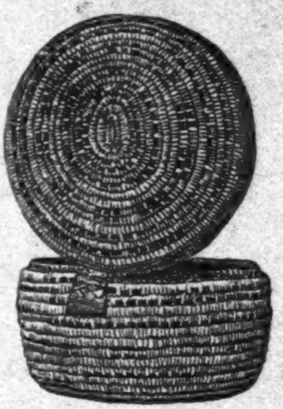

Fig. 233 ([illegible]). Kamchadal Coiled Basket.
Diameter, 15 cm.

In decorating fur rugs, colored thread and silk or bead embroideries are not used. Small pieces of the white and of the black fur of young reindeer sewed together are the only material used for the ornamentation. The comparatively cheap fur of young reindeer — with its thick, soft, and glossy hair — matches in beauty the expensive furs, and is less valuable only on account of its lack of durability, since the hair usually falls out soon, as in dresses of reindeer-skin. Rugs, however, last longer. Since the entire beauty of a rug is in its ornamentation, it is almost wholly made up of the pieces
of white and of black fur which form the ornamental figures. A Koryak girl [437]
will work all winter on a rug, if it is a large one, in order to exchange it with a merchant for cloth, calico, ornaments, or food-products. The rugs are either square or of elongated rectangular form. Their length varies from one metre to three metres. As in dress-decoration, the regular designs are geometrical forms, animals, conventionalized plants, or a mixture of all these forms.

The rugs here illustrated were made in the villages of Paren, Kuel, Mikino, and Kamenskoye.

531 177 silhouette it is very easy to recognize the horse. The use of the figure of a strange animal as a subject of decoration testifies to the power of observation of the Koryak woman. Among the plant-figures, one represents a flower, the other a bush with two birds sitting on it.

Later on, strips for trimming the bottoms of coats will be fully discussed. The middle part of many of these strips is embroidered with colored thread, in imitation of Russian designs. The cross in Fig. 211, in cotton thread, seems to have been adopted from Russian designs; while in Fig. 212 the entire strip, embroidered in silk, represents conventionalized plants.

Where fur mosaic occurs in funeral garments, we find only square, diagonal, rhomb, or triangular checker-work, or narrow parallel strips in various arrangements, but no realistic figures. Thus it will be seen that all the characteristic ornamentation of funeral dresses consists of geometric designs.

531 *Arrangement of Designs.* — In treating of the arrangement of designs, three important points of view must be borne in mind, — the sequence of strips making up ornamental borders, the rhythmic repetition of motives recurring these strips, and their arrangement on the garments.

As regards the composition of borders from single strips, it would seem that the fundamental trait of arrangement consists in the attempt to set off a well-marked middle decorated stripe, which is accompanied by wider or narrower borders. Examples of such borders are fully discussed in the following pages. The arrangement differs somewhat, according to the technique applied. Whenever the upper and lower borders of the ornamental strip are made of slit-embroidery, forms like those shown in Figs. 206–208 and 220–223 are found. Borders made of appliqué-work are very common, and these consist almost always of white triangles on a black or red background, as shown in Figs. 208, 212, and 216. Square checker-work in this arrangement is shown in Figs. 205, 220, and 223. Triangular or square checker-work is also made in skin mosaic, as illustrated in Fig. 209. The arrangement of the strips shows so much variation, however, that it is difficult to give any generalized description. The same kind of arrangement has also been applied in modern borders, with the only difference that for the ornamental middle row a strip of yarn or silk embroidery has been substituted.

The arrangement of stripes illustrated in Figs. 212 and 216, *a*, is found in many coats with embroidery ($\frac{70}{3586}$, $\frac{70}{3212}$, $\frac{70}{3744}$): $\frac{70}{3537}$ is also laid out on the same plan, except that under the lower row of white appliquéed hanging triangles a row of checker-work is repeated. Sometimes, in place of the rhomboid checker-work, square checker-work is found. In one specimen ($\frac{70}{3604}$) the upper checkered strip is missing. In still another specimen ($\frac{70}{3605}$) only the central embroidery with the adjoining appliqué strips of triangles are retained. In another one ($\frac{70}{3536}$) we find, in place of the upper strip of checker-work, a single row of alternate black and white squares, while in all

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY

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Fig. 234 represents a large ornamented rug, the principal designs of which are familiar to us from the decoration of funeral dress. It is intended to be symmetrical around the central vertical row of squares. The upper four horizontal rows are perfectly symmetrical. Numbering the rows as indicated on the figure, it seems probable that 10 *e* and 9 *f* have been exchanged by mistake, because with this change the following lines would also be symmetrical. Considering all circles, and all other squares exhibiting the same type, as equivalent, the only other irregularity appears in the bottom row, where 5 *m* ought to have been a circle design, in order to correspond to the rest of the arrangement. Some of the circles have strips of dyed skin instead of dark fur. These are particularly the four corner squares (1 *a*, *m*; 11, *a*, *m*); 1, *e*, *i*; 3, *c*, *g*; 6, *b*, *f*, *j*; 7 *m*; 9, *c*, *g*; 11, *e*, *i*. Certain indications of regularity may be noticed in the use of the framed checker designs 2 *k*, 3 *j*,

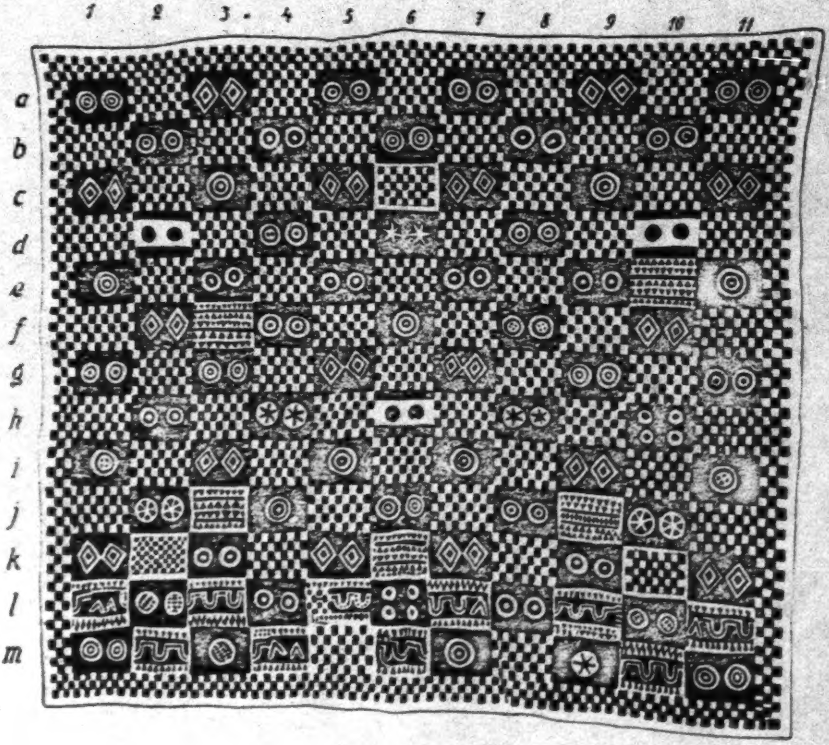

Fig. 234 ([illegible]). Fur Rug. Width, 240 cm.

531

9 *j*, 10 *k*, and in the tendency to alternate angular and round designs in rows 5 and 7; in the exclusive use of round designs in rows 4 and 8; and in the repetition of angular designs in every fourth place in rows 1, 3, 9, 11. Attention may also be called to the occurrence of the curvilinear plant-design in the two lowest rows, which do not appear in other parts of the rug. It may also be noticed that there is a tendency, which may be observed in other specimens as well, to repeat the same design in white on a black background, offsetting the same design in dark on a white background. Thus 6 *d* must be considered equivalent to 4 *h* and 8 *h* and to 2 *j* and 10 *j*; and the black circles 6 *k* and 2 *d* and 10 *d* are equivalent to the white circles on a dark background. On the whole, the impression conveyed by the rug is that of a definitely planned repetition of designs, without, however, attaining to such unity of plan as would result in a clear pattern.

In certain respects another rug ($\frac{70}{3398}$) is similar to the one just described. It also consists of a large checker-work, alternate squares of which consist of small checker-work. Here we find on the dark fields a single conventionalized curved leaf; but a different design is shown in the top row and in the bottom row, consisting of a four-pointed star, the centre of which is a four-leaved flower from which branches extend, dividing at their ends into two leaves. The same design is repeated on the extreme right and left field of the second row from the bottom. This similarity of corresponding fields occurs in a number of rugs.

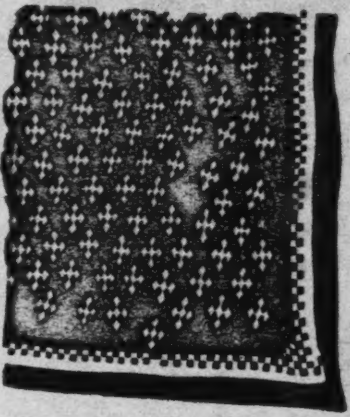

Fig. 235 ([illegible]). Fur Rug. Length of each rhomb, 5 cm.

[177]

Fig. 235 represents part of a rug, the ornamentation of which consists of crosses made up of white rhombi on a black background. This cross, in my opinion, was adopted from Russian designs. The borders of the rug are trimmed with three strips of fur, — the innermost one covered with the checker-ornament; the second, of solid white color; and the third, black. In one part of the rug the rhombi are set into solid skin. This portion of the rug is somewhat irregular. In other parts the pattern is made up of long strips of dark skin alternating with strips of mosaic work consisting of checkered rhombi and of large rhombi of dark skin. In this part of the rug the arrangement of the rhombi in the direction parallel to the long strips is quite regular, while the arrangement in the direction of the other diagonal is not so regular.

Fig. 236 represents a small square rug, elegantly and beautifully made, with pictographic ornaments in the centre. The same group — a man sitting in a sleigh drawn by two white reindeer and a black one — is represented in the upper and the lower rows. The hind reindeer is evidently drawing the sleigh, although the sleigh and the man are too small in comparison with the reindeer. The second and third rows from the bottom represent two wolves pursuing two reindeer. In the lower row the group is made up of white silhouettes of animals, while in the upper row they are dark. The white animals are sewed to squares of dark skin, which are set into the rug. The same is done with the white sledge in the left-hand lower corner. The reindeer can be distinguished from the wolves by the absence of the tail and by the hoofs, which are clearly seen in spite of the smallness of the figures. The reindeer have no antlers. These are evidently either reindeer in spring, or fawns. The latter seems to be the more likely, since the reindeer are shown of the same size as the wolves. Although the polar wolves are very large, yet they are smaller than full-grown reindeer. The wolves are recognized by their straight, thick tails. Dogs, when pursuing wild animals, turn their tails upward. Owing to a lack of knowledge of perspective on the part of the women artists, all the running animals are placed in one line, which deprives the wolves in the hunting-scenes of realism and vividness. Somewhat more vivid is the scene in which two skin boats are towing a captured whale, but that is because as a matter of fact these objects usually form one line. The wound of the whale is indicated by a small tuft of red yarn, which appears in the illustration as a black speck near the tail end. The whale on the right is evidently placed there to fill up the black background, and the same may be said of the skin boat in the left-hand corner above the whale.

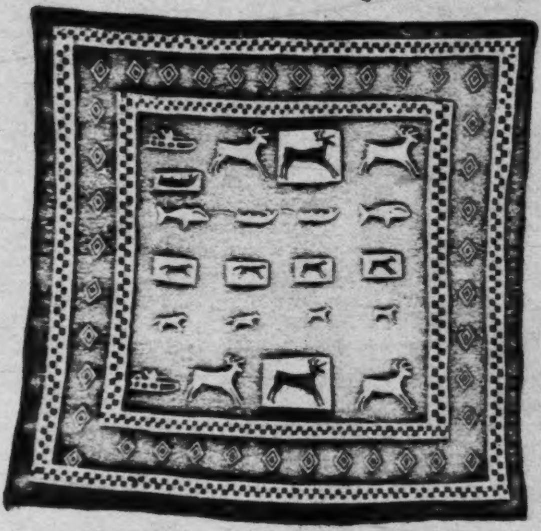

Fig. 236 ([illegible]). Fur Rug. Width, 115 cm.

Another rug ($\frac{70}{8144}$) has a central field similar to that of the one just described. The figures on the two rugs look so much alike that they seem to be cut from the same pattern. There are in the middle the same two reindeer pursued by a single wolf, the lower row black on a white background, the upper white on a dark background; but the background in this case is set off from the whole rug by a narrow white strip surrounding the rectangle in which the white animal figures are inserted. These two rows occupy the centre of the middle field. Under it there are two dark reindeer on a white background, of the same type as those in the right-hand upper corner of Fig. 236; between them, the sledge-driver shown in the left-hand upper corner of Fig. 236 in dark on a white background. The boat under this driver is repeated in white near the lower border of the central field, pursuing the whale in white, which is shown at the right-hand end of the second row in Fig. 236. This same design is repeated in dark on a white background in the top row. The second row from the top contains designs not found in Fig. 236. On the right and left there are two flowers, — the one on the left dark on white, the one on the right the reverse. Between them is a dark lion on a white rectangle. This central field is surrounded by an inner rectangle consisting of a single row of black and white squares between two white lines. To the dark border-field in Fig. 236, with its rhombi, corresponds a similar border-field in which there are a series of white vines. In the middle on top the figure of the lion is repeated in white on a dark background. This is surrounded by a white strip of the same width as the dark stripe, in which the same designs are repeated in dark, except that the lower corners contain twice a design shown in Fig. 203, *c*, while the two upper corners are occupied by a conventionalized leaf like the one shown in Fig. 213, under which is repeated the same design which is found in the lower corners. This specimen is interesting in comparison with the other specimens here described, because it shows that the same stereotyped patterns are used in a variety of combinations.

An animal-ornament similar to that shown in Fig. 237 is pictured in one of the central fields of another rug. The whole rug consists of large checkers of dark and white fur. Its width equals that of forty-three of the small squares (220 cm.), and its length is the same. A border of nine rows of small squares surrounds the middle field on all sides. In this field four squares of dark skin, each equal to eleven checker units in length, are inserted, thus leaving a row of three checker units up and down and from right to left, separating the four squares. On the upper left-hand square a tent is represented, and on each side four sledges, one of which is held by one man, while another man sits on it. The lower left-hand square is decorated with repetitions of two stars, three seals, and four birds. The right-hand lower square has a plant-design similar to those on the outer border of

Figs. 239 and 240. On the upper right-hand square (Fig. 237) are a number of animal designs. The animals and the man represent a reindeer-herd followed by their herdsman; but, in the absence of perspective, this impression is not produced, the animals being represented one above another in a vertical plane. An interesting feature in this design is the smallness of the figure of the herdsman, who is more distant than the reindeer, which suggests some conception of perspective; and also the tracks of the reindeer-hoof, which are represented by white pieces of fur sewed in.

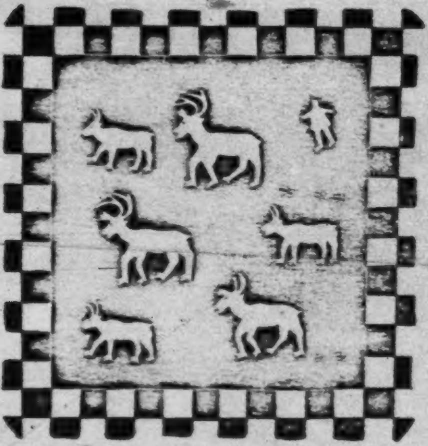

Fig. 237 ([illegible]). Part of Fur Rug.

Fig. 238 represents an entire fur rug with a mixed ornament. Besides men, the animals represented here are dogs, seals, flying geese, some flying bird in the form of a cross (in the corners of the middle square), and a lobster-like animal in the inner square. On the white back of the latter is shown a conventionalized figure, in black fur, of what may be an animal or a plant, the same that I have seen on Russian printed calico. The figure is also found separately, of white fur on a black background, in the space between the two inner squares. None of the figures of the rug have any relation to one another, and even the same order in their arrangement is not always observed. Deserving special attention among the figures are two white ice-floes in the form of rhombi, on which black seals are resting. Near the lower right-hand corner is a man in a skin boat, with small oars tied to the sides, such as are used in Penshina Bay.[1]

The checkered border setting off the middle square is made of alternate diagonal rows of dark fur, white fur, and reindeer-skin dyed reddish brown. On the right-hand side these diagonals run regularly in the order brown skin, white, dark, white fur, from the right-hand side below to the left-hand side above. On the left-hand border they also run quite regularly, so that the dyed skin runs diagonally from the left side below to the right side above. On the left-hand border the diagonals of dyed skin run zigzag, but so that every third diagonal is interrupted by a square of dark fur. In this way a pattern results which consists of half-diagonal squares alternately turning to the left and to the right. On the upper and lower border the arrangement of diagonals and these half-diagonal squares are irregularly arranged. Most of the circles and rhombi are made of white and dark fur. The four groups of corner circles have, in place of the dark fur, dyed skin. The outer dark rings of the eight circles in the upper row are made of the same material. In the border containing the plant-ornament, the second circle from below, right and left, is made in the same way, as are also the four circles in the innermost square.

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[1] See p. 539.

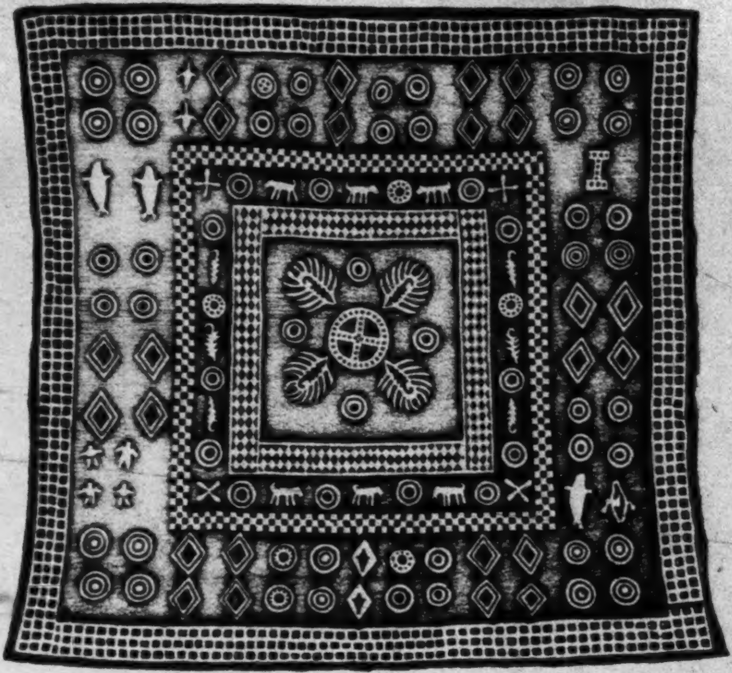

Fig. 238 ([illegible]). Fur Rug. Width, 190 cm.

Of a similar mixed character is the ornament of the rug shown in Fig. 239. Especially interesting in this ornament are the conventionalized plants, which are not represented as silhouettes, but have their interior parts also worked out.

The bulk of this rug is made of white and dark reindeer-skin; but the insets of fine checker-work on the right and left are made of dark and light fur, and also of stripes of brown skin, which give the patterns that appear distinctly in the illustration. The arrangement is such that in every case the bare skin takes the place of white pieces, excepting in a few spots along the upper and lower borders of the designs. In the second strip from the top on the right-hand side of the rug, about halfway between the three dark strips on the right side and the inner square, there are two vertical lines of brown rhombi inserted in place of the dark fur patches. These do not appear in the illustration, because the difference between the dark fur and the brownish skin is too slight. Stripes of light reddish-brown skin are also used in the four patches on the lateral borders surrounding the animal figures. These appear in the cut of somewhat lighter color than the adjoining stripes of dark fur.

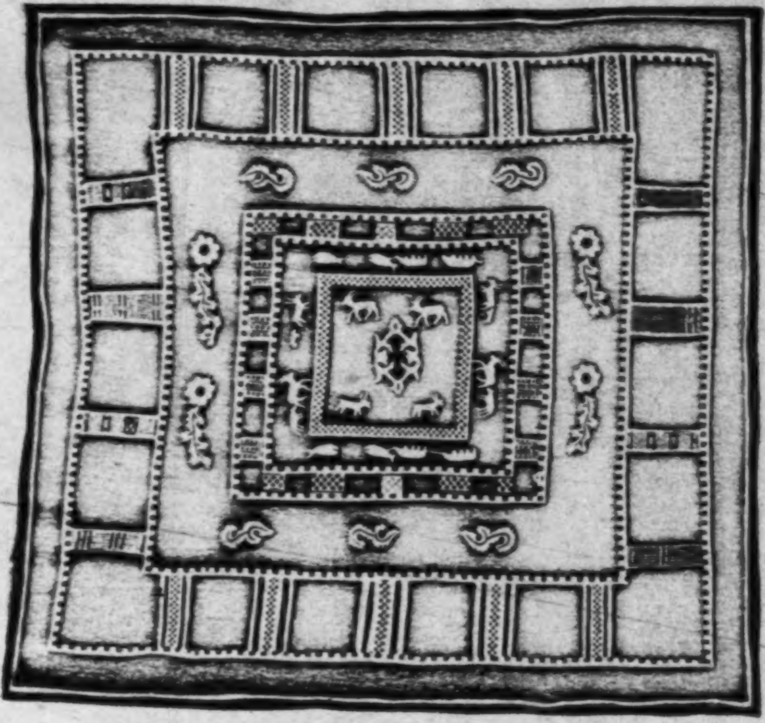

Fig. 239. Fur Rug.

Still better, and indicative of greater skill, is the work represented by the plant-ornament on the rug shown in Fig. 240, especially the wreath in the centre. Looking at this delicate and elaborate design, one would hardly imagine that it was made of a fur mosaic sewed together with sinew-thread: it looks more like a drawing sketched with a flexible brush. Inside of the wreath we find the figure of a Tungus astride a reindeer. The execution of the figures of the animal and the rider is wonderfully true to life. I suppose that the human figure does not represent an adult Tungus, or it would be considerably larger. It should be noted that the ornamentation of his cap and of his cut-away coat, as well as that on his apron, boots, and trousers, and also the tongue of the reindeer, are done in colored yarn. It is the only rug that I have ever seen embroidered with yarn. A few leaves of the flowers which appear in outline in the illustration are set in, being made of pieces of skin of the same color as the background of the rug.

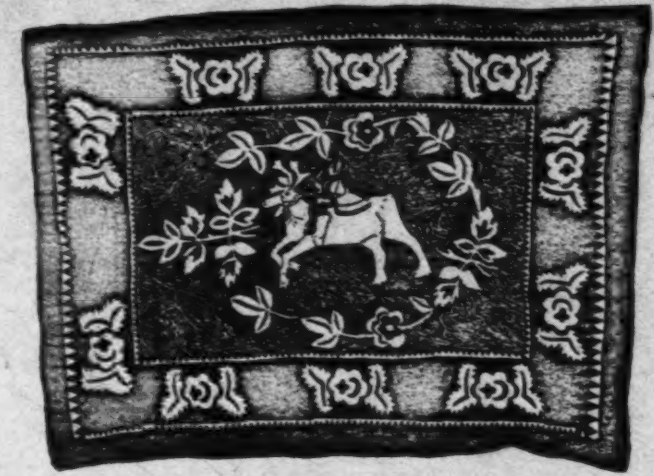

Fig. 240 ([illegible]). Fur Rug. Width, 127 cm.

Almost all the rugs have their patterns arranged in such a way that one definite side must be considered as the lower side, around which the arrangement of patterns is fairly symmetrical. This feature may be observed in the arrangement of the patterns in Fig. 234, 236–238, 240. It may also be noticed in specimen $\frac{70}{3127}$. Here the middle is occupied by a double circle, somewhat irregular in form, the centre of which is occupied by a cross of leaves similar to design 1 in Fig. 212, and surrounded by a ring of eight leaf-designs similar to the design in Fig. 213. The border of this rug is formed above and below of four rectangular patches with diamond designs (Fig. 241) alternating with five patches of dark skin of the same form and size. On the sides the same designs occur as the top and bottom design, repeating in this way the feature which is of common occurrence, that in checker designs in which the rectangular or square patterns run on a smooth background in diagonal rows, the same patterns occur at the extreme fields of the horizontal and vertical rows. The vertical rows of this rug contain five rectangles with patterns alternating with six smooth dark rectangles. According to what was said before, the uppermost and lowest of these rectangles are the same as those of the horizontal rows. The two following patterns contain the same rhombi, somewhat coarser, and instead of the edge consisting of triangles and rhombi, an upper edge consisting of alternate dark and white squares and a lower edge consisting of the same design over a straight white line. The central pattern on each side is asymmetrical, and consists of the pattern just described, over which the upper half of the same pattern is placed, containing the upper half of the coarse central rhombi and the upper line of squares. Thus it will be seen that the whole design is symmetrically arranged right and left, with the exception of some irregularities in the central circle. The symmetry of the border is broken, on the one hand by the asymmetry of the central design, on the other hand by the fact that all the patterns have clearly a heavier lower side and a lighter upper side, all the patterns in the upper and lower half being placed in the same direction.

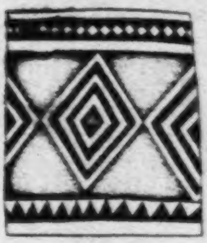

Fig. 241 ([illegible]). Design from a Border of a Fur Rug.

A square rug ($\frac{70}{3453}$), — consisting of a central field with a star-like flower design made up of four trees with roots occupying the diagonals, the roots towards the centre, and four spiral branches (two white on black, one black on white, and one leaf design similar to the one shown in Fig. 213, occupying the middle of the sides of the square — has three borders consisting of alternate dark squares and design squares. In the innermost row the pattern consists of squares containing a checker of nine smaller squares. Each side is divided into thirteen fields. The middle row consists of a similar alternation of squares, each pattern square consisting of a checker-work of twenty-five small squares. The interesting feature in this row is that the sequence of these fields is not quite regular. There are sixteen or seventeen fields to each side. The sixth field from the left on the upper side, which normally should contain checker-work, has the figure of a long-tailed quadruped sewed in. The following square to the right is the regular checker square, which is followed by one of the regular dark squares with a white mammal sewed in. The third square from the right in the upper row is made up of rhombi instead of squares. The second square from the right in the lower row contains figures of two swimming cormorants, resembling very much, in shape, Fig. 177, *a*. The outer row contains again the coarser 531 checker-work of the same size as the inner row. Here a number of animal figures are inserted on dark fields. On the left-hand side on the lower border of the rug we find one man holding a drum, and another man apparently holding a club. On the left-hand side on the upper border we find a large and a small mountain-sheep on one field; while on the right-hand side there are a number of small figures set into one field, apparently representing a flying bird, a man, and two bears. It is worth remarking that these latter have their feet towards the left, the only case in which figures of animals inserted into rugs in this way do not stand upright. It should be mentioned, however, that the man in this figure does stand upright.

Another rug which illustrates the character of the symmetry which underlies the rug designs is illustrated in Fig. 242. Attention may be called to the occurrence of the triangular design in the upper border as compared with the square design in the lower border; to the continuation of the lateral strips downward; and to the finish on both sides by a series of broad rectangles having one additional row of small squares on each side. It will be seen from this that clearly the underlying thought is not that of a series of white crossing diagonals, but the maker had rather in mind the alternation of the larger rectangles, — one consisting of dark skin; the next, of a checker of nine dark and white squares. In this way the rug was made. The corner pieces are all made of a single piece, and some of the dark rectangles along the right and left border are also made of single pieces of skin.

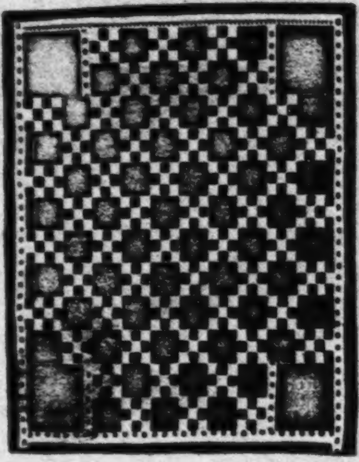

Fig. 242 ([illegible]). Fur Rug.

Drawings. — The Koryak use colors more often in decorative art than 532 in articles of sculpture. Wood-carvings are frequently colored black, more seldom red or brown. Engravings on bone carvings are also filled with black paint, and on wooden masks[1] the beard is also indicated by means of black paint, while red ochre or blood is used to redden the cheeks of masks. I have spoken above[2] of the use of dyes in manufactured articles and in technical work; the decoration of skin dress by means of stamps has also been mentioned in this chapter. The art of drawing in colors realistic or conventionalized objects on leather or some other smooth surface, is unknown to the Koryak; but I have numerous collections of Koryak pencil drawings representing household or hunting scenes, and revealing the same power of observation, and ability to represent what they have seen, both on plain and round surfaces, but with the same faults of composition and the same lack of perspective as occur in engravings of men and in the decorative work of the women. The collections of drawings were made on paper with pencil by different Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay, who drew at my request, and without any instruction or explanation on my part. The rapidity with which the Koryak, including the children, executed the drawings, showed that this was an art to which they were accustomed. In the method of reproduction of men and animals, they closely resemble the Indian pictographs and the engravings on bone of the Alaskan Eskimo. Some of these drawings, of a religious or mythical nature, have been reproduced in the first part of this volume.[1]

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[1] See Part I, pp. 83, 84.

[2] See p. 628.

Fig. 243 represents a reindeer-race. Each of the sledges is drawn by a pair of reindeer, and the participants in the race sit astride the race-sledges. The reindeer are represented from one point of view. Of course, there is neither linear nor space perspective: however, in order to overcome this fault, the left-hand reindeer is represented, not behind (i. e., covered by) the right one, but above it, — a device known not only to the Indians and Australians, but also to the ancient Egyptians. None of the artists drew the reindeer from two points of view, as they did the dogs.

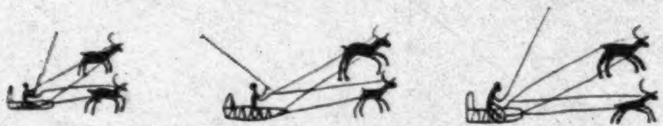

Fig. 243. Koryak Drawing representing a Reindeer-Race.

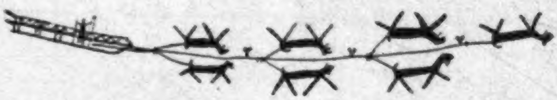

Fig. 244. Koryak Drawing representing a Dog-Sledge.

Fig. 244 represents dog-driving. The interesting point about this drawing is the lack of regularity in composition. The dogs are drawn not only without reference to perspective, but from two points of view. The driver and his sledge (which, by the way, are too small in proportion to the dogs) and three dogs are represented from one point of view; and the other row of dogs, from another. It is interesting to note that this manner of drawing is not an individual characteristic, as I have similar drawings of dog-sleighs made by different artists. It is singular that one boy in Kamenskoye, seventeen years old, — the author of the map Fig. 251, — made a few drawings in which the dogs and reindeer, hitched to teams, are represented one behind the other, as they appear to the observer who stands on the side. In a few cases the fault of primitive drawings of representing solid objects as transparent is also avoided; and the right-hand animal covers the greater part of the left-hand one. In these cases I suspect that the boy was imitating a printed illustration which he had seen.

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[1] See Part I. Fig. 1, p. 28; Fig. 28, p. 69; Figs. 40, 41, p. 93; Fig. 57, p. 116; Fig. 58, p. 123.

Fig. 245 represents a sheet on which the artist has drawn five separate subjects. That in *a* represents a hunter in a kayak stealing up to an ice-floe on which there is a seal; *b* represents hunters in a large skin boat, who are pulling themselves up to an ice-floe by means of a hook; while engaged in this, the hunters have ceased to row. *c* represents a hunter about to attack a bear with a spear. *d* represents a foot-race, and here there seems to be a suggestion of linear perspective, since the figures of the runners become larger from right to left. *e* represents a group of hunters who are thrusting their harpoons at seals which they have come across on the beach at low tide; the seals are hastening to get back into the water. The line represents the edge of the water, and the zigzags indicate the waves on the beach. Here, as in the other drawings, we have, in the absence of perspective, the arrangement of one object above the other. One of the hunters is represented falling to the ground during the quick run.

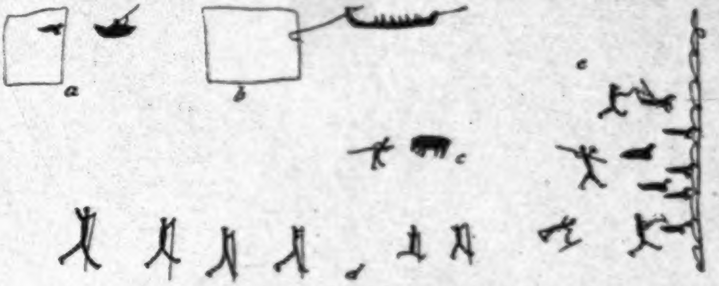

Fig. 245. Koryak Drawings. *a*, A Seal-Hunter; *b*, Hunters in a Skin Boat; *c*, Bear-Hunter; *d*, Foot-Race; *e*, Sealers.

Fig. 246 represents two subjects. In *a*, several hunters in kayaks are pursuing a seal on a shallow beach; the seal cannot dive, but glides along on the water, disturbing its surface. In *b* we have a fisherman with a hand-net, standing in the water.

Fig. 247 represents three phases of the whale-hunt. In the first attack (*a*) the oarsmen are rowing with all their might to get near the spouting whale; the harpooneer, in the bow of the skin boat, being shown in the act of thrusting his harpoon. The second drawing (*b*) shows the whale struck by a harpoon and by a spear; but it is still dragging the boat and the hunters with great force, creating a current in the water. In the final situation (*c*) three skin boats, tied to one another by thong lines, are towing the captured whale.

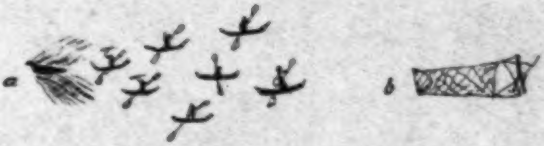

Fig. 246. Koryak Drawing. *a*, Sealers; *b*, Fisherman with Net.

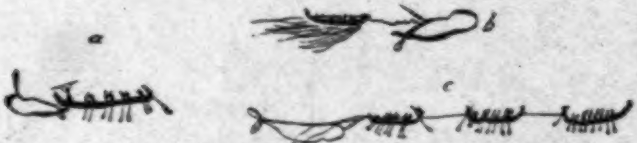

Fig. 247. Koryak Drawing representing Whaling-Scenes.

It is interesting to note that the last boat is going stern forward, evidently in order to give the bow, by which the whale is towed, the proper direction.

I gave to an artist in Kamenskoye three pencils — black, red, and blue — to see how he would use the colors in his drawings. In most cases he used the colors correctly, following the colors of the objects which he represented. In illustrating the interior of the house, for instance, he drew the enamelled teakettle on the fire with the blue pencil, the flame with the red, and the smoke rising from the fire with the black pencil. Another of his drawings represented the carcass of a skinned sacrificial dog that had been left in the tundra, being torn by crows. The carcass was colored red, and with such fine shadings that the rounded muscles of the skinned animal could be seen. The crows were entirely black. In the figures of dogs he made their protruding tongues red, and in those of seals he made the eyes red. However, in some drawings he used the colors in a most fanciful manner.

A few words may be said as to drawings of religious and mythological

I: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

subjects. They do not in any way differ from ordinary drawings, specimens of which are reproduced here. They have the same defects, and are also realistic. Somewhat fanciful is a drawing of the spider-crab, representing the marine deity.[1] The drawings of circles around the heads of the Supreme Deity, his wife and son,[2] and the beams radiating from the heads of the first two, seem to be an imitation of the circles and rays representing the halos around the heads in orthodox icons, which the artist had no doubt seen in Russian houses on more than one occasion on his trips to Gishiginsk. 532

WRITING. — Although I found no pictographic letters on bark among the Koryak, — such as are found among the Yukaghir, and which serve with them as a means of communication between people at a distance, — yet the memoranda and commercial notes used by the Koryak traders are curious specimens of a primitive writing of a somewhat pictographic nature. The Koryak traders in Kamenskoye and in northern Kamchatka purchase from Russian merchants pencils and paper or memorandum-books, in which they score their purchases and sales, denoting the articles by means of realistic or conventionalized reproductions. 212 438

Figs. 248–250 represent three specimens of such records of Qači'lqut, a Koryak trader of Kamenskoye. Fig. 248 represents a record in his memorandum-book of goods received at a fair from the clerk of a Gishiginsk merchant with whom he keeps an open account. Fig. 249 is a copy of a letter containing a list of furs forwarded by Qači'lqut to the merchant. Fig. 250 represents a list of goods which he furnished me for our ethnographical collection.

The system of records used by Qači'lqut consists of a representation of the articles, in real or conventionalized form, on one side of a long line, and of special numeral signs on the other. Qači'lqut, however, does not adhere to one particular side in representing the articles or their number. The bill which he presented to me (Fig. 250) differs somewhat from his ordinary notes. His system of sign-figures puzzled me somewhat at first. To my question as to who invented them, Qači'lqut replied, "I know myself." Later on I found in the archives of the natives on the Kolyma River receipts of Russian officials of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The receipts testified as to the payment of tribute in furs by the native chiefs, and the number of fur skins or rubles received as tax was indicated by Russian letters and also by means of the system used by Qači'lqut, evidently for the benefit of the illiterate natives. It consisted of a simplification of the Roman system of numeration, being reduced to three signs only,[3] — I (one), X (ten), and X enclosed in a circle (one hundred), as in Fig. 249, *4*. Such receipts were found also in the archives by Mr. Bogoras. In one, dated 1823, given

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[1] See Part I, Fig. 1, p. 20.

[2] Ibid., Figs. 40, 41, p. 93.

[3] It is of interest to remember that the ancient Egyptian numeration consisted of only four signs; namely, for 1, 10, 100, and 1000. In composing large numbers, they were used in the same manner as Qači'lqut uses his three signs, — by means of repetition (see Tylor, Anthropology, London, 1904, p. 313).

15. Three woollen shawls (see N°. 10).

16. Four strings of beads. The string of beads is represented by a thread strung with beads, with the ends tied together; but the beads in the drawing have a rather strange form.

17. Two brass chains for women's hair-dressing. It is interesting that the links are represented by rings which do not pass through one another, but are joined by a line.

18. Nine little bells. The bell is represented by a ring with a little tag above, which stands for the handle of the bell.

19. Three iron dog-chains. The chain is represented as in No. 17, only of a larger size.

20. One belt.

21. Three large belts. The belt is represented by a horizontal line like the piece of calico (No. 9) or of cloth (No. 13).

22. Twenty bricks of tea. The brick of tea is indicated by a black rectangle.

23. Six cups and saucers. Of two concentric circles, the one inside represents the cup, and the outside the saucer.

24. Sixteen buttons. Strangely, the buttons are represented, not by round dots, but by dashes. I suppose that the eye of the writer of the bill did not distinguish clearly their difference.

25. One axe. The axe is represented rather conventionally by a sign resembling the letter P.

26. Three combs. The comb is indicated by a rhomboidal figure, with dashes under the base representing the teeth.

27. Eleven pounds of sugar. A little figure, which is neither a square nor a ring, represents a sawed piece of sugar.

28. One frying-pan. The frying-pan is indicated by a ring and a dash, the latter representing the handle.

Copy of a Letter (Fig. 249).

1. Five sables. Why a sable is represented only by its hind-legs is not clear.

2. Twenty spring fawn-skins. The drawing represents a skin taken from a new-born fawn. The side-lines represent the head and the feet.

3. Five fox-skins. The middle line represents the skin, and the side-lines the four legs.

4. A hundred and fifty reindeer-fawn skins. The whole reindeer-skin is represented by a rectangular figure, and the skin from the legs by four dashes. The difference in the representation of the reindeer-skin and the fox-skin is due to the fact that the fox-skin is taken off entire, and is round; while the skin of the reindeer, before being taken off, is first cut, beginning at the lower lip, the entire length of the animal. The reindeer-skin is therefore shown opened.

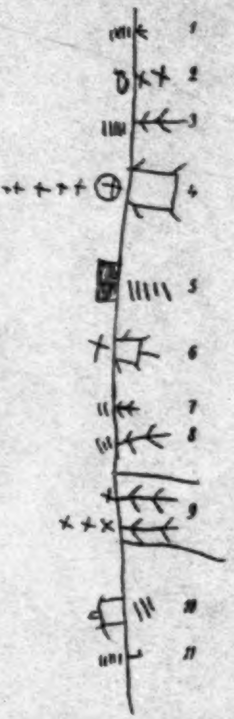

Fig. 249. Koryak Account.

5. Five bear-skins. The bear-skin is taken off in the same manner as the skin of a reindeer, and it is therefore shown opened out. The paws are not indicated, being imma-

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terial; but a more characteristic feature of that animal is indicated on the skin, namely, thick black hair.

6. Ten wolf-skins. The wolf-skin is taken off in the same manner as the reindeer-skin, and its representation differs from that of the reindeer only by the addition of a long tail.
7. Two wolverene-skins. The skin of the wolverene is taken off like that of the fox. Accidentally it is represented as smaller in size than the fox. Wolverenes in general are larger than foxes; but the characteristic feature of that animal — a large body and short legs — is brought out.
8. Three skins of polar foxes. The skin of the polar fox is represented in the same way as that of the other fox (No. 3).
9. Ten skins of polar foxes for thirty rubles. This memorandum, with a double meaning, — since it indicates both the number of skins and their cost, — is put by Qači'lqut in parentheses (two lines). Of the number-signs, the former (ten) indicates the number of skins, and the latter (thirty) their value. The repetition of the fox-skin signifies that both numbers relate to the same article.
10. Three coats of reindeer-skin. The illustration of the coat differs from that of the reindeer-skin (No. 4) by having only two side-lines for sleeves, and also by indicating the hood of the coat in the upper part.
11. Five pairs of fur boots. Only one boot is shown.

List of Goods (Fig. 250).

1. A boy's summer and winter suit and travelling-overcoat (separately). The suits are drawn, like the coats, with the addition of boots (under the line). In Fig. 250 Qači'lqut did not use the numeral sign in cases of single articles.
2. A man's winter and summer suit and overcoat. Drawn as in No. 1.
3. A girl's summer and winter combination-garment and two overcoats. In the drawing of the suit, the woman's wide trousers are indicated.
4. A woman's summer and winter suit and two overcoats. Made as in No. 3, only of a larger size. The lines between the first four numbers have no significance, and merely serve to separate one from the other.
5. One combination-dress of a child. The peculiarity about this dress is that it has a flap sewed on behind in the shape of a tail, which is placed between the legs.
6. Two collars for reindeer-harness.
7. Two reindeer bridles and reins. The drawing of the bridle differs from that of the collar in having inside the ring an indication of the hitching-strap; and on the side, of the bone piece.

8, 9. One reindeer-lasso, and a coil of seal-skin thong.

10—12. A pair of boots, two reindeer-skins, one whip.

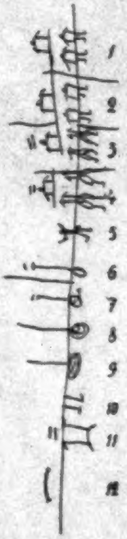

Fig. 250 Koryak Account.

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After an examination of Qači'lqut's writing, the interesting conclusion may be drawn that the conventional representation of animals and other objects of nature is not always a perversion of the original realistic representation. Conventionalism in this case constitutes the primary phase. The primary conventionalization of natural objects may be the result of inability

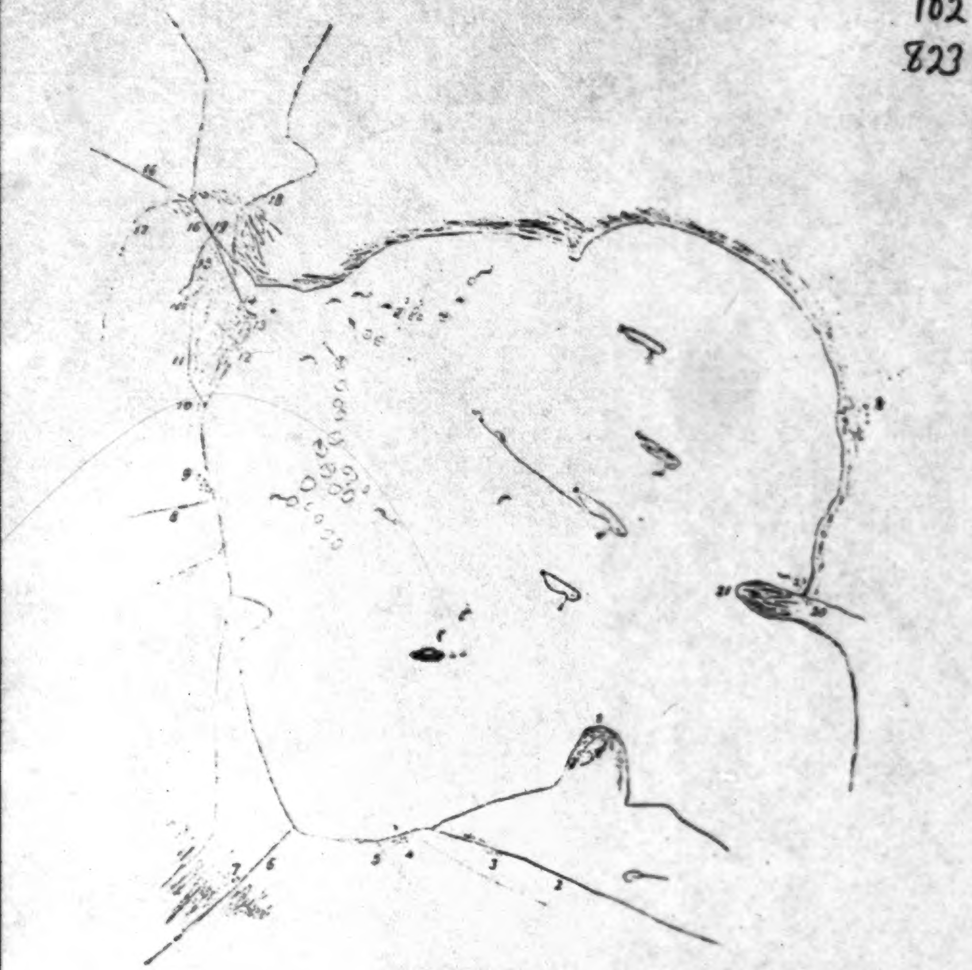

Fig. 251. Koryak Map.

1. Itkana Cape.
2. Paren River.
3. Paren (Poitın) Village.
4. Kuel Village.
5. Kuel River.
6. Tılqai River.
7. Tılqai winter settlement.
8. Mikino River.
9. Mikino Village.
10. Shestokova Village.
11. Shestokova or Ega'č River.
12. Yagach Village.
13. Yarnochek Village.
14. Levatı Village.
15. Kamenskoye Village.
16. Penzhina River.
17. Oklan River.
18. Talovka River.
19. Talovka Village.
20. Ma'meč Village.
21. Ma'meč Cape.

212 to give a realistic representation of objects, or, when the presentation is for
517 practical ends only, a lack of care in execution. In the present case, for instance, it was important only that the illustration should serve to recall the objects. With the exception of the illustrations of dress (Fig. 250), in which any one would recognize human figures, we could not tell the meaning of the other primitive illustrations in these writings without explanation. Even other Koryak to whom I showed the letter seldom recognized all of them. Not all Koryak traders who keep written memoranda are familiar with the number-signs used by Qači'lqut. One of them, for instance, used only one sign, the line. He used only units, in the same manner as the Koryak and Chukchee make use of counters in verifying accounts.[1]

211 I did not see among the Koryak notched sticks like those used by the Yakut, the Tungus, and the Yukaghir, in recording accounts. However, the trader mentioned employed some devices to avoid the necessity of writing an interminable row of lines in enumerating large numbers; for instance, to indicate a pud (40 Russian pounds, or 36 pounds Avoirdupois), he drew a balance with loaded scale in equilibrium. This signified full weight.

212 Nelson[2] speaks of the trading-records of the Alaskan Eskimo, which,
171 judging by his account, are quite similar to those of the Koryak. Unfortunately he does not give any illustrations which would make it possible to compare the records of the Eskimo and the Koryak.

823 *Geographical Maps.* — Among the Koryak pencil-drawings, there are also geographical maps of the sea and the coast of Penshina Bay. The Koryak display in their charts quite a true perception of the relative disposition of the seacoast, rivers, mountains, and settlements. On the whole, their charts resemble very much the illustrations of Eskimo charts published by other travellers. The settlements are indicated on Koryak charts by rings, dots, or small dashes, which represent houses; small rivers are represented by one line, large ones by two parallel lines: mountains are represented by parallel shadings of different degrees. One chart made by a lad of seventeen in Kamenskoye, and representing the northern part of Penshina Bay, is especially well made (see Fig. 251). Itkana and Ma'meč Capes protrude into the bay, making it appear very narrow. As a matter of fact, this part of the bay is very narrow (see Part I, map). In calm weather the passage from the Itkana settlements to the Ma'meč can be made in a skin boat in from eight to ten hours. The mouth of the Penshina and Talovka Rivers, which empty into one inlet, the Kamenskoye and the Talovka settlements, the mountain-ridge between Talovka and Penshina, and a few other features, are also well drawn. The three Itkana villages are not indicated. In the bay are shown some hunting-scenes of floating ice-fields with seals on them, of spouting whales in pursuit of sea-mammals, and hunters in kayaks and skin boats.

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[1] See p. 427.

[2] See Nelson, p. 198.

XII. — FAMILY LIFE.

Relations of the Sexes. — The relations of the sexes among the Koryak present a striking contrast to those prevailing among the surrounding tribes. Among the Kamchadal, Chukchee, Yukaghir, and Tungus, unchastity has been more or less common as well in the case of girls before marriage as of women after marriage, the lack of wifely fidelity being based (at least, among the Chukchee) on a certain form of polyandry intermixed with polygamy. Among the Koryak, on the other hand, we see a striking example of moral purity (in the sense in which modern civilized nations understand it) in regard to sexual relations, if for the moment we leave out of consideration the Koryak custom of polygamy. I speak of sexual purity because the Koryak adhere to standards wich among civilized nations are too often violated. Of particular interest also, in the question of sexual relations, is the total absence of the Russian influence upon the Koryak. I speak of the Koryak who have been not at all or but little Russianized. In general, the Russian conquerors have exercised a disintegrating influence on the family life of the Arctic Siberian tribes. The first Cossacks and Russian traders had no Russian women, or few only, in their expeditions. The native women given by the conquered tribes of their own free will, or oftener taken by force, were passed from hand to hand as slaves or hostages. These circumstances did not help to develop family virtues in the mixed bloods born of these casual unions, from which has mainly sprung the present population of the Russian hamlets in northeastern Siberia. The Russian conquerors have of course treated the primitive norms of sexual and marital relations of the northeastern tribes of Siberia not as definite institutions, involving domestic obligations and rights, but as convenient light morals. Thus the Russians made extensive use of the Yukaghir custom of allotting to guests a place on the bed of unmarried women, and of the Chukchee right of certain men to the wives of others.[1] Add to this the violence which was resorted to in many cases, and the process can easily be imagined whereby the primitive forms of marital and sexual relations were destroyed and replaced by mere dissoluteness. Sociologists who think that all mankind, without exception, have passed through the so-called period of promiscuity as a necessary stage in the evolution of marital relations, might find this stage in the free morals prevalent in the hamlets of the Russians or Russianized natives of northeastern

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[1] See pp. 755, 756.

831 Siberia. It is difficult to find a girl that has reached or even approached
171 the age of sexual maturity that is innocent; and the attitude of married women to conjugal fidelity is fully characterized by the proverb, "Woman is not a loaf, can't be eaten by one (man)" (Баба не калачъ, однимъ не съѣшь). On the Kolyma, where often several families live together in one house, it is difficult to say who is whose wife. Likewise, cases of incestuous cohabitation of the nearest blood-relations are nowhere more frequent than here.

In bringing about the degeneration and final extinction of many Russianized Siberian tribes, sexual dissoluteness, combined with the spread of syphilis, have played by no means the least important rôle.

831 I have here expatiated upon the unchastity of the Russian settlers and Russianized natives of the extreme northeast of Siberia, in order to show
177 that the special position which the Koryak occupy among the neighboring tribes regarding the interrelation of the sexes cannot be due to the influence of the morals of the few representatives of a civilized people who have settled among them. On the contrary, the Koryak have waged an active struggle against the Russian influence which threatened to destroy their family life.[1]

To what, then, is due the fact that the sexual relations of the Koryak stand, according to our notions, above those of the tribes which are related to them by descent, — tribes that live under the same economic conditions, and under the influence of the same external circumstances? The explanation lies probably in the peculiar mental attitude of the Koryak.

POSITION OF GIRLS PRIOR TO MARRIAGE. — Girls, before marriage, must
836 have no intercourse with men. This rule is pretty strictly observed by Koryak
626 girls. Young men will not "serve"[2] for a dissolute girl. He who would undertake to serve for such a girl would expose himself to ridicule on the part of the other youths. On the other hand, the girl's father and elder brothers "are angry," the Koryak say, if they notice that their daughter or sister is intimate with young men. All investigators familiar with the life of primitive tribes know that the anger of the elders has more influence upon the conduct of the younger members of a family than preaching in the higher classes or blows in the lower classes of civilized nations, for the wrath of the elders may do harm to those against whom it is directed.

In two myths[3] we have characteristic episodes telling how a girl's brothers forced a young man to marry her when she complained that the young man had touched her or had addressed to her a request to give him
836 water to drink.

Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, it is considered shame-
847 ful, and her parents scold her. She goes off into the wilderness to be deliv-

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[1] See Chapter XIV.

[2] See p. 739.

[3] See Part 1, pp. 270, 275.

ered of her child. She kills and buries it in the ground or in the snow. 836 If the girl points out the father of her child, her father or brothers endeavor [847] to pommel him. In olden times cohabitation out of wedlock with a girl sometimes led to wars between the families to which the young people belonged. After reaching maturity, the girl sleeps in her combination-suit, the make[1] of which prevents unexpected violence. When strangers sleep in the house over night, girls do not undress at all, and sleep together in one bed. As we shall see later on, the bride also resists the bridegroom at the beginning of their married life, symbolizing her innocence and inaccessibility.

The girl is as inaccessible to the bridegroom while he serves for her as to a stranger. Intercourse of a bride with her bridegroom before the termination of his service is deemed a sin. Oftentimes, during the period of a young man's service, the girl goes away from her parental home to live with her relatives. In one myth it is told[2] that the sister of Cloud-Man was let down to earth pending her bridegroom's service.

Different rules for a girl's conduct are found among the tribes nearest 836 to the Koryak. Maidenly chastity is valued very little among the Chukchee, 171 says Bogoras.[3] Krasheninnikoff says of the ancient Kamchadal, "Though fond of women, this tribe is not so jealous as the Koryak. In marriages the [585] signs of virginity are not considered, and some claim that the young men find fault with their mothers-in-law when they discover their wives to be virgin, but this I cannot assert to be authentic."[4] In my work on the Yukaghir I shall speak more fully of their custom of placing guests on the beds of the girls.

Dittmar states that a Koryak girl who had intercourse with a man was [114] severely punished, and that her own father shot her;[5] but Krasheninnikoff asserts, in a passage which I shall touch upon again farther on, that the Maritime Koryak offered their wives and daughters to their guests.[6] In another passage[7] he says that among the Reindeer Koryak the bridegroom sleeps with his bride during the period of service. I think that these data were recorded by Krasheninnikoff on the authority of the Cossacks, who might have confused the Chukchee customs with those of the Koryak, or simply invented this statement. This seems the more probable, since not even the Chukchee offer their daughters to their guests.

In the myths of the Koryak we do not find a single allusion to such an 837 order of things. On the contrary, we find episodes of an opposite character. The girls are generally kept in a secret place,[8] or they are hidden during

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[1] See p. 589.

[2] See Part I, p. 131.

[3] See Bogoras, Brief Report on the Investigations among the Chukchee of the Kolyma District, p. 36.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169.

[5] See Dittmar, Die Koräken, p. 32.

[6] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.

[7] Ibid., II, p. 22.

[8] See Part I, pp. 125, 176, 291, 302.

831 the sojourn of the bridegroom when fulfilling the period of service.[1] In one myth,[2] Yiñea-ñeut, daughter of Big-Raven, bears a child by Earth-Maker in a miraculous manner, not having seen him personally. Afterwards Earth-Maker comes to Big-Raven, owns up to being the child's father, and rides off to his own parents with Yiñea-ñeut as his wife, taken with her father's consent. But Earth-Maker's parents, on meeting them, express surprise that Yiñea-ñeut already has a child. Yiñea-ñeut turns into a stone for shame. This episode illustrates to a certain degree the attitude of the Koryak towards extra-marital relations of the sexes.

The character of these relations is confirmed not only by the tales and assertions of the Koryak themselves and from my impressions obtained in Koryak homes, but also by the testimony of such experts in love affairs as the Gishiga Cossacks. I often inquired of Cossacks with whom I chanced to drive, or whom I met on my journeys, about their relations with Koryak women; and they confirmed the Koryak statements as to their inaccessibility. According to them, there are exceptions, but these are rare. Thus, in the village Kamenskoye, consisting of thirty houses, the Cossacks pointed out to me but one girl of loose conduct, but none of the Koryak men would serve for her.

848 In conclusion, I shall give one more proof of what I have said. I made registers of the families of the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak, in order to form a clearer idea of the number of family members and their marital relations. In making the census, I did not find a single child whose father was not known as the mother's lawful husband, according to Koryak customs. But among the Yukaghir, Tungus, northern Yakut, and Russian settlers of northern Siberia, it is hard to find a single family in which there are no children born out of wedlock or of entirely unknown parentage. Such children are called by the Russians "maiden children," — a term adopted from the Yukaghir ma′rxid-u′o; i. e., a child (born) by a maiden, and belonging to the clan or family of the latter, even if she should eventually marry into another family.

582 Prohibitions applying to Marriages between Relatives. — Relatives between whom intermarriages are prohibited are quite numerous, and may be divided into relatives by blood and relatives by affinity.

Blood Relatives. — A man is forbidden to marry (1) his mother, (2) daughter, (3) own sister, (4) cousin, (5) father's sister, (6) mother's sister, (7) brother's daughter, and (8) own sister's daughter. Between all other blood-relations, marriages are permitted. In answer to my questions covering second-cousins, some Koryak replied that they did not consider them relatives. From this the conclusion may be drawn that beyond that degree, no blood-relationship is recognized; but, on the other hand, in direct ascending and descending line, even very distant degrees, such as great-grandfathers, great-grandmothers, and great-grandchildren, are recognized as relatives.

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[1] See Part I, pp. 131, 163, 198.

[2] See Part I, p. 300.

Relatives by Affinity. — A man cannot marry the following relatives 592
by affinity; (1) stepmother; (2) sister of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two 587
sisters); (3) cousin of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two cousins); (4) younger brother's widow; (5) deceased wife's elder sister; (6) nephew's widow; (7) sister of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two sisters); (8) cousin of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two cousins); (9) simultaneously an aunt and her niece; (10) two brothers cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (11) two male cousins cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (12) an uncle and nephew cannot marry two sisters, two cousins, or two women of whom one is an aunt and the other her niece; (13) a step-daughter.

The aversion to cohabitation between relatives in the first two degrees 835
of blood-relationship — such as the cohabitation with a mother, daughter, or sister, which, with very rare exceptions, we find among the most primitive tribes — hardly requires explanation. As regards the prohibition of marriages among the other above-mentioned relatives, the Koryak replied to my questions on this point, that relatives of the categories mentioned would die soon if they should enter into cohabitation with one another. Unfortunately this answer gives no clew to the above-mentioned taboos. However, certain marital taboos between relatives by affinity are, as we shall see later, closely connected with the peculiarities of the Koryak levirate.

Krasheninnikoff states that among the Kamchadal "the forbidden kinds 582
of marriage are with one's own mother and daughter only; while marriages 171
between step-son and step-mother, step-father and step-daughter, and between cousins, are permissible."[1]

Steller says[2] that if a Kamchadal married a widow who had a daughter, he lived with both as his wives. According to him, the Kamchadal allowed a man to marry his step-mother, or to have two sisters for wives simultaneously. It seems to me hardly credible that the Kamchadal should differ so sharply in their marriage-taboos from the modern Koryak. It is regrettable that what has been said by Steller and Krasheninnikoff cannot now be verified, since the modern Kamchadal, having become Christians and been completely Russianized, observe the rules of the Orthodox Catholic Church in the matter of marriages, as far as their formal side is concerned. However, Krasheninnikoff asserts even, with reference to the Reindeer Koryak, that they used [114]
to marry cousins, aunts, and step-mothers.[3] It is hard to admit that in the brief period (about a hundred and fifty years) which has elapsed since Krasheninnikoff's time, the marriage-laws of the Koryak should have changed to such an extent.

It must nevertheless be added, that, if we are to judge from the myths, 592

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[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169.

[2] See Steller, p. 347.

[3] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

582 certain of the marriage-prohibitions among relatives by blood or affinity were unknown in ancient times. Accepting the evolutionary theory in the development of marriage[1] and family relations, we may view the data contained in myths as reflections of the customs which were prevalent in earlier times; i. e., as historical material.

Among the legendary tales of incestuous marriages, we find no episodes of cohabitation with a mother or daughter; i. e., with the first degree of blood-relationship. In one myth[2] it is related how Ill̦a′, wishing to find the sleeping-tent of his former wife, in order to prevent her cohabitation with another husband, first came across his sister's bed, then across that of his mother; and they cried out, "See what he is doing, he comes to his sister and to his mother!"

In the myths we find the episode of the marriage of Eme′mqut and his own sister,[3] but the narrative censures such cohabitation. From the course of the narrative it is clear that the incest had not been premeditated. The sister had grown up separately, and Eme′mqut finds her by chance. But, even after having learned that she is his sister, he insists on continuing the union; while his sister Yiñea-ñeut is ashamed of it, and finds a way out of the unnatural marriage by persuading another woman to exchange husbands with her.

On the other hand, marriages among male and female cousins occur quite frequently in the tales.[4] These marriages meet with no reproaches from anybody. In only one story[5] does Creator explain his decision to make his children marry the children of his sister by the absence of other people near by. This is, as it were, an excuse for his violation of taboos.

Of other cases of cohabitation between relatives which are now adays forbidden, we find further, in the myths, the marriage of two brothers with two cousins. Thus the two brothers Kalat marry, one a sister of Eme′mqut, the other Kılu′'s sister; and two brothers from the Bear-People marry, one Yiñea-ñeut; and the other, her cousin Kılu′.[6]

It may therefore be supposed that certain marriage-prohibitions are of later origin than the myths, and that formerly these prohibitions were limited to a smaller group of relations by blood and affinity than they are now. Similar contradictions might result if these traditions had been borrowed and were told without those changes which correspond to the local customs.

582 587 Even now, in distant localities, the same prohibitions are not observed throughout. In some localities, cases are met with in which individual persons act contrary to public opinion and custom. Thus, in the village Kamenskoye

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[1] In speaking of the evolution of marriage, I do not mean to say that all tribes have passed through the same successive stages in this development.

[2] See Part I, p. 202.

[3] Ibid., pp. 156, 160, 225.

[4] Ibid., I, pp. 150, 294, 297.

[5] Ibid., I, p. 139.

[6] Ibid., I, p. 150.

I was told that the marriage of a nephew with his uncle's wife, or that of a widower with the elder sister of his deceased wife, is countenanced. It is possible that these deviations should be ascribed to the decline in the force of traditions, under the influence of the Russians, or, better still, of the Russianized Koryak of northern Kamchatka. 582 587

In the village Itkana a Koryak (E'igexmıt by name) who was married to two cousins was pointed out to me; while among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, I knew an elderly Koryak (Xotı'tto by name) who had married the widow of his deceased younger cousin. The old people told Xotı'tto that he should not do it, that it was a sin; but he would not listen to them. These cases, too, may perhaps be ascribed to the weakening of the taboo.

Courting and serving for a Bride. — The custom of having the parents or other elder relatives of a young man go to the bride's parents as match-makers for him, was evidently practised in antiquity too. In the myths we meet with this custom.[1] The match-maker is called pañnʟŏ'četala'n (i. e., "the asking one"), since the essence of match-making consists in the bridegroom's father, mother, or other elder kinsman, asking permission for the bridegroom to serve for the girl. The customary formula of match-making is as follows: On entering the house, the match-maker says, "Here I've come." — "What for?" the girl's father asks. "I am looking for a wife," the match-maker replies. "For whom?" the match-maker is asked. "For so and so," he answers. "Well," says the father, after meditating a while, "we have girls, but they are bad; later on you may yet scold us." — "No, it is all right," the match-maker will say. "Then let him come, I will not harm him," the host will return. 584

It is curious to note the modesty with which the father speaks of the bride, not only without attempting to praise her, but even speaking disparagingly of her qualities. In this is partly expressed the desire of the bride's father to disclaim all responsibility for misunderstandings that may arise in the future between the young couple.

Very often the young people get along without match-makers. This is the case particularly when parents disapprove of a son's choice, and if he does not want to submit to their disapproval. Frequently a young man does not tell anybody of his intentions. He goes to the house in which the girl lives whom he desires to marry, and, without saying a word, remains there, performing all house-work becoming to a man. The house-owner receives the suitor's services with the same silence as he renders them. If the bridegroom pleases him, the bride's father begins to intrust him with commissions. The Reindeer Koryak send the bridegroom to take care of the herd; and, in general, the future father-in-law tries to tire him out, and is over-exacting.

If the bride's parents do not want the bridegroom, they suggest that he

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[1] See Part I p. 281.

584 leave their house. In such cases the Reindeer people catch the reindeer on which the undesirable suitor had come, harness the sledge, carry his belongings out, and place him on the sledge, saying simply, "Depart!" In such cases it happens that the young man goes off a short distance, and, coming back, stops at the tent, and patiently and silently sits on his hitched-up sledge without unharnessing his reindeer, which he starves until he is called back into the tent. By such stubbornness persistent suitors have often obtained the consent of the bride's parents.

583 The term of the bridegroom's service varies from six months to three years. In Kamenskoye, for instance, the bridegroom is kept for a long time before the bride is given to him. This depends on the pleasure of the bride's father or elder brother. Often the mother says to the father, or in his absence to the elder son, that the young man has been tortured long enough.

What is the character of the Koryak custom of serving for a bride? By ethnologists a bridegroom's service is generally considered as payment for the bride; i. e., as a reward to the bride's father for his loss of a working-woman. In the present case this explanation seems inapplicable. Among the Reindeer Koryak, the wealthy reindeer-breeders would prefer to pay with reindeer, were service a payment for the bride; but this does not occur. Besides, the son-in-law, along with his wife, receives her reindeer, the value of which is not in any way equalled by the value of the bridegroom's services. As we shall see later on, in those cases in which the son-in-law remains in his father-in-law's house, he must still pass through a certain preliminary term of service as a bridegroom. This service can in no wise be considered payment for the bride, as her father not only does not lose a worker when she marries, but even acquires an additional one in his son-in-law. Finally, if the suit is pressed by an elderly or wealthy man, the service is reduced to a minimum, and is performed in a formal manner only. In my opinion, the service for a bride among the Koryak is of the nature of a test of the bridegroom. A serving bridegroom is not an ordinary workman. The principal thought is not his usefulness, but the hard and humiliating trials to which he is subjected. The bridegroom is given a poor bed, he is ill-fed, he is not allowed to sleep late, he is sent on exhausting errands. As a herdsman he must pass his nights without sleep, while the proprietor of the herd and the bride's brothers are resting. In a word, during his term of service, his endurance, patience, and meekness, his adroitness as a hunter, and his zeal and frugality as a herdsman, are tested. The bride's father gives his assent to the marriage only after the bridegroom has stood the probation well.

This view of the trial of a bridegroom, who must perform tests dangerous to his life, and win contests, is also found in Koryak tales.[1]

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[1] See Part I, pp. 163, 198, 250.

In antiquity, as the Koryak relate, the match-maker, too, had to do all manner of house-work during the bridegroom's sojourn in the house of the bride's parents. This evidently was considered a test of the bridegroom's relatives. The custom of having the match-maker perform the duties of a servant in the house of the bride's parents is still widespread among many Chukchee.[1]

A very characteristic story of match-making among the Indighirka Chukchee was related to me by a Reindeer Yukaghir who sued for the hand of a Chukchee girl in behalf of his brother. His brother had fallen in love with a Chukchee girl; but her father, a wealthy reindeer-breeder, did not want the bridegroom, not because the latter was a poor Yukaghir, but because he thought him a bad herdsman. Then the girl herself went to the Yukaghir family, and engaged there in household duties with the other women. By virtue of the custom of hospitality, she was not asked what she had come for. Thus three days had passed. The kinsman of the Yukaghir would have had no objection to this marriage, if they had not feared, that, owing to the girl's wilful leaving of her parental home, her father would refuse to give up her share of reindeer. On the third day the young man's elder brother said to the Chukchee girl, "We do not act the way you do. Go with me to your father's house, and I shall press the suit for your hand." The Chukchee girl went with him in silence. On the way he broke a quantity of dry twigs, placed them by the hearth, took the buckets, fetched water, and did other household work. "In vain do you, old man, do that which women can do," said the Chukchee host to the Yukaghir." — "I have come to press suit for your daughter's hand," the Yukaghir replied. "Why should you sue for it? She ran away to your house of her own accord," the Chukchee said, railing at the Yukaghir. After that the Yukaghir stubbornly persisted in doing all tasks about the house, and the Chukchee spoke to him no more. A few days later the Chukchee somehow said aloud to his house-fellows, as is their habit, "I am going out to stool." The Yukaghir went out after him; and, while the Chukchee was satisfying nature's demands, the Yukaghir tore up a quantity of soft grass and handed it to him. This humiliation at last touched the Chukchee. He put the bundle of grass to use. Then he entered the house and told the Yukaghir that he might send his brother to serve for his daughter.

MARRIAGE. — When the bride's father has decided that it is time to end the probation service, he tells the bridegroom that he may seize the bride; i. e., marry her. There are no marriage rites or festivities whatever. Marriage proper is performed by the first cohabitation; but even prior to this, the marriage becomes legalized by means of a symbolic action. The

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[1] See Jochelson, Wandering Tribes, p. 25.

585 mother warns the bride that the bridegroom has obtained the right to take her. Custom requires that the bride shall not surrender without a struggle, even if she love her bridegroom. Should the bridegroom find his bride undressed in the separate sleeping-tent which she is given before marriage, he would not touch her, considering this accessibility as an offence to himself. The bride's resistance is a test of her chastity.[1]

Accordingly, with the aid of her friends, the bride ties up with thongs the sleeves and trousers of her combination-suit, so that it cannot be taken off without untying or cutting the thongs. On the day when the bridegroom obtains the right to seize the bride, the latter goes about thus tied up, and tries to run away when her bridegroom approaches her. The bridegroom seizes an opportunity to attack her unawares, to tear or cut the garments with a knife, and touch her sexual organs with his hand. When he has succeeded in doing so, the bride ceases to resist, and submissively leads the bridegroom to her tent. If the bride loves her bridegroom, she runs straight to her sleeping-tent, where the young man, who follows her, can more easily manage her and tear her clothes. If she dislikes him, however, she endeavors to run out of the house, and hides in a neighboring house; but the parents, if the bridegroom is desirable, hinder her from running out. Being a symbol of copulation, the act of touching the bride's sexual organs makes her the man's wife. In one of the myths[2] we also meet with this custom. When Moon-Woman does not trust Eme'mqut's promise to marry her, he touches her sexual organs with his hand, and says that thenceforth he will not deceive her, for this contact is the same as marriage. A similar symbolic act was performed also among the ancient Kamchadal.[3]

Sometimes the bride is aided by her friends and other women in the act of resistance. In this struggle a good thrashing often falls to the lot of the bridegroom. If unsuccessful, he repeats his attacks several times. If the bride does not want the bridegroom, it is hard to take possession of her; and at times the groom has to give up all further attempts, and let his service go for nought.

It is related that in former times, not women alone, but the bride's male relatives as well, used to defend her, and beat the groom when he tried to seize the bride. In this conduct of the bride's kinsfolk, some ethnologists might see a symbol of the ancient practice of capturing wives. Without undertaking here to inquire into the question whether capture was at any period the exclusive or prevalent form of contracting marriages, I can only remark that I consider the thrashing of the groom as the final act in testing his adroitness, bravery, and endurance, and not as a symbolic remnant of marriage by capture. 585

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[1] I think it is of interest to quote here Steller's curious explanation of the origin of the Kamchadal custom (similar to that of the Koryak), in accordance with which the bride does not at once yield to the bridegroom. He thinks that it is done in imitation of animals: a bitch, too, does not at once yield to the dog (Steller, p. 345).

[2] See Part I, p. 176.

[3] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 195; and Steller, p. 344. According to Steller's statement, the bridegroom had to put his finger into the bride's vagina.

Of course, along with the other methods of obtaining wives, the Koryak, 583 in former times, resorted to carrying away women, or taking away by force both girls and married women, I have spoken of the "wife-snatcher-strong-men."[1] 174 In Koryak mythology we find some tales of girls being carried away by force. In one tale[2] Big-Raven, the ancestor of the Koryak, carries off a girl from the kamak for his son Eme'mqut; and in another[3] Eme'mqut himself steals the daughter of the kamak. But if we take into consideration that among the Koryak marriage is rather endogamic than exogamic, and that in war the conquerors usually slew the children of the vanquished lest they should grow up to become avengers, and their women lest they should bear avengers,[4] it seems plausible that the custom of capturing wives from foreign tribes or clans never prevailed among the Koryak to any extent.

Marriage is accompanied by neither feast nor shamanistic ceremonies. 585 The daughter and the son-in-law either leave at once for the young man's house, or they remain for some time in her father's house. In some localities, after a successful "bride-seizing," the bridegroom goes home and sends his parents, or other elder relatives, to fetch the bride. When the bride approaches the house of her bridegroom's parents, the latter come out with firebrands taken from the hearth to meet her. This reception symbolizes the acceptance of the bride into the family cult which the hearth represents. Beyond her clothes and appurtenances for woman's work, the bride brings almost nothing into her father-in-law's house. The bed and sleeping-tent for the couple are prepared by the bridegroom's family. However, the bride brings along presents of clothing, meat, and other things, for the bridegroom's mother and sisters, and her own reindeer if she be a Reindeer Koryak. If the bride is the first daughter-in-law in the house, the mother-in-law usually hands the whole household over to her care, and interferes only if the daughter-in-law proves to be an inexperienced housewife. On entering the house, the bride immedately sets out to prepare the meal. The Maritime Koryak do not invite any guests, and the meal has purely a family character. Among [782] the Reindeer Koryak, at the meeting of the bride, one or several reindeer are sacrificed to The-Master-on-High and his son, Cloud-Man, protector of married couples.[5] From one myth[6] it appears that non-performance of this duty brings punishment from the deity. In former times the bridegroom's mother or elder brother used to anoint the bride's forehead and abdomen with the blood of the sacrificial reindeer. This, too, evidently meant the adoption of the bride into the new family, and her introduction to the new hearth, by means of sacrificial

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[1] See pp. 561 and 754; and Part I, pp. 140, 145, 227.
[2] See Part I, p. 210.
[3] Ibid., p. 324.
[4] See Chapter XIII.
[5] See Part I, pp. 26, 93.
[6] Ibid., p. 300.

585 blood. This rite was called "dying red," and, as I was told, it has been preserved among the Reindeer Koryak on the Palpal until now.

591 Although, as a rule, the bride goes to the house of her husband's parents, there are also cases where the son-in-law settles in his father-in-law's house;
595 namely, when there are no sons in the bride's family. In such a case the future father-in-law says to the young man, "If you care to come to stay with me altogether in the place of a son, come; but if you intend to take the wife away with you afterwards, you need not come."

In order to determine the relative number of cases where the bridegroom goes over to his father-in-law's house, I registered 181 marriages; and among these, in 11 cases only (6%) did the son-in-law settle in his father-in-law's house.

After the bride has lived for some time in her father-in-law's house, she and her husband go to visit her parents, where they are also met with firebrands from the hearth; and the bridegroom, on his part, brings presents, so that the two families exchange gifts. A similar exchange of presents and visiting of the bridegroom's parents by the young couple, take place when the young man settles in the bride's house.

562 Position of Women in the Family. — The family organization of the Koryak is of patriarchal character. The father is the head of the family,
593 though his power over wife and children is not absolute. The mutual relations of the other members of the family rest on the principle of seniority. If the father grows feeble or dies, his brother or eldest son, or, in the absence of these, his adopted son-in-law who is married to the eldest daughter, becomes the head of the family. The principle of seniority influences also the interrelations of the female members of the family. The authority over household affairs belongs to the mother, to the eldest sister if married to the adopted son-in-law, or, if any brothers, to the wife of the eldest brother.

581 Though nominally the father can marry off his daughter on his own authority, he nevertheless not only consults his wife and eldest son, but often takes into consideration even the likes or dislikes of his daughter. Cases occur where the daughter does not submit to the father's or elder relative's authority in the choice of a bridegroom. Their will is not forced upon her. This attitude is also mirrored in the myths. Thus, Root-Man wanted to give his daughter in marriage to Eme'mqut; but she would not yield, and the bridegroom had to give up service.[1] Young men often go to serve for a bride, in spite of the non-approval of the "elder" or "elders" of their own families. Should a girl run away to her lover's house against the will of her kindred, her parents would not demand her return, as she went of her own accord. When asked what their guiding principle is, in their choice of a bride or a bridegroom, the Koryak answer that they pay no attention to looks; what is

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[1] See Part I, pp. 135, 218.

expected of the bridegroom is that he should be a good hunter or herdsman, and the bride must be a good housekeeper and skilled in handiwork. Nevertheless, sexual attraction based on æsthetic sense, or physical attraction, undoubtedly plays an important rôle in the mutual inclination between young men and girls. This shows itself in the relation between husband and wife. 581

As in the relations of the members of the family the principle of seniority plays its part, so in the relation between the male and female members of a family the principle of the supremacy of men's authority undoubtedly dominates. Thus, at the bidding of the family's elder (father, uncle, or eldest brother), the Reindeer camp is removed to another locality, or, among the Maritime Koryak, the place of hunting or fishing is changed. The men get the best pieces of food, the women receive what is left over. Thus, among the Reindeer Koryak, only the men sit around the food which is served in the inner tent; and, besides the children, only the mother or the eldest wife is present, who distributes the food or treats the guests. The other women and girls receive the leavings, which they eat in the outer tent. Among the Maritime Koryak, too, the women and girls eat separately by the hearth, after the men have eaten. Nevertheless the attitude of men towards women is protective rather than severe. Cases of wife-beating are very rare. On the other hand, it happens that the wife not only returns in kind to her husband, but often appears to be the aggressive party. In general, complete accord reigns in families. I even had occasion to witness touching displays of devotion between husband and wife. Thus, I saw a smith from Kuel, somewhat tipsy with whiskey, leaning his head on the shoulder of his wife, who supported him by the waist. When my attention was attracted to this scene, the smith said to me with a smile, "This is my kind wife." I was still more impressed with the treatment which the Koryak Qomya' from Kamenskoye accorded to his blind wife. When making a trip anywhere, he takes her along, and even takes care of her most tenderly; he takes her down into the underground house, takes her out, hands her the food, and sits by her side all the time. Such relations are possible only in cases of deep attachment. 562 593

In former times, men not infrequently killed themselves upon the death of a beloved wife. On the Taigonos Peninsula I saw a Reindeer Koryak who had attempted suicide after the death of his wife. Entering the tent after the cremation of his deceased wife, he sharpened his belt-knife, told his relatives to divide his property among them, and went out of doors. There he buried the knife in his breast, but missed the heart. He came into the house groaning, and then the people learned that he had attempted to stab himself. He recovered, and did not attempt suicide again; but his relatives afterwards railed him, saying that he had not seriously meant to kill himself. [762]

Though in following her husband the young woman becomes a member of his family, and subject to the authority of her father-in-law or other senior

593 member of the family, and although she becomes affiliated to the hearth and
562 joins her husband in the cult of his family ancestors, nevertheless she continues
to dwell under the protection of her blood-relatives. It is told in one myth[1]
586 that Eme'mqut drives off with his sister, who is being tortured by her husband the Ringed-Seal, and his relatives; so, also nowadays, the young woman's relatives still have the right to take her away from her husband if he treats her cruelly. This proves that woman is not considered to be her husband's property. If a woman flees of her own accord to her relatives, they will not surrender her. Sometimes the husband comes to ask her to come back, promising better treatment. On the other hand, the husband may cast out his wife without any explanation, if he dislikes her for one reason or another; but by this act he forever breaks up the union which marriage had established between the two families. Henceforth he cannot court any relative of his disowned wife. No girl relative of the latter will be given to him in marriage.

A Koryak widower on the Taigonos Peninsula, soon after his marriage, sent his second wife back to her relatives. I asked him why he had turned her out. He replied that she had not attended him when he had been ill, and did not take care of his children by his first wife.

In this simple manner, Koryak divorce is performed. If there are children at the separation of the spouses, the girls remain with the mother, the boys with their father. Disputes concerning the children do occur, but they are settled without anybody's intervention.

421 FORM OF PROPERTY. — Despite the fact that the proprietary right to clothing, household effects, houses, and domestic animals, has already become strongly lodged in the tribal consciousness, we still meet remnants of communal ideas in this sphere. These chiefly concern articles of hunting and fishing. The principle of property in the produce of labor is not as yet completely applied to the food procured by the hunter and fisherman. People in need of food may lay claim, as we shall see in the next chapter, to the game obtained by the successful hunter or fisherman. The social union among separate families is based on this.

422 Among the Maritime Koryak, clothing and ornaments alone are considered
personal property. Wooden guardians and other amulets, household appurte-
428 nances, the house, nets, and skin boats, are family property. I have already said[2] that the boat, being a "guardian" of the family, cannot belong to two different families. All these things pass on by inheritance from father to son, and, in their absence, to brothers. Daughters or sisters who have not been married into other families remain with their brothers or uncles. If one of the brothers sets up a separate house, he receives a part of the movable property, dishes and implements, and may continue to share with his brothers

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[1] See Part I, p. 153.

[2] Ibid., p. 41.

to the elder of the Omotski Yukaghir Clan by the chief of the Kolyma district, the following signs were used: X (one ruble), □ (ten rubles), ● (a hundred rubles), and I (kopeks). The use of the three signs by Qači'lqut can be explained as an imitation of the old Russian signs by Qači'lqut's ancestors. At present Russian officials do not use these signs in their receipts. Following is a more detailed explanation of the use of the three signs, based on the statements of Qači'lqut himself.

Record from Memorandum-Book (Fig. 248).

1. One iron pot. The pot is represented by a circle.
2. Two tea-kettles. The tea-kettle is represented by a circle with a beak, the latter representing the spout. A little arc on the top stands for the handle.
3. Twenty-five pounds and a half of leaf-tobacco. The tobacco is represented by a bunch of leaves, and the fraction one-half is indicated by a dot. This arithmetical sign I have not found in the receipts of the tax-gatherers of the eighteenth century. It is Qači'lqut's own invention.
4. One large knife. The knife is represented by a long vertical line.
5. Two small belt-knives. The knife is represented by a vertical line smaller than the preceding one. In this memorandum, Qači'lqut has departed somewhat from his system by denoting the number 2 twice, — once graphically, and again by numerical signs.
6. Twenty pounds of wheat-flour. The flour is indicated by a black ring, which stands for a full bag of flour.
7. Six papers of needles. The paper is indicated by a rectangle, which stands for a paper filled with needles.
8. Fifty large needles. The place for indicating the object is left blank, which is equivalent to "ditto;" but under the numeral signs there is a long horizontal line, which signifies that the needles are of a larger size.
9. Calico prints for one shirt. The calico is represented by a horizontal line, which stands for a strip of cloth cut off from a bolt of goods.
10. One woollen shawl. The shawl is represented by a rectangle with fringe on the sides.
11. One tablecloth. The tablecloth is indicated in the same way as the shawl.
12. One scarf. The scarf is represented by a horizontal line with a fringe at the end.
13. Three arshins[1] of red cloth for a shirt.[2] The cloth, like the calico (No. 9), is represented by a horizontal but longer line. The color of the cloth is left to be implied, since the outside shirt is made by rich Koryak only of red cloth.

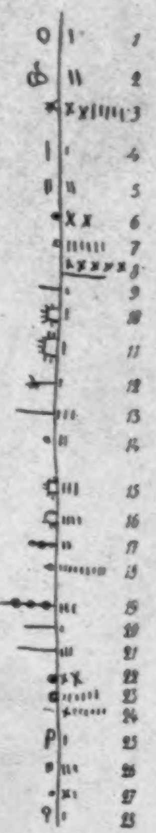

Fig. 248. Koryak Account.

14. Two plates. The plate is indicated by a ring, but of a smaller size than that for the pot (see No 1).

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[1] An arshin is equivalent to two feet and a third.

[2] See p. 593.

in the common use of the skin boat, if he remains in the same village. In 422
case of the death of the father or of a childless brother, the brother who
keeps house for himself receives a portion of the inheritance, even if his brother's 428
widow passes on to another, younger brother. I have already said that
girls, on marrying into other families, take with them nothing but their clothes. [585]
The reindeer which the bride takes along are often delivered by her kinsfolk
to her father-in-law, not immediately after the wedding, but according to the
most convenient moment, considering what season is most favorable for the
welfare of the herd.

The reindeer are the property of all the members of the family, but the 422
movements of the herd are directed by the father. According to custom,
each newly born child, irrespective of sex, receives one reindeer-heifer or 592
more with a special mark on the ear.[1] This gives each member of the
family a share in the herd later on. Under favorable conditions, a whole
herd may be formed by the yearly increase of the herd of these heifers, before
the child is ready to marry. Of course, the original herd belongs to the father;
but considering that each child has its own reindeer, and that the wife and
daughters-in-law retain as their property the reindeer which they brought in
marriage, the whole herd of a large family belongs to a group of interrelated
proprietors, under the direction of the eldest male. This elder may be the
eldest brother or paternal uncle. On the father's death, the original herd is 428
divided up among the sons, and, in the absence of children, among the
brothers of the deceased. At marriage, daughters usually receive a share of 585
the original herd from their father, in addition to their own reindeer. Some
Koryak divide their deer equally among their sons and daughters, and give
a proportionate part to the daughter at the time of her marriage;[2] but then
the daughter is no longer entitled to inherit part of the herd on her father's
death. If an unmarried girl is at home when her father dies, her brothers
give her the reindeer at the time of her marriage. If a wife leaves her husband [586]
or is cast out by him, her relatives take back her reindeer. I have
already said that divorces are very rare. After the birth of children, who
are heirs to both their mother's and father's reindeer, the husband manages
his wife's reindeer more independently. In general, the eldest member of the 592
family manages the common herd of the family entirely without control. He
designates which reindeer are to be killed for meat, clothing, sacrifices, and 233
sale. He oversees the pasture and herdsman, and picks out the reindeer to
be trained for harness. Of course, he often consults his wife or eldest son.

The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the 600

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[1] See p. 492.

[2] In Tale 86 Yiñea-ñeut marries Magpie-Man. They eat up all the reindeer which Big-Raven had given them. Yiñea-ñeut comes to her father to ask for food; and Big-Raven says, "You ate your share of reindeer, I have nothing else to give you" (Part I, p. 259).

591 The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the
paternal family, rarely occurs. This happens, in the first place, among people
422 very rich in reindeer. The division of too large a herd may become a necessity for the care of the reindeer. The widow's reindeer pass over to her brother-in-law with whom she lives; but if she has children, her brother-in-law
[589] manages the reindeer only temporarily. A widow who does not re-marry remains with her sons, together with her reindeer; but if she has no sons, she joins her brothers, or manages the herd herself, with the help of herdsmen. The lately widowed sister of the Taigonos elder figured on Plate XXXII, Fig. 2, has remained single; and, with her two adult daughters, she personally directs a herd of eight hundred reindeer. For this purpose she keeps two herdsmen, of whom one was in the position of a bridegroom doing service for her eldest daughter.

587 LEVIRATE. — The institutions known under the general term of "levirate" embrace marriage-customs which, though similar but not wholly uniform, are found among various tribes. I retain this name also for the Koryak institution of this category, although it is not quite broad enough in its strict sense. The word "levirate" denotes the custom by virtue of which a brother (or other relative) marries the widow of his elder brother (or relative). Among the Koryak an analogous custom extends also to the widower. The younger sister or relative of the defunct wife must become his wife. Thus the Koryak levirate may be summed up as follows: —

1. The widow must be married to the younger brother, younger cousin or nephew (son of sister or brother), of her deceased husband.

2. The widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece (daughter of sister or brother), of his deceased wife.

I have recorded twelve cases of marriage through levirate. Of these, the widower was married to his deceased wife's sister in one case, to her cousin in two cases, and to her niece in two; the widow married her deceased husband's younger brother in two cases, his younger cousin in four cases, and his nephew in one case.

From the relations of levirate marriage, it becomes clear why two brothers or male cousins, or an uncle and nephew, cannot be married to two sisters, two cousins, or an aunt and her niece. In case of the death of the elder brother, cousin, or uncle, the younger brother, cousin, or nephew would be unable to take the widows of the first three for wives, unless one man might be married to two sisters, cousins, or aunt and niece. As stated before, such a polygynous marriage is not permitted by custom.[1]

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587 The latter custom must be supposed to be of less ancient origin than other marriage taboos, and I think is the foundation for woman's increased modesty. A Koryak who has two or more wives sleeps in one sleeping-tent

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[1] See p. 738.

with all of them, and shares his bed, now with one, and then with another. 595
The sense of shame forbids a woman to be present at the acts of the intimate 587
life of her sister. What, then, is the origin of this, which I should call "two-sided Koryak levirate"?

McLennan[1] and his followers consider the custom of levirate among 114
other tribes as a survival of polyandry. Westermarck[2] demolishes this view
with great conclusiveness. But if we admit that McLennan is right, whatever 171
he says applies to the one-sided levirate usually spoken of by the ethnologists 587
and sociologists; i. e., when the younger brother marries the elder brother's widow. But, of course, nobody considers the marriage of a widower with the younger sister of his deceased wife a survival of polyandry.

Lubbock's and Spencer's explanation of levirate is, that woman is viewed as a property which the brother-in-law inherits along with other possessions. Possibly the explanation may apply to the levirate custom of some tribes; but in cases where the widower takes the younger sister of his deceased wife, there can be no question of proprietary title to her; also in the passing of the widow to her deceased husband's younger brother, the family right does not always coincide with the right of property, as it appears from the Koryak order of inheritance. Besides, according to the customs of the Koryak, the elder brother, although he receives part of the inheritance left by his younger brother, cannot marry his widow.

The view that levirate is connected with the cult of ancestors — such 769
as prevailed among the ancient Hindoos and Hebrews, through the necessity
of having an heir in the interests of salvation and bliss in heaven — does 587
not apply to the Koryak levirate either, not only because it is two-sided, but also because among the Koryak any widow of the elder brother, and not alone one without any offspring, or without male offspring, passes over to the younger brother.

Nevertheless I do think that Koryak levirate, though from another point of view, is connected with the cult of ancestors, or rather with the cult of the family hearth. I have pointed out before[3] that each Koryak family has its guardians and its incantations. The family hearth, the chief family guardian, is averse to admitting strangers. Since primitive man views every stranger as a possible foe, the family guardians are inimically disposed toward every stranger, and are ready to guard the family against the evil eye, word, and other magic acts of strangers. Access to the family hearth is had with difficulty only. Besides, the family hearth is connected with the deceased relatives whose souls return in new-born children. Marriages between two

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[1] See I. J. McLennan, The Levirate and Polyandry (The Fortnightly Review, London, 1877, Vol. XXI, pp. 694—707).

[2] See E. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, London. 1901, p. 510.

[3] See Part I, pp. 46, 59.

769 families give free access to the hearth, not only to the members of strange
587 families, but also to the souls of their deceased members. The soul of a
deceased relative, both on the father's and on the mother's side, may enter
the new-born child; and each child borne by the daughter-in-law or engendered
by the son-in-law may become the possessor of the soul of a deceased relative
of a strange family. Thus a marriage contracted between two families brings
nearer not only the living, but also the souls of the dead members, and the
587 guardians of both families. The Koryak like to strengthen the union by new
marriages. Thus the brother of a married woman will court her husband's sister,
182 if there be such. These are favorite unions. We meet such cases, not only
582 in every-day life, but also in myths.[1] In my opinion, the Koryak levirate
has for its object the maintenance of the union between two families: a
widower marries the sister or relative of his deceased wife, and a widow is
married to the relative of her deceased husband, in order to maintain the
family union which has been interrupted by death.

621 As marriage, with the exception of the above-mentioned degrees of
kinship, may be contracted between parties of the same village or family
582 even, — for instance, any second-cousins, — it happens very rarely that the
match-maker or bridegroom goes to a remote village or nomad camp in search
of a bride. Most frequently marriages are contracted between inhabitants of
neighboring villages. On the Palpal I once met an elderly Koryak from the
village Mikino driving to the Opuka River, and asked him why he was going
there. He replied that he was going to get some relative of his deceased
wife to marry him. "Can't you find a wife for yourself anywhere nearer?"
I asked. "I can," he replied; "but the union between my family and the
family of my children's mother must not be interrupted. Besides, the relatives
of my deceased wife know me and won't make me serve for a bride."

587 As I look at it, the Koryak levirate is an institution having for its object
the continuation of the union between families related by affinity. This union
182 is necessary in order that the spirits of the ancestors, the hearth and other
family guardians, of the two families entering into relationship, may abide in
peace and unity. In former times, when separate groups of a tribe waged
war with one another on the slightest occasion, families united by marriage
formed defensive and offensive alliances. Often the marrying-off of a girl into
a family with which there had been war, made peace between the spirits of
the deceased of both families, and put an end to blood-vengeance.

582 In certain cases, an extensive league of families may be formed through
587 intermarriage. If there are several sons in one family, and several daughters
in another, these two families cannot confine themselves to intermarrying with
each other, for brothers of one family cannot marry sisters of another. Some

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[1] See Part I, pp. 149, 157, 164, 226, 230, 252, 254, 257, 267, 305, 308.

582 587 must seek brides in different families, and daughters must be married into different families. Only in the case of the death of a married son or of a married daughter of one family or the other is a second marriage, through levirate, possible.

587 835 Of course, if the nature of the Koryak levirate has for its purpose the strengthening of family alliances, it may be asked why a widower cannot marry his deceased wife's elder sister, or why a widow cannot become the wife of her deceased husband's elder brother. I have put the question, but to my regret I have received no satisfactory answer from the Koryak. Personally I think that in this case the legal position of the elder brother in the family supersedes the considerations of blood-relationship. When father or mother die or become too old, the eldest brother and eldest sister take their places. By force of this position, sexual intercourse of the eldest brother (who enjoys the right of agnate) with his sister-in-law, or of the eldest sister with her brother-in-law, seems to be imagined to be the same kind of incest as the cohabitation of a father with his daughter-in-law or of a mother with her son-in-law.

587 I will add here a few details illustrating the application of the levirate in the every-day life of the modern Koryak. From these it appears that in several places this custom is coming to lose vigor and to assume the form of a right instead of involving an obligation. Attention must also be drawn to the subjection of woman in this custom. In Kamenskoye I was told that a younger brother may marry his eldest brother's widow, or a widower the younger sister of his deceased wife, while in other places they must do it. On the other hand, if disinclined, the relatives may not give a widow or deceased wife's younger sister to her brother-in-law in marriage. From this it is evident that in Kamenskoye the custom leaves to either side, if such be desired, the choice of not renewing the family union by a new marriage.

[736] But if the nearest relatives of a woman have died, and she has thus lost her natural protectors, the widower or brother-in-law can enforce the observance of the levirate against her will. However, men rarely make use of this right. Shortly before my arrival, an elder in Kamenskoye (Opılli by name) had lost his wife and eldest brother. The wife of the latter, with her children, went to his home to live; but when asked whether he had married her, he answered that as yet she was not ready to do so. I know of another case from the village Kamenskoye, where a Koryak, married to a young woman, received into his house two old widows, the wives of his deceased elder brother, but he did not live with them because they were too old.

I met with a similar case on the Paren River. A Koryak, Ewpıcō, who had a young wife, had taken his uncle's widow into his house, but did not live with her, as she was sickly.

000 In his preliminary report on the Chukchee, Bogoras speaks of the exist-

587 171 In his preliminary report on the Chukchee, Bogoras speaks of the existence of levirate among them,[1] but a more detailed discussion of their customs may be expected in his description of the social organization of the Chukchee in this series. From certain passages in Steller's book on the Kamchadal,[2] the conclusion may be drawn that among them a levirate similar to that of the Koryak existed; i. e., that it was two-sided.[3] It is a matter of great regret that he does not dwell in detail on this institution. An interesting feature of the marriage customs of the Kamchadal is mentioned by both Steller and Krasheninnikoff.[4] It is evidently connected with the levirate, and is quite similar to the Jewish rite of khaliche, which is a substitute for actual marriage with a relative's widow. According to these travellers, nobody would marry a widow before an outsider had had sexual intercourse with her, which was called "removing the sin from her." By that intercourse a woman was evidently freed from the union with her deceased husband's family; and her new husband could take her to his own family hearth without incurring vengeance on the part of her first husband's spirit. This explanation is favored by another passage in Steller, in which he states that a man may take his deceased brother's widow *without* any ceremonies.[5] The person who would undertake to "remove sin" from a woman was paid for this service; and prior to the coming of the Cossacks, it was difficult to find among the Kamchadal men who would volunteer for this undertaking, which, according to their belief, was fraught with danger.

595 POLYGYNY. — In some myths the heroes have two wives, and in two of them they have three; but the majority of marriages recorded in the myths are monogamous. The Supreme Deity and Big-Raven have each but one wife. In contemporary Koryak life as well, we find that monogamous marriages prevail, although custom places no limits on the number of wives.

Among the Maritime Koryak, I questioned 95 married men. Of these, 13 (i. e., 13.6%) had two wives each, and not a single one had more than two. Among the Reindeer Koryak I recorded the family conditions of 65 married men; and of them, but 3 had two wives each, and 1 had three wives; i. e., the percentage of men having more than one wife was but 6%,
595 or but half as much as among the Maritime Koryak. Some of the men
587 with two wives had taken a second wife because the first one was barren; others had married a second time because their first wife, who was obtained

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[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 35.

[2] See Steller, pp. 346, 347.

[3] Customs similar to what I call "two-sided levirate" are known also among other tribes. Some of them are enumerated by Kohler (Urgeschichte der Ehe, p. 144), who regards this custom as a survival of former "group-marriages." The same custom is also met with among North American tribes. For instance, of the Ojibwas, W. Jones says (Central Algonkin, Annual Archæological Report, Toronto, 1906, p. 136), "It was usual for a man to marry the widow of his brother, and a widower might marry the sister of his dead wife." The same is stated by Teit with reference to the Thompson Indians (see Teit, p. 325), and by Dorsey to the Skidi Pawnee (Congrès International des Américanistes, XVe Session, Québec, 1907, Vol II, p. 73). No explanation, however, is given by the last three authors as to the origin of this custom.

[4] See Steller, p. 346; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 178.

[5] See Steller, p. 347.

through levirate, was too old. In some cases the second wife, who was 595 obtained through levirate, is the younger of the two. Only in two cases did 587 I find that both wives had children, and in neither of these cases were levirate customs involved. On the other hand, in three cases of men having two wives, neither wife had children. Their barrenness, accordingly, must 842 be attributed to the husband. The only man with three wives whom I saw 595 was the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak.[1] He had children by his first wife; but she became ill, evidently with hereditary syphilis, and her face is so deformed that she covers it up whenever an outsider enters the tent. His second wife is barren; and from the youngest, the third wife, he has offspring. In one case, a young man who married an old woman, his uncle's widow, through levirate, took into his house a little girl, and began to live with her after she had grown older. She seemed about sixteen 582 years old when I saw her, and she was pregnant at the time. Such marriages with minors were more common in former times. Generally speaking girls marry when twenty years old, or even older.

It is interesting to note that the greater number of monogamous marriages among the Reindeer Koryak coincides with the greater number of men as compared with women among them.

The statistics of the official census for 1897 have been discussed before 162 (p. 445). I myself made a detailed census of the Maritime Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to the three Itkana villages, inclusive, and of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula and along the Tılqai River. According to my count, there were 102 women to every 100 men among the Maritime Koryak, and but 89 women to every 100 men among the Reindeer Koryak. The ratio of women to men which I obtained among the Maritime Koryak was identical with the one I found in the official census of all the Maritime Koryak. But the percentage of women among the Reindeer Koryak which I obtained was even below the census of 1897, which gives 90.8 females for each 100 males. This may possibly be explained by the fact that I took the census after an epidemic of measles which had carried off more women than men, and left many widowers.

Judging from both myths and actual observation, it seems that the pre- 595 vailing form of marriage among the Koryak is monogamic, and that polygyny 173 kept up by the custom of levirate and the desire of having an offspring when the first wife is barren. However, in certain traditions which I heard, relating to a past by no means remote, stories are told of strong men, who were good warriors and skilful hunters, and who had harems of women taken by force from their fellow-tribesmen. A cavern on the rocky coast of Penshina Bay was pointed out to me as the dwelling-place of such

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[1] According to Dittmar, when he visited the Taigonos Peninsula, the elder had four wives (Dittmar, Die Koräken, p. 23).

595 173 a "woman-snatcher." He would lie in wait for Koryak boats passing by, and would take away the wives of the oarsmen. A similar tale[1] is found among the myths. Worm-Man, who carried away many women after slaying their husbands and brothers, takes away the wife of Eme'mqut. He is slain by the latter. Eme'mqut brings back to life the husbands and brothers of the women whom Worm-Man had captured, and restores to their families the wives and sisters, whom he sets free. Many of the brothers give their sisters to Eme'mqut. He retains only three of them: the others he distributes among his brothers and his cousin Illa'.

595 In a household with more than one wife, the first is considered the mistress of the house. The second wife consults the first in everything, and carries out her instructions. In the majority of cases the wives live in harmony. When intending to take a second wife, the husband usually consults with the first one. An old woman who has grown-up daughters to help her in housekeeping, often asks her husband to take a second, younger wife. But some women are jealous, especially if the second marriage was contracted against their will, and quarrel with the second wife. In myths, too, we find cases of hostile relations between wives, and even of the murder of one wife by another. In one case the first wife cuts off the second wife's nose.[2] Here I will relate a characteristic case from the life of a man who had two wives. A Koryak from Kamenskoye, Qačilqut by name, whom I have mentioned several times, and whose first wife was childless, courted the young widow of a deceased distant relative of his. For a long time he could not take her to his house, as his first wife was opposed to their marriage. Finally, despite the objections of the first wife, he brought his second wife to his house. During the husband's absence, the first wife often beat and tortured the second one. Sometimes she would prick her face with a needle. The second wife bore everything in silence, and did not complain to her husband. This finally appeased the jealousy of the first wife, and they now live in peace. All this was told me by Qačilqut's first wife herself. She is a very bright, energetic woman, and still young. Her husband is a merchant. When he goes on a business trip to the Reindeer Koryak, she accompanies him as his clerk, and always brings some present for her friend, the second wife. Like the other polygynous Koryak, they all sleep in one sleeping-tent, — the husband in the middle, the first wife to his right, the second to his left.

588 In connection with this subject should be mentioned the cases of men transformed into women, which in former times were not uncommon, and were called qava'u or qeve'u.[3] Like the ancient Kamchadal koe'kčuč[4] and

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[1] See Part I, p. 145.
[2] Ibid., pp. 209, 265, 234.
[3] Ibid., p. 32.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, pp. 114, 222; Steller, p. 212.

the present Chukchee irka'la'ul, Koryak "transformed men" contracted marriage 588
with men, or, when there was another real wife, would be kept as concubines, and lived with the so-called husband in improper intimacy. This, of course, cannot be treated as a normal institution of marriage. Such cases were few in number. Bogoras states that among three thousand Kolyma Chukchee he registered five cases of men who were believed to be transformed into women; but of these, only two were "married" to other men.[1] I think abnormal 838
sexual relations have developed under the influence of the ideas concerning 771
shamanistic power, which the "metamorphosed" men obtain from the spirits at whose bidding and with whose help the change of sex is accomplished. These beliefs have found fertile soil in individuals of abnormal physical and psychical development. With the decadence of shamanism among the [177]
Koryak, and the Russianization of the Kamchadal, these practices have disappeared in both tribes.

POLYANDRY. — I had occasion to observe among the Reindeer Chukchee 595
of the Kolyma tundra that they would exchange wives for the night, or that 837
the wife would be placed at the disposal of the transient guest, while the husband would go off to his herd. Mr. Bogoras, who has studied this ques- 171
tion more closely, considers this wife-exchange among the Chukchee as a form of group-marriage. The right of two men to each other's wife is stipulated by the mutual agreement of the husbands.[2] This marriage-union is contracted mainly among kinsmen (excepting brothers), such as cousins and second-cousins. A union like this may be contracted among unrelated men as well. Not infrequently this contract is entered into by a married man and a bachelor, who thus pledges his future wife to his friend. Each Chukchee may contract such a union with several persons, who are called "friends in wives." The result of such a union is a polygynic-polyandric group-marriage. The families participating in such a marriage-union retain, nevertheless, their own economic independence, and the children are considered as belonging to the head of the family in which they are born.

In Steller's[3] description of Kamchatka we find a passage in which it is stated that friends sometimes agree to exchange wives. It is to be regretted that Steller gives no detailed information concerning the character of such agreements.

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak are jealous beyond measure, and may kill their wives on the mere suspicion of faithlessness.[4] On the other hand, he compares the Maritime Koryak with the Chukchee, and alleges that among them the host's wives and daughters are given over to

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[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 31.

[2] For the same marriage-customs among the western Eskimo, see Nelson, p. 292.

[3] See Steller, p. 347.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 204.

595 837 171 the guests, and that the host feels deeply offended should the guest not accept them.[1]

I think that his statement is based on a misunderstanding, or on reports of Cossacks who confounded the Maritime Koryak and the Chukchee. I should find difficulty in deciding who is more jealous, the Maritime or the Reindeer Koryak. If exchange of wives existed among the Koryak in former times, as it did among the Kamchadal, Chukchee, and the northwest Americans, like the Aleut, Eskimo, and Athapascan[2] tribes, I have found no traces of such a custom. True, in one myth two kalat have one wife,[3] but such actions, which men deem evil, are always attributed to evil spirits. In another myth[4] Yiñea-ñeut strikes her husband's younger brother with a cutting-board because he wooed her in his brothers absence. The Koryak themselves deny ever having had the custom of exchanging wives. They assert that a married woman had to go in a dirty dress and with unwashed face, that she might not attract the attention of strange men. Once I asked the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak, who has three wives, what he thought of the Chukchee custom of exchanging wives. He replied that he would gladly avail himself of the Chukchee hospitality in this regard, but would never consent to reciprocity in the matter. Krasheninnikoff says[5] that the Reindeer Koryak have two and three wives each, and keep them in different places, giving them separate herds and separate herdsmen, as do the reindeer-breeding Chukchee. The above-mentioned elder asserted that neither at present nor in earlier times did any such custom prevail. He says that he would not leave his wife alone with the herd for other men to come and avail themselves of her. If there are two or more wives, they always live in one tent with the husband, as they live in the same house, among the Maritime Koryak. Among the Reindeer Koryak, the senior wife sometimes has a separate sleeping-tent; for instance, that of the Taigonos elder. On the northern side of the Palpal Ridge, where the Reindeer Koryak come into contact with the Reindeer Chukchee, with whom they enter into marriage-relations, the Chukchee marriage-customs may have been adopted to some extent by the Koryak; but, on the other hand, the Chukchee, who roam at present among the Koryak of the Parapol Dol, and whom I had occasion to see, exchange their wives with neither relatives nor neighbors, having adopted the Koryak views on this subject.

837 Of course, even among the Koryak, adultery is met with, though less frequently than among civilized peoples, but never with connivance of the husband. In former times, a wife's faithlessness would often lead to bloody retribution. Nowadays the husband casts out or thrashes the faithless wife without mercy, but he does not touch her lover. I know of one case in

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[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.

[2] A. G. Morice, The Canadian Dénés (Annual Archæological Report, Toronto, 1905, p. 196).

[3] See Part I, p. 134.

[4] Ibid., I, p. 248.

[5] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

which the husband shut his eyes to his wife's liaison with their herdsman; 837
but the husband was a sickly man, and, besides, the herd belonged to his wife.
I learned of another curious case on the Taigonos Peninsula. A man, being
informed that his wife was visited by his neighbor while he himself was
absent, said to the offender, "If you like my wife, don't visit her secretly, but
take her altogether, only give me your daughter in exchange." The neighbor
complied with so wise a proposal, and they exchanged the women; the neighbor,
as luck would have it, having a grown-up daughter.

Treatment of Children. — The birth of a child is a joyous event, and 851
marked by a feast, to which guests are invited from other houses, or, among
the Reindeer Koryak, from other camps. This festivity is called Añanavisxatin 527
("woman's feast"). Among the Maritime Koryak, all women and girls
of the village are invited in. Men are not admitted at all; even the master
of the house leaves his home. The main dish consists of gruel or pudding
made of flour, blood, meat, and fat. This pudding is called taʻknañoika
("bearing-blessing"), symbolizing the future welfare of the child. The Reindeer
Koryak, on the occasion of the birth of a child, kill one or more reindeer,
and invite men and women to the feast; but the women eat apart from the
men, in the sleeping-tent of the young mother, while the house-master entertains
the men in the outer tent. The Reindeer Koryak make the same kind
of pudding as the Maritime Koryak, and call it by the same name.

I have already spoken[1] of the taboos to which the young mother is 843
subjected, of the care taken to guard the child against evil spirits, and of
the divination ceremony while giving a name to the new-born. According to the
statements of Koryak women, confinement is easy. In each settlement there 844
is an experienced woman who acts as a midwife. The navel-string is cut
with an ordinary iron knife. This knife is not used again until the child is
able to walk. The new-born child is rubbed with moss, and immediately
placed in a combination-suit,[2] which takes the place of a cradle. The child 853 —
is rocked by the mother in her arms, or placed in bed by her own side.
On the flap[3] between the child's legs moss is laid, which is frequently changed.
The child is nursed up to the age of two or three years, unless a second
pregnancy of the mother prevents her from doing so. At a very early age the 862
child is given pieces of fat of reindeer or seal to suck. I was told that, if 847 —
the mother dies during or soon after confinement, the child is killed and
cremated with the mother, as artificial feeding is impossible with the Koryak's
means of existence.

The Koryak are very fond of children. They take good care of them 861
and fondle them. Children are beaten very rarely, and yet they are meek
and obedient. I have often marvelled at the authority exercised by the elders
over the children. I related the case[4] of a girl of about nine who consented

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[1] See Part I, pp. 100, 101.

[2] See p. 601.

[3] See p. 602.

[4] See p. 591.

861 to be photographed by my wife without the upper coat, but immediately refused the presents when her aunt shouted to her, "Don't take your coat off, your uncles will be angry." The girl was an orphan, and lived with her father's brothers.

868 From the age of ten to twelve, children begin to work, and boys join their father in his daily pursuits. They assist him in fishing, carrying wood for the hearth, and, among the Reindeer Koryak, tending the herd. Boys in their teens are made to go through a rigorous training to accustom them to withstand privations, cold, and fatigue. Lads usually wear the clothing cast off by the old people. Girls, beginning at the same age, help in household duties, skin-dressing, and the sewing of clothing.

593 When grown up, the attachment of children to their parents becomes weaker, and they become more independent, particularly so in the case of sons. Girls are more subjected than boys to the regime of the older members of the family. Young men at times engage in disputes with their fathers.

888 Treatment of Old People. — The power of the old people rests to a considerable degree on their strength and energy. If an old man can no longer perform the duties of a herdsman or direct the hunt, he ceases to be an authority. In the majority of cases, children treat their elders with respect and listen to their advice, even when they no longer manage the household. Thus I have seen an old man of from seventy to eighty years, who could no longer hold the reins in his hands, and was carried in a special sledge driven by his nephew. The latter would take him off and put him on the sledge, would tuck him up warmly, etc. In another case I saw the cruel treatment of an old father by his son, a wealthy reindeer-breeder. The father had had a small herd, and the son married a rich girl, who brought in a large herd. The two lived together. Once they were with the herd near the village Itkana, and the old man began to press his suit for the hand of a girl of the Maritime Koryak, who consented to marry him. The son objected to his father's marrying a Maritime woman; and when the father would not listen to his son, the latter separated from him.

582 356 562 In passing, I should like to mention here that marriages between the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak are very rare.[1] This is a consequence of the different forms of housekeeping carried on by the two groups of the Koryak. A daughter-in-law from a Maritime village will be a poor housekeeper in a Reindeer camp, and a son-in-law from the coast will be a poor herdsman. However, the pastoral life of the reindeer-breeders has not led to any changes concerning the customs relating to the bridegroom's service, marriage, levirate, etc.; but the new form of household economy has developed the principle of personal property more sharply, and has made woman more subject to man.

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[1] Excepting the Reindeer Koryak who constitute one group with the inhabitants of the villages about Bering Sea (see p. 434).

This latter circumstance is explained by the influence of the severe life which 582
the herdsman leads. While the Maritime Koryak does almost nothing during 356
the winter, living as he does in a comparatively warm house, the Reindeer 562
Koryak must undergo all the hardships of winter while tending the herd.

But to return to the old man of whom I spoke before. Having entered 888
into relationship with the Maritime Koryak, he remained near the coast, wandering about near their village. One year happened to be a poor one; no sea-animals were caught, the Maritime Koryak were starving during the winter, and the Reindeer Koryak killed his reindeer for food for the coast people. When all his reindeer were gone, he left his wife and returned to the Reindeer Koryak; but his son would not have him, advising him to go and live with the Maritime Koryak. The old man was finally taken in by a very poor kinsman, where I saw him in a pitiful condition. He was assisting the women in drying fish in the sun, and was dressed in tatters.

THE KILLING OF OLD PEOPLE. — The custom of having the nearest of kin kill an old person at the latter's desire, which is still extant among the Chukchee,[1] is no longer met with among the Koryak; but in some localities the memory of this custom has been preserved. In the district-commander's report for 1886[2] to the Governor of the Maritime Province, mention is still made of such murders, though it does not clearly appear whether Chukchee or Koryak are referred to. For details of this custom I refer to Bogoras.[1]
Generally speaking, however, the motives of the old people in desiring to be [886]
killed were decline of strength, disease, or simply dissatisfaction with life. The executors of the old people's desire were their sons or other nearest of kin. The killing was done either by strangling with a thong or by stabbing the heart with a spear.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP. — From the list of terms of relationship given 601
below, it appears that the system corresponds to the regulation of marriages, described before.

CONSANGUINITY.

Ačı′čɛ (Paren), a′pa (Kamenskoye), apa′pel (Reindeer Koryak)	Grandfather and great-uncle, paternal and maternal.
Yı′]ñy-ačı′čɛ, yı′]ñı-apa ("linked grandfather")	Great-grandfather.
A′ma, a′n·a	Grandmother and great-aunt, paternal and maternal.
Yı′]ñı-a′n·a ("linked grandmother")	Great-grandmother.
ɛnni′w (Chukchee, Endi′w)	Uncle, paternal and maternal.
ıtčei′	Aunt, paternal and maternal.
A′pa (Paren), ta′ta (Kamenskoye), E′npıč (Reindeer Koryak)[3]	Father.

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[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 38.

[2] Gishiga Archive Records, File No. 404, 1886.

[3] E′npıč is used also at Kamenskoye. Literally it means "eldest." E′npıčŏ (plural) denotes "fathers" and "old men."

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ᴇlla' (va'va, a'mma, terms of endearment used by Reindeer Koryak)	Mother.
ᴇ'npıčıket (dual of ᴇ'npıč, "the fathers")	Parents.
Qaitaka'ļñın	Brother.
ᴇnı'nelaᵋn	Eldest brother.
ıča'ñı	Younger brother.
Čä'kıt	Sister.
Enpı'čı-čä'kıt	Eldest sister.
Ñenča-čä'kıt	Younger sister.
Yiļa'ļñı-tu'mgın (female cousin, ña'u-yiļa'ļñı-tu'mgın)	Cousin, paternal and maternal.
Kmiñın[1] or akık	Son.
Yi'ļñı-kmi'ñın ("linked son")	Grandson.
Ñava'kık	Daughter.
Yi'ļñı-ñavakık ("linked daughter")	Grand-daughter.
Illawa' (niece, ña'u-illawa')[2]	Brother's or sister's child.

AFFINITY.

Mata'laᵋn	Father-in-law and brother-in-law.
Ña'u-nata'laᵋn	Mother-in-law and sister-in-law.
Intı'wulpi	Son-in-law.
Inte'	Daughter-in-law.
Taka'ļñın	Husband of wife's sister.
Ña'u-taka'ļñın	Wife's sister.
Ña'ul ("female friend")	Term of address used by one wife to another wife.

We see from the preceding list that the nomenclature of the Koryak relationship is nearer to our own system, called by Morgan the descriptive, than to the classificatory one. Father and uncle, mother and aunt, son and nephew, daughter and niece, brother or sister and cousins, have different names. Only the brothers and sisters of grandparents are termed "grandparents."

It is also of interest that the Koryak terms for grandson, grand-daughter, great-grandfather, and great-grandmother, are formed by a combination of the word "linked" with primary terms for son, daughter, etc., just as ours.

The distinct denomination of the elder brother and sister shows their position in the family.

The name mata'laᵋn, which embraces a whole group of relatives by affinity (with the prefix ña'u for females), must be regarded as a classifying term. The word mata'laᵋn is derived from the verb mata'ikin, meaning "to take" and also "to marry," and therefore designates a certain group of relatives by marriage.

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[1] Qaikmi'ñın signifies "boy."

[2] Illa', the name of Big-Raven's nephew, is evidently illawa' abridged.

XIII. — SOCIAL LIFE.

Ancient Forms of Social Life. — Social units, in the sense of organized 571
tribal or gentile groups, do not exist among the Koryak. The agnatic family 591
is the social unit. We do, however, find certain facts which seem to indicate the incipient formation of social groups exceeding the limits of a large patriarchal family. One such element, as I have stated before, is the relationship through marriage. Families which enter into such relationships thereby assume certain reciprocal material and moral obligations.

In those customs of the Koryak which refer to social relations, two anti- 178
thetical tendencies are clearly discernible. One of these tendencies, which we 578
might call anti-social, furthers the isolation of family groups of blood-relatives. The other tendency, on the contrary, develops the germs of a broader social organization. This antagonism in the social life of the Koryak was more marked before the advent of the Russians. Natural evolution would undoubtedly have led to an increasing predominance of the social element. Under the influence of the Russians, however, the social structure of the Koryak has degenerated. All antagonism having become obliterated, their present social life is colorless, and an independent development of social forms can no longer be expected.

I shall attempt to reconstruct the ancient social life of the Koryak from 174 -
traditions as well as from still discernible survivals of the past. Constant 621
wars, not only with other peoples, but between the separate groups of the
Koryak themselves, and the ravages of blood-revenge between the families, 609
rendered life insecure. Every stranger was regarded as a possible enemy. If an unknown man appeared in the settlement or the camp, he was at once asked where he came from, his weapons were inspected, and he was forced into a contest in order that his strength and agility might be ascertained. Then only was he admitted to the house. I was told of an ancient Koryak brave who, before attacking a man, would appear before him in disguise, in a miserable condition, his clothes in rags, and carrying a poor bow. In the ensuing contest he would defend himself but feebly, trying meanwhile to find out the strength of his adversary. During the contests at feasts, the warriors of the various settlements would carefully note each other's strength and methods, in order to profit by the knowledge thus obtained when real feuds would arise.

The attitude towards an outsider as an enemy or ill-wisher found expres- 771
sion not only in the fear of physical injury, but also in the fear of the evil 609

771 609 influence of his ill-wishing eye, wicked tongue or word. To prevent such magical influences, the stranger was not admitted to the family hearth, or the inmates would guard themselves against him by invoking the aid of protectors. These were either special idols or any other objects of the household.[1]

784 609 The hearth, as the chief protector of the family, was tabooed to the outsider. Equally inaccessible to all but relatives were the family drum and the sacred fire-drill. A kettle from a strange house could not be placed on the fire of the hearth, nor could the kettle be taken out of the house to another's fire. The drum and the fires of the hearth were never taken to a strange house, and only members of the family were allowed to touch the fire-drill. At present, as we shall see later, all these taboos have lost much of their force, but when strictly observed they must have exercised a hampering influence on the development of social life.

[771] These anti-social customs have to be attributed partly to the sense of insecurity, and partly to religious beliefs; but I am also able to indicate certain incipient tendencies towards a higher social status than the one represented by the family organization.

619 In the first place, the tradition of Big-Raven as a common ancestor generates the idea of ethnic unity. True, this idea exists but dimly in the consciousness of the Koryak. The partitive terms "the Reindeer Man," "the Maritime Man," the inhabitant of this or that settlement or camp, are more congenial to his mind than the collective term "Koryak,"[2] as a member of a unified people; but when I invited comparisons between the Koryak and the Tungus or the Yakut, the former drew the conclusion that the Koryak were of one blood, while the Tungus and the Yakut were foreigners. On the other hand, the Maritime Koryak considers himself more closely related to the Maritime Koryak than to the Reindeer Koryak, and *vice versâ*. This separation of the two groups of Koryak is fostered by the different forms of the household.

621 -174 In ancient times the settlements of the Maritime Koryak were not mere territorial groups, but associations of households, the inmates of which were united by ties of common rights and obligations. New settlements were habitually founded by men who had left the original villages, — men of independent character who had gained equal prominence as good warriors and as clever hunters. Around these leaders groups of men of ordinary abilities would settle, mostly relatives by blood or marriage, but occasionally also strangers seeking the protection of the founder of the settlement. Thus the settlement had no tendency to develop into a gens whose members traced their descent to a common ancestor, but presented a union of related or friendly families with an elder at the head. Neither in traditions nor in other

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[1] See Part I, p. 32.

[2] See p. 407.

tales do we find any trace of the representative principle before the advent 621
of the Russians. The principle of seniority dominated in the settlement as 174
well as in the family. By seniority we must not understand greater age alone,
but also greater physical strength. Aged weaklings were not considered. As 619
long as no stronger man appeared, the founder of the settlement was the 621
elder. The sacred post[1] erected by him was regarded as the guardian of
the entire settlement. The strong man always had several wives and many 174-
children, and after his death his family continued to dominate in the settlement. 554
In the reports of the Cossacks who fought the Koryak, mention is made of
the elders of settlements. There the Yakut name Toyon is given them, which
name in Yakut also means the representative of a clan or gens. The Koryak
called them E'yem, which means "the strong one." What the power of these [126]
leaders was cannot be gathered from these reports; but they relate that the
settlements would at times combine into defensive and offensive unions, as
was the case during the uprisings of the Koryak against the Russian conquerors.
What part was played in the formation of these unions by the E'yems, what
part by the mass of the Koryak, we do not know. During battles the extreme
authority was vested in the "strong men" and the good warriors, but
leadership in war was not always accorded to the elder in times of peace.

The family shamans and the professional shamans, who regulated the 554
family cult and the general religious life of the people, enjoyed a position of 756
a certain prominence in social affairs. Often the "elders" and "braves" themselves
possessed shamanistic powers, or they kept shaman helpers, whose
magic assisted them in their combats with enemies.

The fortification of a settlement[2] was the concern of all its inhabitants. 344
I have spoken before of the guardians of settlements and of the communal
character of the whale festival.[3] It is very probable that in ancient times 621
special houses were set apart in the villages for gatherings and feasts. In 796
describing the whale festival[4] I pointed out that the celebrations took place
in the largest house of the village, that the fire of the hearth was kept alive
by wood supplied by each and every one of the participating families, the
beds and sleeping-tents having previously been carried out of doors. Thus
the dwelling was temporarily transformed into a public house, the family
hearth became a communal hearth, and all the inhabitants of the settlement
cooked their meals at its fire. I saw another public house at the fair in the [527]
Palpal. This house was a large skin tent built by all the Reindeer Koryak
who had come to the fair.[5] In one myth[6] we are told that in the centre of
the kalau settlement a large house was situated, where the kalau were gathered
for a council.

We find another manifestation of social tendencies in the still surviving 000

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[1] See Part I, Fig. 4, p. 37.
[2] See p. 563.
[3] See Part I, p. 67.
[4] Ibid., p. 71.
[5] See p. 451; also Plate XIX, Fig. 2.
[6] See Part I, p. 314, No. 114.

572 We find another manifestation of social tendencies in the still surviving custom of making friends and fraternizing with members of an unrelated family. No formal rites accompany the formation of such friendships; at least, not at the present time; on the suggestion of the visitor or of the host, the two simply decide to be friends. It is customary among the Koryak to give some present to a man who enters the house for the first time. This is evidently the first step towards gaining the friendship or good-will of the stranger. In ancient times such friendships imposed on the members of a fraternity the duty of mutual protection against enemies; at present, however, their obligations are limited to mutual material support. In principle, this support must be regarded as an exchange on credit. It appears as if friends did not count favors, yet one or the other of them was always considered in
572 debt. Friendships are concluded among the Maritime as well as among the
437 Reindeer Koryak; but the friendships of the Reindeer Koryak on the one hand, and of the Maritime Koryak on the other, are of greater significance.
574 Without a fixed system of exchange, these two sections of the people could not exist. The Reindeer Koryak needs seal-skin thongs and entire skins of sea-animals; he also wants seal-blubber, and enjoys an occasional meal of sea-animals and fishes. The Maritime Koryak, on the other hand, needs reindeer-meat for food, and particularly reindeer-skin for clothing. With the first snowfall, in October or November, communication between the two groups is established. Parties of Reindeer Koryak at once start out for the settlements of their friends on the coast, who, in their turn, visit the Reindeer Koryak during the winter months. Generally the host asks his newly arrived friend what he needs, and informs him of the extent of his own possessions and the amount laid aside for barter. The host, on such occasions, frequently understates the amount in store. The visitor will often ask for any object in the house or storeroom of his friend which happens to strike his fancy, and he seldom meets with refusal.

The Koryak, in general, are afraid to disregard the wishes of any man, for refusal might arouse his anger or displeasure; and the ill-will of a man, whether shaman or not, may result in misfortune. The visitor, on his part, tries to be moderate in his demands; for if the host fulfils them reluctantly, and conceives an ill-feeling against his visitor, the object received will not bring any luck. However, in spite of all this, inequitable exchanges of services between friends do occasionally result in displeasure or misunderstanding.

Friendships are also formed between women, who then call each other ña'ul. In exchanging goods, the Maritime Koryak women provide chiefly embroidered and other ornamented parts for clothes, bags of seal-skin, grass baskets, and decorated boots; while the Reindeer Koryak women contribute sinew-thread, reindeer-skins, and clothes.

The Koryak extend their friendship also to the Russians, whose presents

The Koryak extend their friendship also to the Russians, whose presents [609]
generally consist of tea, tobacco, baked bread, biscuits, flour, and other
imported articles. 572

A Koryak, on his arrival in a settlement or camp, makes his headquarters 574
in the house or tent of a friend, and while there partakes of the meals as 437
a member of the family. The lads feed his dogs or guard his reindeer.
Among the Maritime Koryak a place is reserved for his bed on the platform
in the front part of the subterranean house, while among the Reindeer Koryak
he passes the night in the host's own sleeping-tent or in a separate sleeping-tent.
In ancient times the "friends" were met with fire from the hearth,
obviously in demonstration of the amicable feelings of the hearth as the
family protector, and of the host. At the present time, these friends, as all [576]
other visitors, are met with the greeting "Eh, ye'ti!" which means simply
"Ah, thou hast come!" to which the visitor answers, "Ye'ti."

Clearly, the fraternities as a social institution have a utilitarian basis; 761
but we also find certain manifestations of a social feeling of altruistic character.
Thus the announcement of the death of a member of the family, made by the
relatives to all the inhabitants of the settlement or of the surrounding camps,
is obviously intended as a warning of the danger from evil spirits, which
caused the death. The neighbors thus informed at once take protective
measures.[1]

As a rule, material support is offered by the more prosperous only to 476
relatives. In times of famine, however, the provisions are divided indiscriminately 731
among all the inhabitants of the settlement who are in need.

If we disregard for a moment the influence of the Russians on the social 174
life of the Koryak, it can, I think, be asserted that the independent development
of social forms among the Maritime Koryak could hardly have reached 565
the stage at which, the nobility and the common people would appear as two 558
sharply defined hereditary classes. The brave warrior and the clever hunter,
who, as a rule, ranked above the masses as protectors and providers of the
group, lost their influential positions during famines in years when huntin
and fishing had been unsuccessful. Not so with the Reindeer Koryak.

The concentration of fortunes in the form of large herds in the hands 174
of single individuals, and the perpetuation of these fortunes through inheritance, 565
might have furthered social differentiation, and led to the formation of
aristocratic families. In ancient times the possessor of a large herd had 556
to be not merely a good shepherd, but a warrior well able to protect his
herds against the attacks of enemies. Around him as a natural protector
would cluster, first of all, groups of relatives, but also neighbors (na'mtumgın,
"neighbor in camp") possessing but small herds or no herds at all. These
people would become herdsmen subordinate in position, while it devolved on

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[1] See Part I, p. 104.

174 the master to provide them with food and with skins for clothes. Able herds-
556 men would receive reindeer as presents from the master. In the further
565 progress of these relations, the rich possessors of herds might have consoli-
dated into an hereditary ruling class. This was prevented solely by the low
[558] character of the reindeer-culture. Frequent reindeer-pests, against which these
primitive reindeer-breeders were and still are powerless, suddenly transformed
rich herdsmen into beggars.

565 The life of the masters was in no way different from the life of the
poor herdsmen. The latter were not considered a lower class. Good herdsmen
511 could expect not only to marry the master's daughter, as they do up to the
174 present time, but to receive from the master a part of his herd. In one
myth[1] we are told that Big-Raven handed over to his son-in-law the larger
half of his herd, the latter having proved himself a good herdsman. In
another tale Big-Raven presents a part of his herd to the herdsman simply
on account of his being a faithful worker.[2]

567 The Koryak say that in ancient times the rich and the strong men held
174 slaves. These remained at home, and were employed for different kinds of
housework, and under the supervision of the women. It is difficult to ascertain in how far they were the property of the conquerors, and whether they could be bought and sold. In my opinion, slavery as a regulated institution could hardly have existed to any great extent; for, as intimated above, the Koryak had little faith in their captives, and generally put them to death, fearing their vengeance.

In this connection, a myth in which it is related that parents gave to their married daughter one woman for cooking and one for sewing,[3] is of interest. These women, of course, could not have been hired servants in the modern sense, but must have been slaves with whom the masters could do as they pleased.

174 Present Forms of Social Life. — I have already referred to the deteriorating influence which contact with the Russians has had on the development of the social relations of the Koryak. Relative security, with the cessation of wars and the waning of superstitions, weakened or eliminated the anti-social tendency towards the isolation of individual families. Such customs as the guarding of the family hearth against contact with objects belonging to other families, are now, under Russian influence, either but partly observed or they have been completely abandoned.

778 In the settlement Itkana, for instance, the only time when the family fire
177 cannot be taken to another house is while fishing is going on, as this might
turn the luck of the fishermen; but it may be carried in other seasons of the
year. Kettles and teapots, on the other hand, are carried to other houses
and back again at any season.

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[1] See Part I, p. 269.

[2] Ibid., p. 268.

[3] Ibid., p. 209, No. 52.

In Kuel the only season when fire, as well as the drum, cannot be taken 177
to another house, is the winter, obviously for the reason that the fire and the 778
drum as family protectors are most needed in winter, when the kalau most
frequently visit human habitations. The Reindeer Koryak on the Tı'lqai have
abandoned all taboos referring to the fire and to the drum. The Reindeer
Koryak on the Palpal have no interdict against taking the drum to another
house; the fire, however, they allow to be carried to the houses of relatives
only. On the Taigonos, ordinary fire may be taken to another house, but
not the sacred fire obtained by drilling.

The skin boat, in all non-Russianized villages, still forms part of the 778
family cult, and it can belong to but one family.[1] The sacrificial grass and 596
the alder-branches which are hung on the frame of the skin boat when it is
put away for the winter, must not be taken to another house.[2] In spring,
when the seal-skin cover is again put on the boat-frame, and the skin boat is
made ready for the sea, the possessor of the boat burns the sacrificial grass
and the branches at his hearth.

Russian influence has, on the other hand, also hampered the development 619
of some social factors, or has given them a new direction. Owing to 177
increased security, the tendency to form unions between settlements, camps,
and other groups, for the purpose of protection against enemies, has disappeared. 648

In the concluding chapter I shall give a short history of the conquest and
final subjection of the Koryak by the Russians. Here I will speak of the 621
present social standing of the so-called "elders" (Russian, starosta [староста]).
The obligations of the non-Russianized Koryak to the Russian Administration
consist in the payment of a tribute called yasak, and in free transportation
given by them to Russian officials. Mail also used to be carried without pay,
but recently the Government has fixed a fee for its transportation. To enforce
the duties imposed on the natives, men responsible for them had to be
appointed. For this purpose the Koryak were divided into "clans" (Russian,
ro'dy [роды, *sing*. родъ]).[3] These were purely territorial groups, lacking the
ties of common origin; and the name "clans" given to them is quite artificial.
For instance, some settlement of the Maritime Koryak, or a group of Reindeer
Koryak camping within the limits of a certain locality, were called clans.
At the present time these clans have ceased to be even territorial groups;
for, since the lists of families belonging to this or that group were first
compiled, many families have moved to another settlement or migrated to
another locality. The officials mistook the loose social structure of the Koryak
for a fully developed social organization, like that of other Siberian peoples
(the Yakut or Tungus, for instance), whose elders were elected by the members
of the clan or occupied hereditary positions. The territorial groups of the

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[1] See Part I, p. 41; p. 747. [2] See Part I, p. 78; and Plate VII, Fig. 1, opp. p. 80. [3] See pp. 433—443

648 621 Koryak consisted of families bound together by ties of blood or marriage or by economic relations, — the poor and weak were vassals of the rich and strong, — but these ties were based only in part on consanguinity; and the elders, elected as directed by the Russian Government, were not the natural heads of their communities. The representative principle itself has been 648 622 623 accepted very superficially. Among the Maritime Koryak a few old men of the settlement meet, and, if any one points out a man of executive ability, the others give him their support. The results of these elections are communicated to the chief of the district, either directly or through the Cossacks. The district chief reports to the Governor of the Maritime Province residing in Vladivostok, who confirms the elder in his office. The elder generally remains in office for a number of years, and then resigns. [556] Among the Reindeer Koryak these so-called "elections" of elders are still simpler. The elder is always one of the richest men, and is elected according to the instructions of the old men, possessors of herds, who decide the matter at a meeting.

648 622 The elder gathers the yasak, and delivers it at the Russian headquarters; he supervises the delivery of dogs by the families in his district, and superintends the people during the passing of Cossacks or the mail, and the visits of the officials, doctor, or minister; and he divides among the inhabitants of the settlement the pay for the transportation of mails. Those Koryak who live away from the main route have no mail to transport, and but seldom furnish free dog or reindeer sledges for the officials.

The elders of the Reindeer Koryak often simplify the fulfilment of the duties above enumerated. Possessing great numbers of reindeer, they furnish their own animals for the transportation of officials, and frequently pay out in their own fur or reindeer-skins the yasak for the entire group. The Taigonos elder, however, exacts the yasak from the members of his group.

622 626 During the summer, when communication with the Russians is temporarily suspended, the functions of elders also come to an end, for in no other phase of the family or social life are the elders of any account. Quarrels within the family do not spread beyond its limits, and friction between strangers is checked in one way or another by the parties concerned, without the interference of a recognized authoritative power.

626 177 Custom and religious taboos regulate the mutual relations of individuals and families. Frequently the opinions of old men exert a moral pressure on the conduct of the interested parties. All this does not, of course, exclude occasional violence on the part of the stronger man. On the whole, however, the general softening of manners, under the influence of Russian proximity, and possibly to a certain extent the weakening pulse of the primitive vital energy, have of late rendered violence a rare phenomenon.

622 177 It must, I think, be admitted that the imposed institution of elders is not devoid of all importance; for, though in a limited degree, it leads to the

622 177 practice of the principle of representation, and develops to some extent the authority of representative persons. In Itkana, for instance, the elder, besides paying the yasak of the "clan," makes purchases of flour, powder, and other articles in the official stores, and divides them among the families, whose faith in his impartiality is implicit.

622 177 626 I settled with individual drivers for the transportation of freight or of myself and my associates; but whenever a greater number of sledges was required, I always resorted to the elder of the settlement, who directed me to the men willing to be hired. The details were arranged with the men individually. Once when I had hired skin boats in Penshina Bay, I handed over to the elder the entire pay, consisting of bricks of tea, and he divided them among the owners of the boats and the oarsmen. On one occasion I saw an elder in the Paren settlement take by force the dogs of an old man for the transportation of Cossacks. This quarrelsome old man was dissatisfied with his share of the pay for the transportation of mail allotted to him by the elder, and refused to furnish dogs, as required by the free transportation obligation; whereupon the elder untied by force two dogs of his pack, and harnessed them to one of the sledges. Of course, he could not have done this if the other members of the settlement had not been on his side. On various occasions the elders complained to me of the disobedience of the people. [556] The elder of the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, whose personality and riches in reindeer had made him very influential, expressed to me his wish that the Czar might allow lazy herdsmen to be punished. He claimed that young men nowadays were worth nothing. This shows that the elder himself saw the source of his power in the Russian Government, and not in the customs of his people. Russian laws regarding the natives of Siberia, by the way, do authorize the elders to inflict punishment for trivial offences. Of course, the elder did not know this, and, had he known it, could not have acted according to this law, it being opposed to the usages of the Koryak.

421 177 In reference to food, Russian influence shows itself in favor of individualistic tendencies as against the tendencies of primitive communism in this matter.

224 In ancient traditions the ideal hunter is represented as follows. He heaps the results of the chase on the shore, and bids the inhabitants of the settlement divide them among themselves, and he takes for himself only what is left. He sits at a distance and watches how his catch is divided.[1] At the present time this principle is followed to a certain extent in hunting the whale, and even the white whale.[2] When their meat is divided, the entire settlement is invited. In regard to the white whale, however, this custom is not everywhere observed. I think that in reference to the products of hunting and fishing, indications of the principle of work could from the earliest times be

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[1] See, for instance, Part I, Tale 94, p. 275.

[2] See Part I, p. 56.

224 found side by side with the communistic principle, but that at the present time the principle of work has become predominant. As I have said before,[1] not all among the Maritime Koryak are owners of skin boats. For the hunting of sea-animals in boats, many men are required, and the owners of boats are eager to accept the services of those who do not own any. The relations of these helpers to the owner of the boat are not those of hirelings and master, but of associates with equal rights. The catch is divided into equal parts. In order to obtain more men for his boat, the owner at times takes for himself less than his just share. The participants in his chase, on their part, contribute their own harpoons, and supply the owner with thongs and skins for repairing the boat. When fish and seals are caught with nets, the owners of the latter form groups of several families at each
476 net, among whom the haul of the net is equitably divided. Some individuals
437 prefer to hunt and fish by themselves. Needed assistance is offered mostly to relatives through blood or marriage. Workmen hired for a certain yearly
[465] compensation can be found only in the Russianized settlements. Men serving for their brides occupy the position of free workmen; if, however, they have to support aged parents, a share in the products of hunting and fishing is accorded to them. During the exchanges with tradesmen it becomes evident that the hunter's right or ownership is more sharply defined in reference to products of fur-hunting than in reference to objects of consumption. At home the hunter deals with the skins of the fur-animals he has killed more independently than does the fisherman with the fish he has caught, exchanging them frequently for articles he personally needs.

463 The position of herdsmen among reindeer-owners is now essentially the same as before;[2] but, if a herdsman lives with his family in a separate tent, the number of reindeer he will receive during the year to kill is often agreed upon in advance.

177 Russian influence has further manifested itself in the tendency of large families to split up into smaller ones. The Koryak assert that in ancient
592 times the houses were more spacious, and that all relatives, to the number
596 of forty or more individuals, lived together in one dwelling. In houses of the Maritime Koryak I have never seen more than fifteen individuals. Among the Reindeer Koryak I found twenty-five individuals in one tent, thirteen of whom, however, were herdsmen and their families. Besides, the sisters and daughters of the master had married into other families, which is of common occurrence, although in ancient times families related by marriage not infrequently lived together. In this case, however, the elder brother, with his family and herds, had also separated from the group, which in ancient times happened very seldom. But nowadays I have frequently met cousins or brothers

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[1] See p. 538.

[2] See p. 766.

living apart. In connection with the separation of brothers, the custom of 177
minority succession has become established. The mother, the aged father, 592
and the unmarried sisters, remain with the younger brother, who also retains 596
the house, all family protectors and amulets, and the boat. The reindeer of the remaining members of the family are under his general supervision.

Vendetta. — Blood-revenge does not seem to occur at present. This 628
is one of the late results of Russian influence, for the archives record cases 177
of blood-vengeance reported by district officials to the Province Administration up to very recent times. The disappearance of this custom, however, must be ascribed solely to the cultural influence of Russian manners, and not to the stringency of the Russian laws.

The Administration is powerless to enforce respect for the Russian laws in the desolate tundras. In distant localities beyond the easy reach of Russian settlers, murders in the name of revenge for blood or insult probably still continue to occur.

With the Koryak, as with all primitive peoples, the practice of taking blood-revenge has arisen as a re-action to lawless violence. Within certain limits this object has been attained; but no sooner did one murder occurred than it would be followed by an entire series of other murders, and the feud between two family groups would not infrequently be kept alive through several generations.

The duty of avenging the murder of a relative fell upon the male members of the consanguineous group. According to the accounts of the Koryak, the immediate avengers were the brothers; then followed cousins, nephews, and the more remote relatives on the father's or mother's side. In case there were no brothers, the father or uncle, unless impeded by age, would take their place. On the whole, however, vengeance for blood was considered by the Koryak to be the duty of all blood-relatives, and not of single individuals. A consanguineous group consisting of one or several families was also jointly responsible for a murder committed by one of its members, and in so far must be regarded as one juridical personality. We know that the old men often attempted to check the spread of blood-revenge. For this purpose, ransom was resorted to. The Reindeer people would give reindeer to the family of the victim; while the ransom of the Maritime people would consist of skins, embroidered clothes, arms, and other articles.

In one of his reports to the Governor in 1885, the chief of the Gishiga district refers to one case of murder committed at a fair on the Palpal. The relatives of the murderer entered into negotiations with the relatives of the victim in regard to a ransom; but when the latter proved too exacting, the former cut short the negotations, hurriedly broke camp under cover of night, and, accompanied by distant relatives, migrated northward, leaving the family of the victim free to act in accordance with custom. It is further

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stated in the report, that on the following day the family of the victim started out in pursuit of the offenders. Here the report of the case ends.

In blood-revenge the Koryak did not insist on the punishment of the culprit himself. Any one or a number of his relatives might fall in his stead, blood for blood being the only principle followed. The interpretation of the usage of revenge is corroborated by the circumstances under which reconciliation is occasionally effected between the family of the culprit and that of the victim. The family of the former cedes to the family of the latter a young man as a son-in-law, or a girl as a daughter-in-law. The essential element in this method of reconciliation is obviously, not the ceding of a member of the family in compensation for the murderer's victim, but the fact that through these marriages ties of affinity are established between the hostile families, in consequence of which the blood-revenge lapses, for no compensation is required for the murder of a relative. Murder within the family is the shedding of one's own blood; vengeance here would mean perpetual bloodshed. I was told that in the past, murders of vicious, cruel, or tiresome people remained unpunished. Even when strangers would kill a member of the group whose conduct was anti-social or otherwise objectionable, relatives would not seek compensation for him.

Cases have occurred where relatives of the murderer, in order to escape vengeance, have abandoned him to his fate at the hands of the avenger. On the Taigonos Peninsula I met a Koryak named Xoti'to, whose father had come from the Oklan River. His father's brother killed, in a quarrel, a rich and influential Koryak; and his father, in order to prevent the victim's family from taking vengeance, killed the culprit with his own hands. Even after this he did not feel safe, and finally migrated with his family and herds to the Taigonos Peninsula. On the same peninsula I met another fugitive from the Opuka River who had killed his friend, a herdsman. His flight was successful: for the relatives of the victim were poor people, who could not pursue him for a long distance. This murder was not avenged.

The incidents recorded in some of the myths are interesting, in that they show that even in ancient times the old men strove to check the feuds of the younger people. Thus it is told that Big-Raven conceals from his son the fact that their relatives were killed by the neighboring Chukchee, fearing that this revelation might lead to vengeance.[1] The son, having learned of the truth, goes to the neighbors at night, and, finding their elder son asleep, decapitates him. On the following day, the Chukchee come to Big-Raven's house, and say. "You have not taught your son not to kill people. Now come out: we will kill you all." Hearing this, Big-Raven turns to his elder son, and says, "You did not mind me. Go out alone. Let them kill you first, then perhaps they will spare the others."

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[1] See Part I, p. 137, No. 6.

In another myth[1] Big-Raven's elder son, Eme′mqut, bids his younger 628
brother Big-Light to bring back to life a girl of the kamak whom he had 177
killed, that they might live in peace with their neighbors.

A terrible case of blood-revenge is narrated in the district chief's report to the Governor, of Dec. 31, 1882.[2] An Alutor had killed another while sharing the catch of a seal-hunt. With the help of relatives and friends, the culprit succeeded in taking such elaborate precautions for his personal safety, that the attempts of the hostile group to avenge themselves repeatedly failed. At last the relatives of the victim succeeded, under cover of darkness, in creeping up to the house of the murderer. They barricaded the entrance and set fire to the house. The entire family of the culprit and one strange woman perished in the flames. This cruel procedure was not considered excessive by the Koryak. Only the relatives of the strange woman considered vengeance justifiable, and demanded a ransom.

During wars, the victors would put the children of the vanquished to 727
death to prevent vengeance. In one of the myths cited above, Eme′mqut,
having annihilated the warriors of the Chukchee, says to his people, "Let us 628
go to their camp and kill their women and children. If we leave them alive, the sons of the killed men will make war upon us when they grow up."[3]

The Koryak are very rancorous, and try to avenge every insult. At 627
the Koryak fair on the Palpal I witnessed a fight which I consider charac-
teristic. On the third day of the fair, reindeer-races and other contests took [181]
place. Among the combatants were two young Koryak from the Opuka River, 578
A′inqo and Xata′učñın. The former was the older and weaker, but succeeded by a clever twist in throwing his adversary. Xata′učñın soon found himself on top of A′inqo, but the combat was pronounced undecided. In the evening of the same day, Xata′učñın quietly approached A′inqo and struck him. A fight ensued, in which Xata′učñın soon gained the upper hand. Nobody interfered. Suddenly A′inqo, whose face was all battered, ceased to defend himself, and squatted down on his heels. Xata′učñın kept on striking him on the head, while A′inqo sat helplessly, his head drooping, his face covered with blood. Thus the beaten Koryak expresses his submission and pleads for his life. Xata′učñın raged like a wild beast, and would probably have killed A′inqo but for the interference of the old men. As A′inqo's relatives were expected to arrive at the fair the next day, the old men forced Xata′učñın to leave the same night in order that further fighting might be avoided. Before Xata′učñın's departure I invited him to my tent for a glass of tea, and asked him to explain to me the cause of the fight. It appeared that his enmity toward A′inqo was of old standing. When he (Xata′učñın) was a boy, the elder A′inqo used to beat him. Their fathers, too, had had

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[1] See Part I, p. 239.

[2] See Case of the Archives of the Gishiga District, 1882, No. 404.

[3] See Part I, p. 158.

627 quarrels. Shortly before the fair, A'inqo took by force two reindeer belonging to Xata'učñın's brother. On their way to the fair, Xata'učñın called at A'inqo's tent, put on his new boots, which were drying outside, and left his old pair in their place. A'inqo said nothing, but Xata'učñın finally decided to settle accounts with him at the fair. The undecided contest of strength with A'inqo, from which Xata'učñın was sure to come off victorious, merely gave a fresh edge to his intentions. Such encounters sometimes end very sadly.

439 TRADE. — I have already spoken of the character which the exchange traffic of the Koryak has assumed at the present time. Here I shall give data on the amount of the export and import trade of this region for the year 1899. These data I obtained from the merchants themselves, who that year were four in number. Three of the firms were situated in Gishiginsk, and the fourth in Baron Korff's Bay. During the winter these firms send their assistants with goods to the settlements and camps of the Koryak, or the assistants arrange purchasing-parties to one of the above localities. Some Russians and Koryak take goods from the merchants on credit, and trade independently in the interior.

The imports for the year 1899, calculated from the selling-prices of the above-mentioned trading-firms, amounted to 47,000 rubles.[1]

The imports consisted of American, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian goods. The American goods were wheat-flour, biscuits, drilling, and axes, to the amount of 5833 rubles. From China came tea (mostly bricks and some black leaf-tea) amounting to 12,489 rubles. The only Japanese importation was rice, 140 rubles. The remaining sum (29,000 rubles) represents Russian goods.

Among the Russian goods, the first place belongs to tobacco (9710 rubles); the second, to manufactured articles, — calico, fustian, cloth, scarfs, tow-ropes, and thread for nets (6503 rubles); the third to sugar (5258 rubles); the fourth to iron and brass ware (4317 rubles). The remaining sum (about 3500 rubles) covers ornaments, matches, candles, and articles of luxury, such as butter, soap, ready-made clothes, sweets, petroleum, and other articles consumed by the Russians themselves.

To the total amount of the imports must be added the articles sold by the Government store, — flour, rice, weight iron, powder, and lead, — amounting, during the year, to about 10,000 rubles. A certain sum must also be counted for the contraband trade in alcohol, the sale of which is prohibited.

Barter, to a small extent, is carried on by the Koryak with American whalers of Penshina Bay and Bering Sea.

EXPORTS. — In 1899 the following goods were exported to Vladivostok from Gishiginsk and Baron Korff's Bay.

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[1] A ruble is equivalent to about fifty cents.

EXPORTS FROM GISHIGINSK AND BARON KORFF'S BAY.

		Total Cost.	Average Cost.	
		Rubles.	*Rubles.*	*Kopecks.*[1]
1.	Sables (85 skins)	1825	21	47
2.	Red foxes (1743 skins)	8460	4	86
3.	Gray foxes (122 skins)	1524	12	49
4.	White Arctic foxes, adults (525 skins)	1535	2	92
5.	White Arctic foxes, cubs (332 skins)	347	1	4
6.	Blue Arctic foxes (4 skins)	48	12	—
7.	Fox-paws (1350 pieces)	338	—	21
8.	Squirrels (28,230 skins)	5635	—	20
9.	Squirrel-tails (6 pounds)	18	3	—
10.	Black bears (380 skins)	4848	12	76
11.	White bears (4 skins)	200	50	—
12.	Wolves (120 skins)	576	4	60
13.	Otters (14 skins)	150	10	71
14.	Beavers (69 skins)[2]	957	13	90
15.	Ermines (124 skins)	24	—	19
16.	Marmots (105 skins)	78	—	74
17.	Spring fawn-skins (1810)	7694	—	42
18.	Fall fawn-skins (10,520)	15370	1	46
19.	Summer skins (1350)	930	—	69
20.	Winter skins of adult reindeer (650)	456	—	70
21.	Dressed reindeer-skins (1555)	1555	1	—
22.	Reindeer-feet skins (3000 pieces)	150	—	5
23.	Rugs of Reindeer-fur (10 pieces)	140	14	—
24.	Coats of reindeer-fur (76)	650	8	55
25.	Coats of reindeer-leather (41)	123	3	—
26.	Gloves of reindeer-leather (22 pairs)	22	1	—
27.	Boots of reindeer-fur (254 pieces)	708	2	9
28.	Spotted-seal skins (98 pieces)	147	1	50
29.	Thong-seal thongs (1450 sashen[3])	145	—	10
30.	Whalebone (82 puds[4])	328	4	—
31.	Walrus-tusks (25 puds[4])	620	24	80
32.	Mammoth-bone (25 puds)	500	20	—
	Total exports	56,831 rubles.		

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[1] A kopek is equivalent to about half a cent.

[2] Beavers are not found in northeastern Siberia. Those exported were skins of *Castor canadensis*, and of American origin. The Chukchee near Bering Strait acquire them from the American Eskimo through barter, and sell them to the Russian traders of the Kolyma, Anadyr, and Gishiga districts.

[3] Sashen (сажень) is equivalent to 7 feet.

[4] A pud is equivalent to 40 Russian or 36 English pounds.

Fairs. — I have stated before that during the winter months representatives of firms and petty traders make the round of the settlements and camps of the Koryak, but in two localities[1] veritable fairs are organized. Both take place on the Palpal in localities about one day's journey apart. The more southern one is known as the Koryak Fair; the other, as the Chukchee Fair, on account of the prominent participation in it of the Chukchee from the Palpal. Both fairs are held in March, the Chukchee fair coming first, and the Koryak immediately after. The locality selected is not always the same. It is determined by the Reindeer Koryak from the Palpal, who take into consideration the convenience of the reindeer-owners. The participants in the fair, while on the way, receive intelligence as to the locality decided upon. The same agents and petty traders visit both fairs, which last from three to five days. Among the traders, the ironsmiths from the western shore of Penshina Bay, carrying their iron products, may always be seen. The buyers at the two fairs are different. These fairs are arranged particularly for the benefit of the Palpal Reindeer people, who follow their herds far away from the main routes. Other prominent participants in the fairs are the northeastern Maritime Koryak from the Poqač and the Opuka Rivers, and some Kerek. These fairs are not very crowded. The people assembled number from two hundred to four hundred, and the transactions sum up to a few thousand rubles. The fairs are attended by a Gishiginsk official accompanied by three or four Cossacks, who receive the tribute from the Palpal Koryak, and preserve order. The Cossacks, however, are utterly unable to fulfil this latter duty unless assisted by the Koryak themselves. The Russian Administration prohibits the merchants from opening the fair until the tribute from the Palpal elders has been gathered in.

I witnessed one of these fairs, — the Koryak one. It took place in the valley of the Vañnetat River. The Reindeer Koryak were stationed on an open treeless plain on one bank of the river. They erected one spacious common tent,[2] excepting two Chukchee families, which had tents by themselves. Not far away from the large tent the Russian traders took their stand. The goods were placed on exhibition on sledges and boxes. Two of the Russians had canvas tents in which they slept wrapped in furs. On the opposite bank the Maritime Koryak from Penshina Bay and Bering Sea could be seen. Here mumerous fires were burning, at which tea was boiled and reindeer-meat cooked, and around which the Maritime Koryak slept at night in the open. The temperature at night fell to — 35° C. The poplars and aspens scattered over the grounds were used for fuel. Close to the fires stood the dog-sledges of the Maritime Koryak, on which bags with goods and other articles were heaped. The dogs were tied to trees to keep them from attacking the

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[1] See Part I, map.

[2] See Plate XIX, Fig. 2, and pp. 451, 763.

reindeer which were roaming near the tents of the Reindeer Koryak on the 437
other bank. Early in the morning the Maritime Koryak would start crossing 543
the river to the Reindeer Koryak and the Russian merchants, and back to their own camp. The skins of foxes and other animals were procured from the bosom, or brought in bundles, and offered to the merchants in exchange for goods. The merchants sold knives and spears. During the first two days the Reindeer Koryak made offerings of reindeer to the owner of the place and to other deities.[1] On the last day, when the camp was deserted, all that was left were heaps of antlers of the killed reindeer, and traces of the numerous fires. Plate XXIV, Fig. 2, represents the train of a Reindeer Koryak after the close of the fair, ready to leave the deserted camp.

Units and Prices. — The average prices which I gave for the export 435
goods in the above list are the prices made by the merchants for the trading-companies in Vladivostok, to which place the goods were sent. The actual cost of these goods to the merchants is determined by the value attached to the articles received in exchange. These values, as will be seen later, vary greatly. When the petty traders sell fur skins to the merchants for cash, the skins are rated at approximately the prices given in the list. Thus, for example, a red fox varies in price between 4 and 5 rubles; a gray fox, between 12 and 13 rubles. Squirrels, the exchange units of the Tungus, are rated at 20 kopeks apiece; a reindeer-skin, at 1 ruble; and a dressed skin of a grown reindeer-calf, at 1 ruble 50 kopeks; and so on. Koryak who come to Gishiginsk in the winter also sell fur skins for cash, to pay the tribute, and to make purchases at the official store. As a rule, however, trade is still carried on by barter; and the valuation of the import articles by the merchants depends on the locality where the exchange is expected to take place. The farther from Gishiginsk it is, the higher become the prices of the articles. A brick of tea, for instance, — which is one of the most common units, and weighs about 1.5 pounds, — represents at Gishiginsk the value of 50 kopeks; but, as one proceeds away from Gishiginsk to the interior, its price gradually increases up to 2 rubles. At Vladivostok, on the other hand, a brick cost, during my stay there, 30 kopeks. Another important exchange unit, a package of tobacco-leaves, weighing 2 pounds or slightly above that, and rated in Gishiginsk at 60 kopeks, also reaches the price of 2 rubles. Besides, the merchants do some cheating. For instance, special orders are placed with Chinese plantations for bricks of smaller weight than the normal, and tobacco-packages are untied and three are made out of two; the stems of the tobacco-leaves are soaked in water, which is absorbed by the tobacco, thus increasing the weight of the package. Iron and brass ware is sold by the pound, and is rated, iron at from 30 kopeks to 1 ruble; brass,

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[1] See Part I, p. 96.

435 at from 50 kopeks to 2 rubles. The result of this system is, that for a brick of tea one can get one reindeer-skin in some localities, and four reindeer-
437 skins in others.

For 5 arshin[1] of calico for a shirt, one can get one or two reindeer-
177 skins. Some Cossack traders, profiting by the love of the Reindeer Koryak for gay colors, manufacture small wooden boxes, paint them with colors, or cover them with red cloth, and exchange them for foxes or other furs. Of course, only Reindeer Koryak of distant localities can be caught by such devices. Koryak women give reindeer-skins, bags of seal-skin, small rugs, and other products, in exchange for glass beads, ear-rings, bracelets, brass buttons, and other ornaments. Sugar is the favorite exchange article. During the winter the Reindeer Koryak store away the tongues of killed reindeer, and in spring deliver them to the merchants in exchange for sugar, one tongue being given for each piece. In general, sugar is the most mobile exchange article next to tea and tobacco.

432 Many Reindeer Koryak, as well as the trading Maritime Koryak, enjoy credit with the merchants, and settle their accounts semi-annually or anually with furs or reindeer-skins. On the whole, however, trade on credit is much less common with the Koryak than it is with the Tungus or the Yakut.

436 Notwithstanding the exchange character of their trade, the Koryak, even in the remotest regions, know Russian money. In the places nearest to Russian settlements the Koryak prefer money to exchange articles in trading-transactions, and also as compensation for services rendered, for with money they can make purchases at the Government store.

Curiously enough, the Russian monetary unit, the ruble, has among the Koryak the same name as iron, *polou'nto;* a paper ruble is called keli'tul polou'nto (that is, "painted iron"); while a silver ruble, as well as silver itself, is called ñaña-polou'nto ("current iron").

487 ROUTES. — I have spoken of the means of transportation in several chapters. As to routes, there are none in those localities where the Reindeer Koryak wander with their herds. The Reindeer Koryak, in their wanderings, follow the currents of rivers or streams. From the valleys of the rivers they ascend to the pasture-land of the elevated treeless tundras, or cross over the mountain-ranges to other valleys.

487 The Maritime Koryak, in their winter travels with dogs, follow definite routes. From Itkana one route leads to Gishiginsk, another to Paren. From
205 Gishiginsk the route leads over Paren, Kuel, Mikino, and Shestakovo (Egač), to Kamenskoye. Between Shestakovo and Kamenskoye, the route branches off to the north, by way of the Penshinsk settlement, to Markova on the Anadyr; and from Kamenskoye one route leads to Palpal, another to Talovka. From

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[1] An arshin is equivalent to 0.778 of an English yard.

Talovka one route leads by way of Rekınnok to Kamchatka, another by way 487
of Vetvey to Qayılın. From Qayılın one route leads to the Opuka River, and 205
another by way of Vıvnık to Kamchatka. Along the most of these courses lies the official route over which the mail is transported. From Gishiga the mails are sent to three places and back again, — to Yakutsk by way of Okhotsk, to Petropavlovsk by way of Kamenskoye, and to Markova on the Anadyr by way of Shestakovo and the Russian settlement Penshinsk. Three mails are sent during the year from Gishiginsk to each of these three points, and as many return mails are received in Gishiginsk. The mails are sent in November, January, and April respectively. They are despatched on two or three sledges, one of which is occupied by the Cossack letter-carrier. As a rule, the mail is carried by dog-sledge; but over the Parapol Dol to North Kamchatka it is often carried by the reindeer of the local Koryak. In each settlement, Russian or Koryak, lying on the route, the dog-teams are changed. Some time ago the inhabitants of villages had to transport the mails free of charge; but of late the Government has fixed a fee of three kopeks per verst[1] for each sledge. The elder of each village gathers the dogs contributed by the villagers, receives the official fees and distributes them among the inhabitants. The elders come for their pay to Gishiginsk, or receive it from the district chief or his assistant when one of them makes the round of the district. The distance from Gishiginsk to Yakutsk is equal to 2975 versts; from Gishiginsk to Petropavlovsk, 2061 versts; and from Gishiginsk to Markova on the Anadyr, 700 versts.

In summer, communication between Gishiginsk and the interior ceases 494
almost completely. Neighboring settlements or camps are reached by walking. 505
The Maritime Koryak use skin boats, in addition. Until the year 1900, there arrived at the mouth of the Gishiga River during the summer one Government steamer from Vladivostok, not counting two trading-steamers. The Government hired a steamer of the voluntary fleet. In 1900 the Government entered into an agreement with the steamship company of the East Chinese Railway, calling for four cruisers to northern waters up to the mouth of the Anadyr. All the steamers had to stop at the mouth of the Gishiga River; and the steamer of the second cruise, at Baron Korff's Bay in addition. During the period 1900–02 these cruises were made regularly; but with the opening of the Japanese war, they were stopped entirely, and I do not know in what form they were renewed after the conclusion of peace.

There is no direct winter route from Okhotsk south to the Amur River 487
and to Vladivostok. This almost precludes all winter communication between Gishiginsk, Markova, and Petropavlovsk, with Vladivostok, the last-named place being the seat of the Governor, to whom the Gishiga, Anadyr, and Kamchatka districts are subject. The only practical winter route between these places

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[1] A verst is equivalent to 0.663 of an English mile.

487 and Vladivostok is by way of Irkutsk, Yakutsk, and Okhotsk. Thus a message from the Governor to the chief of the district of Petropavlovsk, for instance, if sent in autumn, can reach its destination only in spring.

526 RACING AND GAMES. — Reindeer and dog racing, as well as walking-contests, are popular pastimes with the Koryak. As I have mentioned above, reindeer-racing among the Reindeer Koryak assumes a religious character, which walking and dog-racing do not possess. Reindeer-races, with or without prizes, take place very frequently; dog-racing, on the contrary, is of rare occurrence; while walking-contests are equally popular with the Reindeer and the Maritime Koryak.

On Plate XXXVIII, Fig. 1, is represented a walking-contest of the Reindeer Koryak which took place on the Topolovka River towards the close of the winter. At the start the contestants formed a transverse line; but, as the stronger members gradually gained headway, the line became longitudinal. Thus they walked for a distance of about two miles to a marked goal, and back again to the starting-point, where the first to arrive tore down a package of tobacco from a pole erected in the snow. The participants in the race not only pay attention to the rapidity of their motion, but also attempt to take long steps, jumping occasionally, and throwing their feet up out of the soft snow.

524 I also witnessed the following games played, some by adults, others by children.

The raven-game (ẉeˈlve-čiˈtıtkın), is represented on Plate XXXVIII, Fig. 2, where the mother-raven, and the young ravens standing behind her, may be seen. The raven that stands facing the mother-raven tries to catch the young ones and eat them, while the mother exerts herself to the utmost to prevent it from doing so. In spite of her efforts, it catches them one by one and drags them to its side. In this game, men and women alike take part promiscuously. In some games men and women separate into two mutually antagonistic groups. Such is the case in the game of "playing house," or koyayačelañın (see Plate XL, Fig. 2). The men join hands and form an inner circle, which stands for the house; while the women surrounding it on all sides try to destroy the house by pulling apart the hands of the men. An animated fight ensues, during which the women, kicked by the men, fly off in all directions, and many fall to the ground, but presently pick themselves up and return to their task with renewed vigor. If the women are more numerous than the men, they always succeed in destroying the house.

A variation of the "raven-game" is the game wıtaˈyočñın ("[a sack] filled with moss"). The participants sit down on the ground in such a way that each one finds himself between the legs of the one behind him. The first in this row represents the mother, the rest are the children. Then Kaˈla (the cannibal) approaches, saying, "Give me a child or I will eat you." —

524 "These are not children," she answers, "but sacks filled with moss." — "Let it be moss," replies Ka'la, and grabs the hindmost child. He does the same with all the other children; but when he gets to the mother, she kills him and takes back all her children. The designation of children as "sacks filled with moss" recalls an episode of the Koryak-Eskimo tales, where the people save themselves from a cannibal through flight, leaving in their stead clothes stuffed with moss.[1]

In the "marmot game" the participants join hands and form a circle; while two individuals represent a dog pursuing a marmot, which keeps on leaving and entering the circle.

526 A very common game, or rather physical exercise, is that of running around a circle. In the villages of the Maritime as well as in the camps of the Reindeer Koryak, when the day's work is done, and before supper is served, youths may be seen running around in a circle, while the old people sit on the snow not far away from the players. From the running, a firm circle is trodden down in the snow. The evening games are discontinued with the approach of spring, when frosts no longer occur.

Besides racing, various kinds of contests are arranged. Before a fight the
young men strip themselves to the belt and rub their bodies with snow. Various
forms of combats are represented in the carvings in Figs. 166 and 167 (pp. 650,
651). Among the Reindeer Koryak a common form of contest is jumping over
a reindeer. Ball-playing is as popular with the Koryak as it is with the
[574] Chukchee.[2] In olden times the Koryak, like the Eskimo, used to have a
ball-game with strangers before entertaining them.[3] Small children play with
524 dolls, represented in Figs. 186 and 187 (pp. 669, 670); also with animals carved
857 of wood or bone, and toy vessels, drums, and tents. The older children play
dog and reindeer driving. Some put on the harness, others sit on the sledge
(Plate XXXIX). Children have races and contests similar to those of adults.

A favorite game of boys of the Reindeer Koryak is the following. A long thong is fastened to an inclined pole sticking out of the snow. To the lower end of the thong a piece of wood or a bone is attached. The thong is swung to and fro, and the players try to lasso the stone. Thus the boys acquire practice in the skilful handling of the lasso, presently to be used in catching running reindeer (see Plate XXI, Fig. 2). Of similar character are the target-shooting contests of the boys, in which toy boys are used. An old mitten suspended on a stick in the snow serves as a target.

Among other toys, the spinning-top must be mentioned. There is also a kind of cup-and-ball game called oxxa'ltın, in which a hollow piece of wood is thrown up and caught on a peg provided with a cross-piece. The Chukchee have a somewhat similar game called o'kkal.[4]

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[1] See Part I, pp. 181, 212, 331, 364, 365.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 271.

[3] See Part I, pp. 125, 163.

[4] Ibid., p. 272.

535 The dramatic dances of children and adults, consisting in the imitation of the movements and sounds of animals, are the same with the Koryak as with the Chukchee.[1] Plate XL, Fig. 1, illustrates a dance of the Reindeer Koryak which I saw on the Taigonos Peninsula. Men standing in a row face a row of women, and men and women produce in turn guttural rattling sounds in imitation of seals, trample on one spot, bend and unbend their knees, and move their shoulders.

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 268.

XIV. — HISTORY OF THE CONTACT OF THE KORYAK WITH RUSSIANS, AMERICANS, AND NEIGHBORING PEOPLES.[1]

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First Encounters of the Koryak with the Russians. — In 1632 the Russian conquerors of Siberia settled on the Lena River, and built a fortified town, Yakutsk, which they used as a central base for further expeditions. In the course of these expeditions they reached Okhotsk and Bering Seas on the east, the Arctic Ocean on the north, and the Amur River on the south.

In their progress eastward the Russians met the Koryak. Rumors of the abundance of furs in the district of Okhotsk began to reach Yakutsk in 1636, and in 1639 a party in command of the Cossack Moskvitin ascended the river Aldan, its tributary the Maya, and the Yudoma, an affluent of the latter, and, after crossing the Stanovoi Mountains, reached the upper course of the Ulya River. Following the course of this river, they reached the Sea of Okhotsk. The next year a number of these Russians advanced along the coast to Tauysk, which lies about four hundred miles northeast of the mouth of the Ulya River. Here they first met the Koryak; but the conquest of this region did not immediately follow. On the southern shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the Russians had to break the violent opposition of the Tungus. A fortified settlement built by the Russians in 1644 at the mouth of the Okhota River — a settlement which has now become the district town Okhotsk — was repeatedly attacked by the Tungus. At other places the Tungus annihilated parties of Russians.

The land-route from Okhotsk to the mouth of the Gishiga River led over Tauysk, Yamsk, Tovatama, and other villages of the Koryak territory. On this route, which ran along a narrow strip of coast between the Stanovoi Mountains and the Sea of Okhotsk, the Russians met violent and prolonged resistance on the part of the Maritime Koryak of the Sea of Okhotsk. At times the Russians succeeded in breaking up a village or settlement, and forced the Koryak to pay tribute; but until the year 1712 the Koryak between Tauysk and the Penshina River absolutely refused to recognize Russian x648 175 sovereignty. In the course of that year a party led by the Cossack Gutoroff, after an unsuccessful attempt to reach Kamchatka by sea[1] from Okhotsk, advanced along the coast to the mouth of the Iglylan River.[2] Here, according to Cossack accounts, they found the Koryak from several villages gathered; and in a hot fight which ensued,[3] seventy adult Koryak and two hundred youths and children were killed. Gutoroff could not advance farther north on account of the refusal of the Tungus to accompany them any farther. It appears from the Government records, that between 1730 and 1750 — that is, after the expedition of Pavlutsky, which will be described later on — the entire Okhotsk coast was still in the hands of the Koryak, and Okhotsk could communicate with Anadyr only by way of Kamchatka. Not until 1757, when a fortified settlement was built at the mouth of the Gishiga River, and after the fortress Anadyrsk was abandoned by the Russians in 1764, can it be said that Koryak resistance ceased, and some groups of Koryak began to pay tribute (yasak) of their own accord.

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[1] The historical sketch contained in this chapter is based on data collected by the author in the Archives of Gishiginsk, and, besides the sources enumerated in the list of authorities (pp. 3—11), — like Krasheninnikoff, Slovtsoff, Maydell, Slunin, and others, — on the following works: T. E. Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte (St. Petersburg, 1768), Parts 1, 2; Semivsky, Newest Interesting and Authentic Narrative of East Siberia (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1817; Pypin, History of Russian Ethnography (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1892, Vol. IV, Siberia; Andrievich, The History of Siberia (St. Petersburg, 1889), Parts I, II (Russian); Andrievich, Historical Sketches of Siberia, based on the Russian Code (St. Petersburg, 1887); Priklonsky, Bibliography of Siberia (Russian); Stcheglof, Chronological List of the Most Important Data of the History of Siberia, Irkutsk, 1883 (Russian); Solovyeff, Russian History, St. Petersburg, Vols. I—XXI (Russian). The characterization and interpretation of the historical facts belong to the author.

Most of the fighting with the Koryak was directed by the commanders of the fortress Anadyrsk, and not by the Administration of Okhotsk.

In their northeastern advance from Yakutsk, the Russians reached the mouth of the Kolyma River, where, in 1644, the Cossack Stadukhin founded the settlement Nishne Kolymsk. From that spot the Russians proceeded farther east; and in 1649 the fortress Anadyrsk, on the river of the same name, was founded by the Cossack Deshneff, who had travelled in boats from the mouth of the Kolyma through Bering Strait to the mouth of the Anadyr.

The fortress Anadyrsk played a prominent part in the Russian conquest of the extreme northeast of Siberia; for, from Anadyr as a base, military expeditions were undertaken which led to the conquest of the Koryak, and later to that of the Kamchadal.

On the Anadyr River the Russians had to deal with the Chukchee, whose subjection cost the conquerors a hard struggle. The location of the movable Chukchee camps was seldom known to the Russians. In their search for these camps in the open tundra, the comparatively insignificant Russian parties always ran the risk of being surrounded by a numerous enemy, and the journeys of the expeditions through the desert polar tundras presented all but insurmountable difficulties. Besides, a detached band of Chukchee would prefer to die and, kill their wives and children rather than consent to pay tribute or deliver hostages, whom the Russian conquerors always demanded from Siberian peoples as a guaranty of their submission. At last, after a

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[1] For this purpose the Cossacks made a raft of boats, but high winds prevented them from reaching the open sea.

[2] This must be a river north of Yamsk.

[3] In the Russian chronicles the expression is "fiery and bow fight," which indicates that guns and bows were used, in distinction from a "bow fight," where bows and arrows are the only weapons.

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fruitless and expensive campaign, which lasted over a century, the Russian Government gave up the idea of subjecting the Chukchee by force of arms. In 1764 the fortress Anadyrsk was destroyed, and the garrison was transferred to Gishiga and to the Kolyma.

The cause of these Russian failures lay, not so much in the warlike spirit, the love of freedom, and the fearlessness of the Chukchee, as in the fact that the Russians had come in contact almost exclusively with Reindeer Chukchee;[1] that is, not with hunters, but with reindeer-breeders, whose territory was very poor in valuable furs, and who could not satisfy the greed of the conquerors for expensive furs, even had they been willing to do so. These conditions account for the shifting of the Russians from the Anadyr River southward into regions abounding in sable.

In their advance southward, the Russians had their first dealings with the Koryak, whose fate for a long period depended upon the strength of the fortress Anadyrsk.

Since 1649, when the fortress Anadyrsk was founded, Cossack parties starting out from that fortified place attempted to impose tribute on the greater part of the Gishiga Koryak, — the villages Oklansk,[2] Kamenskoye, Talovka, and Ma'meč, — and also on some Alutor villages. Naturally, the tribute of these Koryak could not be relied upon. It was paid when the Russians were strong enough to collect it by force.

The Cossacks learned from the Alutor and Gishiga Koryak that the best peltries, such as sables, sea-otters (*Enhydris marina*), and sea-bears (*Otaria ursina*), were obtained by the Koryak themselves through exchange from Kamchatka. This discovery led to an expedition to Kamchatka, and to the conquest of the Kamchadal and the Koryak in the northern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula.

In 1696, Atlassov, the commandant of the fortress Anadyrsk, sent a detachment of sixteen men, under the command of the Cossack Morozko, to the Peninsula of Kamchatka, to verify the reports of its wealth in peltries. The following year Atlassov undertook the journey himself. He sent Morozko with a detachment to Bering Sea, while he himself advanced along the coast of the Bay of Penshina, gathering tribute from the inhabitants of Oklansk, Kamenskoye, and Talovka, and seized the settlement Pallan and some others. In Tighil he met Morozko, who had gathered tribute from the Alutor Koryak and from others living on the coast of Bering Sea. Then they advanced together, reached the Kamchatka River, received tribute from the Kamchadal who were living along that river, and founded the Verkhne-Kamchatsk fortress. Thus the conquest of Kamchatka was begun.

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[1] Even now the Maritime Chukchee come little into contact with Russians.

[2] The Koryak village Oklansk was destroyed by Cossacks in 1679, and a fort was built in its place. Oklansk was situated at the mouth of the river Oklan, a tributary of the Penshina, about 20 miles from its mouth.

In the following historical account I shall mention Kamchatka and the Kamchadal only in so far as necessary for the proper understanding of events relating to the Koryak. The uprisings of the Kamchadal and of the Koryak, and their subjection by the Russians, are too closely connected to be completely separated in an historical sketch.

When the Russians had settled in Kamchatka, the peninsula and the entire Koryak territory became dependent upon the fortress Anadyrsk. The sea-route from Okhotsk to Kamchatka was at that time unknown, and the land-journey through the territory of the turbulent Koryak was considered impossible. In those days Kamchatka was the most valuable acquisition of the Russian Government in the Far East, and yet communication of the Yakutsk Administration with Kamchatka had to be maintained over a long and dangerous route. The way from Kamchatka to Yakutsk lay through the entire Koryak country, to the Anadyr and Kolyma Rivers, and over the Verkhoyansk range of mountains. A great number of the Cossack parties who started out from Kamchatka with tribute of furs never reached the fortress Anadyrsk. The Koryak killed the Cossacks from ambushes, and kept the furs. Transports that had safely reached Anadyrsk would arrive in Yakutsk three years after they had left Kamchatka. Cossack detachments carrying provisions, gunpowder, arms, and cannons, from Yakutsk to Kamchatka, were also harassed by Koryak attacks. To put an end to such conditions, a direct sea-route from Okhotsk to Kamchatka had to be discovered; and the Koryak had to be finally subdued in order that the winter route might be rendered safe.

Until the sea-route from Okhotsk was discovered, the Cossacks of the peninsula tried to utilize the Pacific Ocean route to shorten the dangerous trip from Kamchatka to Anadyrsk. They would build large boats of boards, and, starting from the mouth of the Kamchatka River, would travel northward to the mouth of the Alut River. In 1712, in order to facilitate these expeditions, the Cossacks built a settlement, protected by a wall, at the mouth of the Alut River, where Cossack parties could find shelter against the attacks of the Alutor Koryak. During the winter, Cossacks traversed the tundra from the fortified settlement Alut to the mouth of the Oklan River, a tributary of the Penshina, and to the fortress Oklansk, which was mentioned above; from Oklansk they travelled northward along the valley of the Penshina, and, having traversed the Nalginsk Mountains, arrived at the Anadyr River. That part of the way from Kamchatka to the Anadyr which lay between Alut and Oklansk was of course not safe from unexpected attacks of the Koryak, who were forever searching for Cossack detachments.

The unsuccessful attempt of 1712 to reach Kamchatka by sea from Okhotsk was followed in 1713 by a special *ukas* of Peter I, ordering that a sea-route to Kamchatka be found. All attempts, however, failed until 1716, when a successful journey was made from Okhotsk to Tighil in a large boat.

Thus the dependence of Kamchatka on the Anadyr route was brought to a close, and communication between the peninsula and Yakutsk was henceforth carried on directly by way of Okhotsk.

The discovery of a sea-route to Kamchatka gave an impetus to geographical explorations in Bering Sea. In 1726 the first expedition of Bering was undertaken, followed by a second in 1737–45. In the interval between these expeditions, which were scientific in character and had no direct relation to the Administration of Kamchatka, the Kamchadal were finally subdued.

During the same period, military operations were carried on against the Koryak and Chukchee. Thus, in 1720, Kharitonov, a boyar-son,[1] started out from Kamchatka with sixty Cossacks and cannons to punish the people of Pallan, who had refused to pay the tribute. The Pallantsi did not offer resistance, and received the Cossacks with pretended humility. During the night, however, they fell upon the sleeping Cossacks, killed Kharitonov and nine Cossacks with their spears, and wounded fourteen. The survivors gained the upper hand of their assailants, and avenged the death of their comrades by annihilating the entire village. At about the same time another chief official in Kamchatka, Triffonov, was subjugating the Koryak villages Poqač, Oklansk, and Kamenskoye; but the most important military expedition was formed in 1727, in accordance with an imperial *ukas*, the Cossack chief Afanassy Shestakoff being in command. He had for his first-lieutenant Captain Pavlutsky, who was famous for his courage and administrative ability. Having left Yakutsk, they divided into two parties. One of them, with Pavlutsky in command, proceeded northward by way of Nishne-Kolymsk to the Anadyr; the other, under Shestakoff himself, moved eastward to Okhotsk. Shestakoff had about four hundred Cossacks and a number of sailors, and carried materials for the construction of ships.

In the autumn of 1729, Shestakoff boarded his two ships and started out from Okhotsk northward, without awaiting the arrival of all his men. As the season was advanced, he could travel by sea only to Tauysk. From there he continued his course northward on sledges. He successfully traversed the thinly populated strip of coast between Tauysk and the Gishiga River, inflicting inhuman atrocities on the Koryak, who refused, or rather were not able, to pay their tribute in furs. On penetrating farther northeastward, however, he soon discovered that he would not be able to cope with the large villages along the shore of the Bay of Penshina, and the numerous bands of Reindeer Koryak. His original plan was to subdue the Maritime Koryak of the Bay of Penshina and the Reindeer Koryak of the interior; then to operate against the Alutor Koryak; and from there to proceed to

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[1] The "boyare" (*sing.* boyarin) constituted the highest class of the Russian aristocracy forming the council of the Czars of the period before Peter the Great. "Boyar-sons" or "boyar-children" formed a lower class of the nobility. They were chiefly descendants of the "boyare," who had not attained the rank of the boyar class.

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the Anadyr, where he expected to meet Pavlutsky. This plan, however, was not carried out. After crossing the Paren River, Shestakoff received word from the Koryak that a large band of Chukchee was marching against him. He deliberated for a while, and then continued his advance, resolved to give battle to the Chukchee. The encounter took place on the Ega'č River, since called Shestakovka, in memory of Shestakoff's death on March 14, 1730. In the battle which ensued, Shestakoff, as well as the majority of the Russian warriors, met their death. Shestakoff's defeat was due to the relative insignificance of his force. His arrogance and self-reliance equalled his ignorance of local conditions and his cruelty. When leaving Okhotsk, he had with him about thirty Cossacks, as many Reindeer Tungus, and ten Yakut. In Tauysk he was joined by thirty Koryak. Having thus, outside of the small number of Russian warriors, only unreliable allies to fall back upon, he dared to set fire to the villages and to burn alive those Koryak who refused to pay tribute or to deliver hostages. Thus he burned the entire village Tavatoma, having first ordered that the exits from the subterranean houses be barricaded. Through such apalling cruelty he aroused against himself even the most peaceable Koryak. At the first encounter with a superior force, his untrustworthy allies — the Tungus, Yakut, and Koryak — left the battle-field; and, although many enemies fell from the Russian bullets, the Cossacks were soon overpowered by the overwhelming numbers of the attacking tribesmen.

To this day it has not been positively ascertained to what people the attacking party belonged. The Cossack reports give them as the Chukchee. Maydell controverts this statement. In his opinion, they were Koryak who had posed as Chukchee in order to escape the vengeance of the Russians. Maydell seems to have undertaken the ungrateful task of representing the Chukchee as a straightforward and peaceable people, with whom it was useless to fight; the Koryak, on the other hand, he believes to have been cunning traitors, who did infinite harm to the Russians. The Koryak, writes Maydell, would constantly appeal to the Russians for help against the pretended attacks of the Chukchee. Meanwhile they themselves would attack Cossack detachments from ambush and murder single Cossacks, and throw the blame for these acts on the Chukchee.

There is of course nothing remarkable in the fact that the Koryak, in their fight against the Russians, had recourse to tricky and perfidious methods, which are made such excellent use of in the contests of other than primitive peoples. Nor did the Chukchee in this respect differ from the Koryak. The Koryak, especially the Maritime Koryak, suffered more from the Russian conquest than did the Chukchee. At first the Russians had dealings only with the nomadic Reindeer Chukchee, who fled to the tundra whenever they wanted to avoid an encounter with the Cossacks, and also made unexpected attacks on Russian settlements. The Maritime Koryak, on the contrary, who

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lived along the bays of the Sea of Okhotsk and of Bering Sea, although they could take refuge during the summer on the islands, from the attacks of the Russians, were bound in winter to their shore villages, and cut off from all ways of escape. It is natural, therefore, that whenever they could not protect themselves by force, and would not or could not comply with the demands of the conquerors, they should have recourse to trickery. It is not impossible that they would occasionally charge their sins to the Chukchee in trying to divert the attention of the Russians towards the latter. But in the battle which was fatal to Shestakoff the Chukchee certainly took part, for subsequently Pavlutsky found among the Chukchee living on the Lower Anadyr the banner of Shestakoff's detachment and his arms. It is not improbable that the Chukchee were not alone in that battle, for the Chukchee and the Koryak might have united against their common enemy; but at other times the Chukchee appeared in the Koryak settlements as enemies, not as allies; and the complaints of the Koryak that the Chukchee attacked and plundered them were, on the whole, not unfounded.

The news of Shestakoff's defeat rapidly spread over the Koryak territory and to Kamchatka. The Koryak rose in a body. The garrisons left by Shestakoff in Tauysk and Yamsk were annihilated. Other settlements fortified by the Russians met a similar fate. The eastern Koryak from the Alut to the Tighil soon joined in the uprising, and presently Kamchatka revolted.

Pavlutsky received word of Shestakoff's fate as early as April, 1730, while he was still in Nishne-Kolymsk. He did not reach Anadyrsk (now Markova) until September, 1730. The last months of that year and the year 1731 he spent fighting the Chukchee. At last, in 1732, he determined to open a campaign against the Koryak, in order to punish them for the destruction of the Russian fortifications and the annihilation of garrisons. Maydell[1] sees the reason for Pavlutsky's delay in chastising the revolting Koryak in their cunning. When Pavlutsky arrived in Anadyr, relates Maydell, he was met by Koryak deputies, who represented the battle in which Shestakoff perished as an attack of the Chukchee, and begged for protection against the latter. Thus Pavlutsky was deceived by the Koryak, and, leaving them unmolested, turned against the Chukchee. This account, however, can hardly be credited, for Pavlutsky knew perfectly well that the Koryak had risen all over the country and were killing the Russians. Pavlutsky postponed his advance against the Koryak for two reasons. In the first place, he wanted to be sure of the Chukchee. The second reason lay in the condition of the country. During the summer months, the transportation of a great number of people is impossible in these regions. The beginning of the winter is the season of violent winds, followed by severe colds. The time most propitious for military expeditions is the end of the winter, — the polar spring it might be called, —

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[1] See Maydell, I, p. 546.

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which lasts from the end of February to the end of May. Then the winds subside and the frost is moderate. Thus it happened that Pavlutsky spent the winter of 1730–31 in persecuting the Chukchee. The more or less successful battles, however, which he had with the nomadic hordes of the Chukchee, did not yield any positive results in the way of subjugating the country.

On Feb. 10, 1732, Pavlutsky began his march against the Koryak. His force consisted of two hundred and twenty-five Cossacks and a certain number of Yukaghir and Koryak volunteers. The latter had to furnish the party with reindeer for transportation and food. On the march he learned that a considerable number of insurgents had gathered in a fortified village at the mouth of the Paren River, and he turned to go there.

On March 25 he reached the Koryak fortification and ordered a siege. Attempts to induce a voluntary surrender remained futile. The fortification was built on a high steep rock rising directly from the sea and protected from land by a strong stockade and an earth wall. In order not to expose his men to the action of Koryak arrows, Pavlutsky ordered large shields to be made of driftwood. Thus protected, the Russians advanced close to the stockade. The Koryak made a gallant defence, and retreated from the parapet only when the enemy succeeded in throwing hand-grenades over the stockade. Then the stockade was broken, and the Russians penetrated the fortifications, where a desperate fight ensued. When the Koryak saw themselves defeated, they killed their wives and children with the intention of killing themselves also. Before the Russians succeeded in putting a stop to their self-destruction, over two hundred persons were slain. Pavlutsky took many of the surviving Koryak with him as prisoners, leaving in the village only ten young men and five women, in order (so say the chronicles) to give the population a chance to multiply.

After that victory, Pavlutsky returned to Anadyrsk. While on the way, he sent a detachment to Alutorsk with an order to destroy the fortification erected by the Koryak in that settlement.

On the whole, the entire campaign was nothing but a punitive expedition, which was as aimless as its execution was cruel; for after Pavlutsky's departure the Koryak territory relapsed into the old conditions. The fate of the Paren Koryak, of course, greatly impressed the other sections of that people; but no sooner had the immediate danger passed, than they resumed their attacks on the Cossacks, and again refused to pay the tribute, although it was precisely that refusal which had previously led to the fight. We shall see later on, after a detailed treatment of the tribute question, how this policy of military conquest, setting aside its inhuman cruelty, was senseless so far as it was an attempt to win for the State a new colony. If we suppose for a moment that the Russians were able to send against all Koryak settlements detachments equal to the one led by Pavlutsky against Paren, the result of such expeditions, considering the national character of the Koryak, would have been a complete depopulation of the country. Fortunately the Russians were not in a position to do that. To equip and send a party of a few hundred men to the extreme northeast of Siberia, as was occasionally done by the Government in expeditions like Shestakoff's and Pavlutsky's, was an enterprise connected with great difficulties; and if the men had to be transported from European Russia, the expense was very great. Besides arms and ammunition, the Cossacks had to carry with them large transports of provisions and clothing. The provisions had to be renewed every year, and were transported on horses, dogs, and reindeer across absolutely desert and almost inaccessible localities. The peoples of the Yakut territory through which the soldiers and transports passed were ruined by these expeditions; their animals would die from exhaustion, and the men would succumb to diseases. When the soldiers, after a hard journey of two or three years, at last reached their destination, they had to face a rough climate and innumerable privations and dangers. The provisions for the garrisons of remote fortresses, which had to be supplied from Yakutsk, were often not sent at all, or arrived in insufficient quantities or imperfect condition. The Cossacks were forced to hunt and fish for food, and not infrequently suffered hunger; when not under cover of the fortifications, they were always in danger of sudden attacks; and the results attained at the cost of such exertion were that an army which had to conquer a people resisting Russia's power was limited in its military operations to a period of from three to four months a year. During that period one or another detachment would attack a village or infuse terror into several villages, only to retreat for an entire year to its fortress, leaving the state of the country unchanged. We have seen that such was the case in Pavlutsky's expedition against Paren. His position in regard to the attainment of his end — the subjection of the Chukchee and Koryak — was especially hopeless; for, after the death of Shestakoff, he had to fight both peoples, each of whom it was hard enough to keep in check to the degree prescribed by the Government in accordance with the recommendations of the Siberian rulers. Another impediment to Pavlutsky's military operations against the Koryak was the fact that he had his headquarters at the fortress Anadyrsk, which was about four hundred miles distant from the Bay of Penshina, the nearest bay of the Sea of Okhotsk. In Pavlutsky's time Kamchatka no longer depended on Anadyrsk, and had its own administrators; for at that time direct communication by sea with Okhotsk was maintained.

On his return to Anadyrsk, after the Paren victory, Pavlutsky found orders from Yakutsk to treat the aborigines more leniently, and to suspend all military operations pending new orders. Finding his plans for future campaigns checked, Pavlutsky resolved to leave for Yakutsk.

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No changes occurred in the Koryak territory as a result of Pavlutsky's campaign. The Koryak continued to dominate over the Okhotsk coast-line. From time to time, however, one or another of the Koryak bands would pay their tribute and enter into more friendly relations with the garrisons of the Russian fortresses. These relations came to an end when, in 1745, a new general uprising took place, which lasted almost to 1756.

I had occasion before to mention the fortifications erected by the Koryak at the mouth of the Oklan River, where it empties into the Penshina. That fortified village was destroyed by Cossacks in 1679, and in 1690 they built in its place the fortress Oklansk. During the fights with the Koryak, that fortress was repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt. In 1741 the sergeant Yenisseysky, who was sent from Anadyrsk, entirely renovated the Oklansk fortifications, and occupied them with a garrison of twenty-four Cossacks. He also succeeded in establishing friendly relations with some Koryak chiefs of the Okhotsk coast; and as a consequence his journeys to Yamsk, Tauysk, and Okhotsk, were no longer interfered with. Later he rebuilt the fortifications of Yamsk and Tauysk, which had been destroyed by the Koryak, and established a small garrison in each place. The number of men at his disposal was small, however; and in October, 1745, he left for Okhotsk to ask for re-enforcements. Meanwhile a new uprising took place. The Koryak seemed to have decided to exterminate all the Russians, and to destroy their fortifications. Yenisseysky had not yet reached Okhotsk when the missionary Flavian, with a retinue, left that town for Anadyrsk. The Koryak fell upon him on the Shestakovka River, killing him and all his men. At the same time they annihilated a detachment of Cossacks who were on their way from Kamchatka to the Anadyr, and another detachment in the vicinity of Oklansk. Yenisseysky, on his way back to Oklansk, met a similar fate. The Koryak who furnished him with draught-animals managed to divide his men into small groups, which they attacked separately, and all were killed. To judge by the reports of the Cossacks, the Reindeer and the Maritime Koryak acted jointly. The Russian fortifications were besieged. The fortress Oklansk was one of the first to be surrounded, the Koryak intending to starve the garrison out. They did not dare to take the fortress by storm, knowing that the garrison was in possession of fire-arms and cannons. The besieged succeeded in sending messengers to Anadyrsk, where Pavlutsky, who had risen to the rank of major, was again commander.

A few words must be said as to the activity of Pavlutsky since the time he left Anadyrsk in 1732. I have related before how the Koryak uprising, after Shestakoff's defeat, had spread to Kamchatka. The uprising of the Kamchadal, which had been fomenting for a long time, broke out in 1731. Until then the Kamchadal did not dare to rise. In 1729 Kamchatka was visited by the first scientific expedition of Bering and his companions; while

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the ship "Gabriel," with a crew of one hundred men belonging to the military expedition of Shestakoff, remained in Nishne-Kamchatka until July, 1731.[1]

As soon as the "Gabriel" had weighed anchor and gained the open sea, the Kamchadal attacked the fortress Nishne-Kamchatsk and took possession of it. Presently a detachment was despatched to take Verkhne-Kamchatsk and Bolsheretsk, and everywhere the Russians were slain. It so happened, however, that the "Gabriel" unexpectedly returned on account of an impending storm. The ship was not prepared for a sea-voyage; besides, the crew were not eager to go to the Anadyr. The sudden return of the "Gabriel" saved the Russians on the peninsula. With the assistance of the sailors, Verkhne-Kamchatsk and Bolsheretsk were successfully held, Nishne-Kamchatsk was recaptured, and the revolt was suppressed.

When the news of the revolt and its suppression reached Yakutsk, the Administration resolved to send a commission to Kamchatka for the investigation of the causes of the uprising, of the numerous revolts of Cossacks against their chiefs, and of the incessant feuds between the chiefs and their parties, for rumors had been current in Yakutsk of the cruelty, violence, and licentiousness of the Cossack chiefs and soldiers on the peninsula. At the head of the commission were Majors Mekhlin and Pavlutsky. The investigation lasted from 1733 to 1739. Sentences of death were passed by the commissioners on several Kamchadal instigators of the uprising, as well as on Cossacks convicted of criminal actions.[2]

After his mission to Kamchatka, Pavlutsky, in 1740, was made military commander of Yakutsk; but in 1742 the Government again determined to subject the Chukchee and Koryak by force of arms, and Pavlutsky was ordered back to his Anadyrsk post. Pavlutsky travelled from Yakutsk by way of Kolymsk, as before, instead of following the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, for he was anxious for the time being to avoid encounters with the Koryak. Hurried as his journey was, he did not reach Anadyrsk before November, 1743.

After his arrival, Pavlutsky concentrated all his efforts on the fight with the Chukchee, and left the Koryak undisturbed. When the messengers from Oklansk, in the winter of 1745, brought the news that the fortress was being besieged, Pavlutsky was making preparations for a campaign against the Chukchee, although he knew of the Koryak insurrection. The men whom

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[1] According to the original plan of Shestakoff's military expedition, the ship "Gabriel," which had left Okhotsk at the same time with Shestakoff, was to visit Kamchatka, and from there proceed to the mouth of the Alut River, where the commander of the expedition expected to arrive from the shores of the Okhotsk Sea (see p. 787) in order to subdue the Alutor Koryak; from there it was intended that the ship should sail to the mouth of the Anadyr River, exploring the shores on the way, and continue up the river to the fortification Anadyrsk, which Shestakoff intended to reach by land. When the news of Shestakoff's end arrived, the "Gabriel" remained in Kamchatka, expecting further orders. In June, 1731, she was ordered to proceed to the Anadyr and to enter the service of Pavlutsky.

[2] Among the Russians who were executed was the Cossack officer Shtinnikoff. In 1729 a Japanese ship with seventeen Japanese was carried by the winds to the southern shores of Kamchatka. In order to make use of their merchandise, Shtinnikoff ordered all the Japanese to be killed. Only two escaped death, — an old man and a boy, who were subsequently taken to St. Petersburg and presented to the Empress Elisabeth.

*648 175 he had sent to the Reindeer Koryak to demand reindeer for his campaign against the Chukchee were killed or returned empty-handed. Nevertheless, Pavlutsky himself did not attack the Koryak, but sent the officer Proshin with one hundred and twenty soldiers. At his approach, the Koryak raised the siege of Oklansk. Proshin continued his march, the Koryak retreating before him. Finally he opened negotiations with them, and, satisfied by their promise to lay down their arms and to pay tribute in the future, returned to Anadyrsk, having left re-enforcements in Oklansk. Pavlutsky, who returned to Anadyrsk after his Chukchee campaign, towards the close of 1745, put Proshin under arrest for his undetermined mode of action. Further events made it clear how insincere the Koryak had been in their promises. The entire Okhotsk coast remained in the hands of the insurgents, and the Oklansk fortress also fell. To prevent the cannons and the powder from falling into the hands of the Koryak, the garrison interred them. Only four men of the garrison reached Anadyrsk in March, 1747. In the course of the same month Pavlutsky was killed in a battle with the Chukchee.

As indicated above, the Koryak uprising lasted almost until 1757. To illustrate the methods of Koryak warfare and their determination in battle, I will describe two or three more of the leading episodes of that fight.

Pavlutsky's successor, Kekerev, arrived at Anadyrsk in December, 1748, and on the 30th of January, 1749, started out against the Koryak. His party consisted of 236 Cossacks, 88 Yukaghir, and 146 subjected Koryak, on whom fell the burden of transporting both men and luggage. The Koryak, of course, were unreliable allies in a campaign against their own people. While on the way, Kekerev learned from two captured Koryak that the chief of the Reindeer Koryak, Tekietoga, was camping with a band of his people on the Paren River. Kekerev hurried there. Tekietoga, however, was warned in time, and, abandoning his tents and part of his herds, he fled with his men to the Okhotsk Sea. A snow-storm prevented Kekerev from pursuing him effectively, and he changed his course to the Kamenskoye fortification, where Koryak warriors had gathered in great numbers. On the way he destroyed the fortification Ega'č. The first assault on Kamenskoye failed, and Kekerev himself sustained two arrow-wounds; nevertheless during the night the besieged put their wives and children to death, and under cover of a storm fled to one of the inaccessible rocks which surrounded the fortress. There was only one place where that rock could be reached, which was so steep that it could not be scaled without a rope-ladder and thongs. To take the rock by storm in the face of a stone-shower from the Koryak was hardly possible, and to starve them out would have lasted too long. Hence Kekerev raised the siege and turned back to Anadyrsk, taking the promise from the Koryak through whose territory he passed, that they would pay their tribute in the autumn. As usual, he had taken with him a number of Koryak prisoners, some of whom were executed in Anadyrsk; others were flogged or tortured to make them tell the names of the instigators of the uprising. The Koryak, of course, did not keep their promise to pay tribute; and in March, 1750, we again find Kekerev engaged in a campaign against the Koryak; namely, on the Talovka River and in the region south of it. He did not succeed any better, however, than in the preceding year.

Captain Shatiloff, who followed Kekerev as the commandant of the fortress Anadyrsk, started out against the Koryak towards the end of March, 1751. He intended to chastise their western branch, and his course accordingly lay towards the Gishiga River. Near the Taigonos Peninsula he sent ahead a scouting-party of fifty men in command of the Cossack Lieutenant Katkovsky. The scouts soon discovered a Koryak camp, and a fight ensued; as soon, however, as a few Koryak had fallen from bullets, the rest fled, abandoning the camp. On entering, Katkovsky found heaps of dead bodies of women and children, obviously put to death by their relatives.

From a Koryak prisoner Katkovsky learned that large Koryak forces were concentrated on the peninsula. Shatiloff hurried there, and presently overtook the Koryak, who, hearing of the approach of the Russians, had retreated to a small inaccessible rocky island several hundred feet off the shore. Shatiloff placed his men on the ice around the island and opened negotiations with the besieged, urging them to surrender and to pay the tribute; but the Koryak indignantly rejected all proposals. Then Shatiloff resolved to take the island by storm, but deferred the assault for a few days, during which the adjoining country was scouted. No more Koryak were found, but the scouts succeeded in capturing a herd of reindeer. The island rose steeply from the sea on all sides. There was only one possible way of ascent, which the Koryak protected by thrusting down reindeer-sleds loaded with stones. Besides, they had placed hidden wolf-traps all around the island. The Russians assaulted from five sides simultaneously; and after a desperate struggle the rock was taken, the defence having cost the Koryak one hundred and thirty dead, among them their chief Tykap. About three hundred corpses of women and children were found scattered in the camp, and only three men and five women were taken prisoners. It appears from these accounts how desperately the Koryak fought, and that they preferred to kill their women and children with their own hands rather than see them captured by the enemy. The Russian losses in that battle were five soldiers and four Cossacks killed, and fifty-one wounded, including several officers. The character of the battle left a strong impression on Shatiloff, for at the capture of two other fortified rocks he proceeded with less determination. Having received the tribute and hostages on the rivers of Paren, Gishiga, and on the Taigonos Peninsula, Shatiloff returned to Anadyrsk in May, 1751. He had failed to break the Koryak revolt.

x 648 175 Shatiloff's campaign was the last undertaken from the fortress Anadyrsk. The Government had long before come to the conclusion that the subjection of the Koryak required the erecting of a number of fortresses along the Bay of Gishiga, which could be reached from Okhotsk by sea. The fortress Gishiginsk was founded by Okhotsk Cossacks in 1752, but the sea-route to Okhotsk was not opened until 1757. Between the years 1752 and 1756 hostile encounters continued to occur between Cossacks and the Koryak of the Okhotsk coast. The year 1756 is considered to be the last of the Koryak uprising. This, however, is only partly true. The annihilation of entire villages and settlements, the torture of prisoners, the capture of herds from the Reindeer Koryak, had broken their power of resistance only to a certain degree. The main cause of the cessation of wars with the Koryak lay in a change of policy on the part of the Russians. The commandant of the fortress Gishiginsk received orders not to send collectors of tribute to the Koryak villages and camps, but to propose to the Koryak chiefs that they deliver the tribute yearly at the fortress. We shall have occasion to see in how far that measure was conducive to the improvement of Russo-Koryak relations. Naturally there were at first very few Koryak groups who sent tribute voluntarily to Gishiginsk;[1] but experience had shown how futile it was to use force as a means of obtaining tribute.

The other cause of the wars lay in the national pride of the Russian conquerors, who insisted on breaking the stubborn resistance of alien peoples and on subjecting them to Russian rule. But here again experience had made it clear that the submission of these peoples was not worth the sacrifices which it cost. I am here referring only to the Koryak and Chukchee; for the related Kamchadal, being entirely sedentary, were more easily conquered by means of force. In the case of the Koryak, the modified policy of the conquerors finally led to the compromise just described. In regard to the Chukchee, however, it was decided to cease all further attempts to subjugate this people. The fortress Anadyrsk was entirely abolished in 1764 and the Administration transferred to Gishiginsk. Thus the wars of the Russians with the Koryak and Chukchee came to an end when the latter were entirely left to themselves.

x 648 651 177 The Tribute. — "Yasak" is the term applied to the tribute in furs which the Russians imposed on the conquered Siberian peoples. The historians of Siberia agree that during the early periods of settlement the main factor attracting the Russians to Siberia was its widely heralded wealth in furs. For a time Siberian furs were an important financial item in the budget of the Russian Empire. How enormous the wealth in furs of Siberia was at

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[1] As late as 1848 we find from the tribute records of the Gishiga district that the number of Reindeer Koryak who were assessed was 294; in the records of 1894 this number rises to 836; and, according to the census of 1897, the number of Reindeer Koryak in the Gishiga district is 2389.

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the beginning of the conquest is demonstrated by the fact that after the defeat of the Siberian Khan Kuchum, his dominion — i. e. the territory lying in the basin of the Obi River alone — was forced to pay to the Moscowite Czar a yearly tribute of 200,000 sables, 10,000 black foxes, and 500,000 squirrels of the best quality, besides beavers and ermines. Having discovered how profitable the fur trade was to the Treasury, the State was no longer satisfied with the tribute of furs, but began to monopolize the fur trade. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Czar Boris Godunoff decreed that the hunters and fur-traders deposit their merchandise in the Treasury for a fixed remuneration. The accumulated furs were placed in the care of a special department in Moscow, which disposed of them through its agents in Turkey, Persia, Bokhara, and, later, China. China in time became the largest and most profitable consumer of Siberian furs, for in exchange for its furs the Treasury would import from China chiefly gold and silver, with which the Moscowite empire paid for its wars.

After the Nerchinsk Treaty concluded by Peter the Great with the Chinese in 1689, the China trade continued to be Government monopoly until the year 1762.[1] In that year Empress Katerine II abolished the official caravans to Peking, leaving the trade, which was still based chiefly on furs, in the hands of private merchants. The free fur trade had a stimulating effect on the development of commercial relations between Siberia, European Russia, and the neighboring countries. The Treasury, on the other hand, no longer insisted that the tribute of Siberia be paid in furs exclusively. They were now free to pay their tribute in money, the amount being approximately estimated according to the value of the furs. Thus the field for official abuses was reduced, and the attitude of the natives towards the Russians began to improve.

The time of the attempts to subject the Koryak as well as the Kamchadal and Chukchee, coincides with the period of the Government monopoly in furs, when fur tribute was the cause for the sake of which thousands of men were tortured and killed whenever they refused or were not able to satisfy the rapaciousness of the foreign invaders. The tragedy of the situation for the natives lay in the fact that the sable, for whose fur the Russian demand was greatest, was a rare animal in the Koryak country, and did not occur at all in the territory of the Chukchee.

The question how tribute was levied, which was put afterwards on a definite basis by the so-called First Tribute (Yasak) Commission of 1762–66, is but superficially treated by the historians of Siberia. We do not know whether there existed before that commission definite and universally applied standards according to which the tribute to be paid by the hunters of this x 648 651 177 or that people was estimated. From fragmentary bits of information we are justified in assuming that the amount of tribute to be levied was constantly decreased. The lowering of the standard obviously kept pace with the gradually decreasing numbers of fur-bearing animals, which was due to their extermination since the advent of the Russians to Siberia. According to Slovtzoff, in the beginning the tribute amounted to five sables for a single hunter, and ten for a married one: hence the conclusion seems justifiable, that in the beginning the wives of hunters had to pay their share. In some places from ten to twenty sables were required from the hunter; but the Government, says Slovtzoff (II, p. 62), was indulgent, and this rule was not always observed. In the second half of the seventeenth century we find a tribute of seven sables "per bow;" and, according to the Siberian census of 1722, the tribute levied amounted to three sables for each hunter; and finally, after the work of the First Tribute Commission, the amount paid by each hunter was fixed at one sable, or, in case no sable was available, at one fox-skin or one beaver-skin, etc. We know that the Chukchee altogether refused to pay fur tribute. This fact probably accounts for the circumstance, so puzzling to Baron Maydell, that the conquering activity of the Russians was more especially directed against the Chukchee, and not against the Koryak, although the attacks made by the latter on Russian detachments were far more frequent than those made by the Chukchee.

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[1] The State monopoly of the fur trade was first limited in 1727, but in 1752 the full Government monopoly was again introduced.

It is certain that one or another group of the Koryak was from time to time forced to pay tribute, although no references can be found as to the standard used in levying it, nor as to the total amount received. It seems, however, that the Koryak tribute was not very large from the start, and consisted rather of foxes than of the more valuable furs. Specific indications of the standard used in levying the tribute from the Kamchadal are also lacking; but, judging from certain available data, the amount collected from the Kamchadal must have been very considerable, the tribute consisting chiefly of expensive furs. Thus, when Atlassoff returned from his first expedition to Kamchatka, — after visiting only the people of the Kamchatka River, — he carried with him thirty-two hundred sables, many hundred foxes, about one hundred sea-otters, for the Treasury, and, as his private provision, four hundred sables and numerous other furs. In time the Kamchadal tribute from the whole peninsula increased in amount. According to the denunciation made by the Cossacks against Petrilofsky, one of the commanders in Kamchatka in the first half of the eighteenth century, the latter had "stolen" in the course of one year 5600 sables, 2000 foxes, 207 sea-otters, and 169 otters. Without any doubt, other commanders of Kamchatka were not far behind Petrilofsky in filling their purses at the expense of the Kamchadal.[1]

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[1] Judging from a statement made by Krasheninnikoff, the official tribute of the Kamchadal was fixed at one sable to a hunter, even before the regulations of the First Tribute Commission. Thus, while referring to the begin-

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According to historical data referring to Siberia before the First Tribute Commission, the collectors in the native settlements and camps were Cossacks and officials, who received lists of all assessable men; that is, of adults capable of hunting. The details of this method of collecting tribute can no longer be ascertained. All we know is, that the illiterate collectors, who were in the majority, carried little sticks with notches to indicate the number of men assessed. Each hunter had to pay his own share.[1] In addition, however, the collectors expected presents for themselves, for the military commanders, and for other high officials. In some cases presents were sent to the Czar himself. These presents were known as the "gratuitous" or "complimentary" tribute (поминочный или поклонный ясакъ), as distinguished from the crown tribute or tribute proper (податной ясакъ).[2]

The collectors were accompanied to unsafe localities by Cossack escorts, who demanded their share of presents. Besides, the collectors carried with them merchandise for barter. Thus it happened that the furs which reached the Treasury were never of the best quality. In Kamchatka these practices were indulged in with exceptional freedom. In a country so far distant from the central Administration, the collectors and their men were in reality bands of robbers whose exploits would rouse the Kamchadal to fury and despair. Thus one of these collectors and his escort of twenty-five Cossacks were burned by the Kamchadal on the Avacha River, the Kamchadal hostages perishing with the rest. When the collector arrived, the Kamchadal greeted him with honors, assigned to him and his Cossacks a separate summer house on piles, and, promising to pay the tribute on the following morning, left hostages selected from among the best men of the village. At night, when the house was set on fire, the Kamchadal called to the hostages to escape; but they answered that they were in chains, and bade their people outside burn the house, leaving them to their fate.[3]

As far as the Koryak are concerned, it may, I think, be asserted, that not only was there no standard for the tribute, but that it was paid only once in a while, under direct compulsion of military parties; and after the foundation of the fortress Gishiginsk, the Koryak tribute became a voluntary contribution, which the representatives of the various Koryak groups themselves delivered at the fortress.

The task of the First Tribute Commission, which was appointed by

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ning of the seventeenth century (II, p. 342), he tells of a collector who demanded from the Kamchadal two or three sables instead of one.

[1] During the early period of the conquest of Siberia, some heads of tribes with advanced social and political organization, like the khans of the Kirghiz and of some Tatar peoples of western Siberia, were bound to pay a certain yearly tribute in sables and other furs for the whole tribe. For example, the Tatar prince Yedigher had to pay yearly a thousand sables (see Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte, p. 182).

[2] There existed still another kind of tribute called "decimal" (десятинный). It was levied exclusively from Russian hunters in Siberia, who had to reserve for the Treasury the fur of every tenth animal killed.

[3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 352.

x 648 651 177 Empress Katherine, was to regulate the tribute question and to put an end to the abuses of the collectors. The reforms introduced by the commission were based on the following principles: 1. The tribute is to be paid by a representative for the entire clan or group; the further apportionment of the tribute is left to the natives themselves. 2. The representative of the group is to deliver the tribute in person to the administrative centre; collectors are abolished. 3. Subject to the tribute are native men from sixteen to sixty years of age, who are to be called 'workers' or 'tax souls.' 4. Payment may be made in furs or in money, the amount being calculated in money for each person, and varying, in the case of fur payments, according to locality, the nature of the animals, and the current valuation of the latter.

These principles, with some additions and a general lowering of the amount of tribute to be paid, were accepted by the Second Tribute Commission (1828–35). The age of the 'workers' was limited to men from eighteen to fifty. The number of 'workers' of every clan was fixed by the census. The last census for this purpose was taken in 1859. The standards then established varied for different localities. Obviously for each locality, and even for each group and clan, it was fixed by mutual agreement of the representatives of the Treasury and of the natives. Even the so-called Koryak clans were until lately differently taxed. Thus, the tax of a 'worker' from the Vrvnik clan amounted to 2 rubles 86 kopeks, while that of a 'worker' from the Alutor clan amounted only to 1 ruble 49 kopeks.[1] At present the Koryak of the Gishiga district are taxed uniformly at the rate of 1 ruble 15 kopeks per 'worker.' I have not been able to ascertain from the Archives since what date this last method of taxation was adopted. To illustrate the great reduction of the tribute, I will compare the last tax recorded, with the original one of ten sables per hunter. According to the data kept by the Administration of the Gishiga district for the year 1897, there were in that district 241 taxable Reindeer Koryak, and 407 Maritime Koryak. As there are more Reindeer Koryak in the Gishiga district than Maritime people (the census figures for 1897 are 2389 Reindeer and 2045 Maritime Koryak),[2] the data on the taxed population indicate that many of the Reindeer Koryak do not pay tribute, and the number 407 is also lower than the total number of men of the Maritime Koryak between the ages of eighteen and fifty.

According to the official report for 1897, the Koryak tribute for that year was paid, two thirds in furs, and one third in money. The official appraisement of furs is lower than their market price. The appraisement in rubles and kopeks is as follows, the valuation being given in each case for the fur without paws or tail.

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[1] See Archives of the Administration of the Gishiga District, No. 751, 1867.
[2] See p. 445.

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Sable (superior quality)	10.00
Sable (inferior quality)	8.00
White fox	1.50
Wolf	2.50
Red fox	2.00
Cross-fox	8.00
Ermine	0.08[1]

The Itkana Koryak, who hunt fur-bearing animals very little, bring to Gishiginsk the skins of ground-seals, and bundles of thongs cut out of skins of ground-seals. Twenty-eight of them are tax-payers, their total tribute amounting to 32 rubles 20 kopeks. To cover that sum, their elder delivers to Gishiginsk ten ground-seal skins and six bundles of thongs. In the open market the skins alone would amount to 60 rubles, 6 rubles apiece.

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THE PRESENT RELATIONS OF THE RUSSIANS AND THE KORYAK. — The military conquest by Russia, of that part of Siberia where agriculture is impossible, could not call forth a voluntary agricultural colonization. The first Russian invaders were all hunters and soldiers. In the course of time they were joined by forced immigrants and exiled criminals. The colonial policy was in the beginning nothing but a means of reaching the Siberian peltry resources. The central Government was in the majority of cases benevolently inclined towards the natives. The local administrations were often instructed to be lenient in gathering tribute, and not to insult the natives; but these benevolent intentions could not be harmonized with the actual situation, where tribute had to be extorted from natives who were often unable to pay it. In order to comply with the requirements of the official agents, the native had to neglect the material needs of his family, and concentrate his entire energy on the hunt for fur-animals. Besides, the agents robbed the natives to their own advantage, committed violence, tortured and enslaved the men, carried away their women and children; and when the natives revolted, the agents claimed that the natives had arisen against the Czar's power.

Then the Government would send military parties to suppress the revolt and to punish the guilty. Of course, Russia did not act any worse than did many other nations regarding their colonial "possessions." Even now, the African negroes, for instance, revolt because the white intruders rob them of their land and of the natural products of their country, meanwhile burdening them with taxes to support the same Administration which suppresses them. In one respect the Russians were superior to other European colonizers, for they exhibited only to a moderate degree the consciousness of racial superiority over the natives, which other white peoples possess in a very exaggerated degree. The Siberian natives were not treated with contempt. When the greed of the Russian was satisfied or did not come to the foreground, the conqueror and the conquered would easily come to terms. On the whole, however, the system of violent extortion and repression led to the extermination of those people which were not especially numerous or possessed of exceptional vitality. Thus many clans of the Yukaghir entirely disappeared. The Chukchee and the Koryak, on the other hand, although not numerous, but stubborn and full of vital energy, succeeded to a certain extent in preserving their ethnic individuality.

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[1] For the local market-price of the skins here mentioned, see p. 775.

The colonial policy of deriving the maximum possible profits from the natives, for the benefit of the Government and of private individuals, resulted in the extermination of several small peoples, and finally led to the exhaustion of the source of these profits itself. The present yearly export of sables from Kamchatka, for instance, does not reach two thousand skins, while on the Kolyma this valuable animal has entirely disappeared.

The fur trade gradually deteriorated as a source of State revenues, and no other source took its place. Thus, as a result of a barbaric colonial policy, the expenditures of the State for the administration of the remote districts of Siberia became, in the course of time, greater than the revenues derived from these districts. The tribute could no longer be regarded as a source of income, and had to be looked upon as a symbol of the submission of the tribute-paying peoples, — a symbol which flattered a petty national pride, but was paid for by the Government through a costly administration of unprofitable colonies. It is worth noting that the tribute paid by the small Siberian peoples is not sent to the Treasury, but to the household of the Imperial Court. The romantic view of the fur tribute as a concrete proof of the subjection of the natives to the Czar was entertained by the Bureaucracy at the end of the past century, and is still entertained by them. Even the learned official traveller, Baron Maydell, in part held that view. The chief purpose of the so-called "Chukchee Expedition" (1869–70), at the head of which he stood, was the subjection to Russia of the Chukchee, who were not paying tribute. To induce the Chukchee to pay tribute, methods were used, and probably are still used, which are as humorous as they are humiliating to the Russian Empire. The Court Treasury spent a certain sum yearly on presents for those Chukchee who paid their tribute voluntarily. The chief of the Kolyma district, on his way to the Chukchee fair on the Anui River, would carry on special sledges presents consisting of iron kettles, tea-pots, tobacco, etc. In 1892 I witnessed on the Anui River the ceremony of the tribute presentation by the Chukchee. Ten or so Chukchee from various localities came to the official cabin, and in the presence of the district chief were entertained by the Cossacks with tea, sugar, and biscuits. After a speech suitable to the occasion had been made by the chief through an interpreter, to the effect that the Czar loved the Chukchee and was sending them presents, each of the natives made his small contribution to the tribute with a red or arctic fox. Then the imperial presents were inspected and additions begged

for, which were generally granted by the chief, who was anxious to get rid 648x
of his tiresome guests. The results of the barter were very favorable to the
Chukchee. They had received presents which in value greatly exceeded their 177
tribute; the hides meanwhile were ceremoniously stamped with the official
seal and despatched to the Court Treasury in St. Petersburg as a token of
Chukchee submissiveness.[1] In other cases, like that of the Yukaghir, — to
be treated in Vol. IX of this series, — even a very moderate tribute had a
fatal effect on the economic life of the people.

In order to demonstrate to what extent the State expenditures for the 651
northeastern districts exceed the revenues, I shall present the data for the 177
Gishiga district. I have in my possession the official reports on that region
for the year 1897. The total tribute for that year amounts to 1119 rubles 648x
(364 rubles in currency, and 755 in furs), of which sum the Koryak paid
745 rubles, and the Tungus 374. The "voluntary contributions" made by
the Palpal. Chukchee and Koryak at the Chukchee fair[2] amounted to another
73 rubles. The natives regard the tribute as a present to the Czar. As we
have seen, it does not go to the State Treasury. The revenues of the
Treasury from the district of Gishiginsk consisted of the so-called Zemstvo
taxes[3] to the amount of 163 rubles, and taxes of merchants to the amount
of 1606 rubles. I have not been able to obtain the exact figures of the
expenditures for the administration of the district, but I consider 40,000
rubles a conservative estimate. The maintenance of the district chief, his
assistant, the secretary, and their offices, amounts to no less than 12,000
rubles a year. The salary of the chief alone is 4500 rubles. Then follow
the salaries of a priest in Gishiginsk, of a missionary, a physician, and two
assistant surgeons, who also reside in Gishiginsk, and scarcely ever visit the
Koryak camps and villages.[4] The last item is the maintenance of the Cossack
detachment, which is the largest single expenditure in the budget for
the administration of the district.

A few words should be said regarding the Gishiginsk Cossacks. Although 648x
these Cossacks are the descendants of the warriors who conquered Siberia, 708
they are no longer military men, nor are they controlled by the Ministry of
War. Since 1822 they have been under the Ministry of the Interior, and 177
are used by the district chief for police and messenger services. This archaic
institution of a staff of civil Cossacks still survives in all the district towns
of the Province of Yakutsk, and among those of the Maritime Province

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[1] Dr. S. I. Mitakevic, the former physician of the Kolyma district, told me that during his visit to the Anui fair in 1901, the chief of the district did not bring any presents for the Chukchee tribute-payers; and the Chukchee of the Chukchee Peninsula, on being informed of this, requested the return to them of the tribute skins which they had given to the chief. Their request was granted.

[2] See p. 776.

[3] Since 1893 the Maritime Koryak and other settled peoples had to pay, in addition to the tribute, taxes amounting to 4 kopeks per soul. These taxes were raised to cover local expenses, such as repairs of roads, etc.

[4] This was true at least of the medical staff during my stay in the Gishiga district.

648 708 177 in Gishiginsk, Markova, Petropavlovsk, Okhotsk, and Udsk. The Cossacks form an hereditary class, and their services are obligatory. The term of the Cossack's active service is twenty-five years, beginning at the age of eighteen. Every Cossack draws a yearly salary of seventy rubles, and receives monthly seventy-two pounds of rice and flour. Boys, from their birth to the age of sixteen, receive half that amount of provisions. Hence boys are much desired in Cossack families, and a Cossack maiden who has male children born out of wedlock is a welcome bride. The Cossack detachment in Gishiginsk numbers about thirty, and the wives and children bring the number up to over one hundred. The duties of the Gishiginsk Cossacks consist in being on service in the offices of the district chief, in escorting officials on their journeys through the district, and in accompanying the mail as carriers; scientific expeditions also made use of the Cossack as guards or as servants and interpreters. Thus, by order of the Maritime Governor, a Cossack was despatched with my party. Mr. Bogoras, on his journey to the Chukchee Peninsula, had with him two Cossacks. In the summer the duties of the Cossacks are limited to the days when steamers arrive. They unload the official freight, consisting to a large extent of rice and flour for their own use. The rest of their time they spend in fishing. Even during the winter months they have spare time enough to attend to their households or to serve as commissioners in the barter of the natives with the merchants.

x 648 177 The Cultural Influence of the Russians on the Koryak. — What has been shown in regard to the remote districts of Northeast Siberia, as exemplified by the Gishiga district, will in a future work on the Yukaghir be demonstrated in regard to the northern districts of the Yakutsk province; namely, that these districts require heavy expenditures from the metropolis, and that while the present policy lasts there is little hope for better conditions in the future. From these facts one would imagine that Russia maintains its remote northeastern colonies solely for the glory of possessing a territory which, although barren and not populated, is immense; or for the sake of civilizing the natives. These motives do without doubt enter as factors into the so-called "colonial policy" of Russia; but they are not the main causes of the deficits in the Treasury. The excess of expenditures over revenues is primarily due to a deficient administration of the territory, which is ruled by ignorant and mostly unnecessary officials. Frequently the high bureaucrats have no knowledge whatever of the country intrusted to their care. Here is an interesting illustration. The chief of the Gishiga district, Ratkevich, was rash enough to present in his report to the Governor of the Maritime Province for 1885 a short ethnographical sketch[1] describing cases where old men were killed or vendetta murders committed by the tribes in his district.

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[1] See the Gishiginsk Archives, Reports of the Chief of the District, of Sept. 30, 1885 (No. 197) and of Dec. 31, 1881 (No. 404).

in answer to this report, the vice-governor wrote to Ratkevich, asking him, in the name of the Governor, on what grounds he tolerated in his locality acts which were illegal according to the laws of the Russian Empire.

In regard to the cultural activity of whites in general in their colonies, we must remember that no white nation has ever approached a primitive people with the sole purpose of civilizing it. All civilized nations have acquired colonies, on account of their natural products, as lands for immigration or as markets for their own products. The natives, in some cases, where they were not exterminated or had not died out under the burden of oppression, acquired in the course of time a certain degree of civilization through intercourse with the whites.

The extreme northeast of Siberia is not fit for Russian colonization. The culture of the Russian immigrants in these localities has deteriorated, and their mode of life is but little different from that of the natives. The number of Russian inhabitants in the Koryak territory, to judge by the Gishiga district, where the bulk of the people are Koryak, is slightly in excess of six per cent of the total population.

If the country cannot be populated by Russians, the question arises, whether under any conditions it would become possible for the latter to raise the civilization of the natives? The answer must be that a civilizing influence could certainly be exerted on the Koryak and their neighbors if the Government assigned for that purpose the sums now expended on the complex administration. Such expenditures for cultural purposes would ultimately result in an improvement of local conditions, leading to an increase of revenues which would easily equal and finally exceed the expenditures for the administration of the country. In place of the present staff of officials and the Cossack detachments, one commissary and a few paid guards could efficiently attend to the simple needs of the district. The duties of a commissary could be performed by one of the school-teachers. At the time of my stay in the Gishiga district, there were no schools. The children of the Gishiginsk priests, as well as the children of District Chief Prshevalinsky, Councillor of State, who died before my arrival, could hardly write a note or even sign their names; while the chief's wife, who belonged to the local Russians, was entirely illiterate. The Cossacks and common people were, of course, practically all illiterate. According to data contained in the Archives, an elementary school was held at different times; but as it was intrusted to the priest and sexton, who themselves were but little versed in the art of reading and writing, the school had to be closed after a short existence on paper. It goes without saying that the institution of schools with trained teachers in Gishiginsk, as well as in some of the more important Koryak settlements, would have familiarized the Koryak with Russian culture to a much greater extent than did the levying of a petty tribute. Besides giving

648 an elementary education, these schools ought to pursue practical ends. 177 A breeding-station for reindeer associated with the school could vastly increase the value of herds. There the Koryak could be instructed in the advanced methods of domestication and of improving breeds, as well as in the art of preventing reindeer-epidemics. The school should also teach better methods of catching and preserving fish. The technical capacity and artistic talent of the Koryak, if properly directed, would lead to the development of home industries, — the production of fur rugs, for instance, — which would yield valuable articles for the export trade. If for a period of ten years the sums now expended on the administration of the country were spent on building and maintaining schools, the culture and material well-being of the Koryak could be raised to such an extent that their further development could be left in their own hands. Such ought to be the results aimed at by a rational colonial policy, leaving quite out of account the moral obligations of a civilized nation towards its primitive subjects. It cannot be denied that life under conditions and circumstances like those of the Koryak must be extremely hard to endure for people of any culture; but when the fate of the Siberian natives shall pass from the hands of the bureaucracy to those of the nation, not a few of the Russian intellectuals will be willing to sacrifice their comfort and habits of life for the sake of enlightening and enriching the inhabitants of the Far North.

It remains to summarize the positive and negative results derived by the Koryak from their contact with civilization. I shall, however, treat only of those aspects of the subject which were not touched upon in my description of the modern material culture of the Koryak as compared with that of the past. After the complete subjection of the Kamchadal, followed by a number of military rulers who abused their vast powers, Kamchatka entered upon a period characterized by greater consideration for the natives. That period, beginning with the end of the eighteenth century, could be termed the "period of enlightened despotism." Instead of trying to stimulate the local pursuits of the natives, the Administration decided to introduce among the Kamchadal occupations belonging to Russian civilization. By means of flogging and other modes of punishment, the Kamchadal were forced to build Russian houses, sow rye, raise vegetables, and breed cattle. The constraining measures innocently used by the despotic civilizers killed in the Kamchadal all initiative and energy: their individuality was totally crushed. Of course, all attempts to introduce agriculture utterly failed, while cattle-breeding and horticulture are still carried 648 on in a desultory way. This "enlightened despotism" had its effect also on 177 the Koryak settlements in northern Kamchatka. Here horticulture proved 231 impossible while horses and cattle are bred on a small scale. Thus, according to the data for 1896, there were in the village Dranka 9 horses and 17 cows; in Karagha, 3 horses and 2 cows; in Uka, 1 horse; in Pallan, 7

648 X horses and 21 cows; and in Lesnovskoye, 27 horses and 2 cows. A some-
231 what greater number of these animals is found in the village Yamsk of the
Okhotsk district. In 1895 there were in that village 30 horses and 40 cows;
here, however, the population consisted in part of Yakut, who, being born
177 cattle-breeders, take much better care of their cattle than do the Kamchadal
and Koryak. The inhabitants of Yamsk also raise potatoes; in 1895, 63
puds[1] of these were planted, and 602 puds were reaped.

THE MISSIONARIES. — With the exception of a few noble personalities,
797 like the Aleut missionary Veniaminoff, or the Altai missionary Verbitsky, the
history of the activity of Greek-Orthodox missionaries among the heathen peoples of Siberia cannot be considered honorable. Up to the present time, the priests and monks sent to the Far Northeast are men of little education; they do not know, and are not able to study, the languages of the natives; they have rough manners, and are utterly lacking in qualities indispensable in expounders of the moral foundations of Christianity. Among the Koryak, the Russian missionaries had at first no success whatever. Among the Kamchadal, baptism in the beginning served as a means of making slaves of the newly baptized; and missionaries, no less than Cossacks, strove, above all, to secure furs. The secular chiefs often regarded the conversion of the Kamchadal to Christianity as one of the means of subjecting them. One of these chiefs would hang a Kamchadal who refused to be baptized; others excused the newly baptized for a number of years from paying tribute.[2] From the Kamchadal the missionaries proceeded to the Uka and Pallan Koryak of northern Kamchatka, and from there to the Alutor. In Dranka there is at the present time a church with a resident priest. But all these Christianized Koryak adopted to a certain degree only the formal side of the Orthodox creed. The same holds true of the Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district and of the village Nayakhan in the Gishiga district, while the great bulk of the population of the Gishiga district has until to-day entirely resisted Christianity. These phenomena must in part be ascribed to the great tenacity with which the Koryak cling to their old religious beliefs. Besides, however, the Koryak are reluctant to undertake the burdens associated with baptism. The priest must be paid for performing the ceremonies of the Church, and be driven about the villages and settlements without remuneration to the drivers. To this must be added the abuses and extortions committed by the priests, against which the secular administration itself has repeatedly protested. In the Gishiginsk Archives there are several suits directed against the abuses of the clergy. Thus a suit was filed against three priests who had entered the services of merchants as drivers of goods, at the same time

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[1] One pud is equivalent to 40 Russian or 36 English pounds.

[2] For very interesting data on the unfavorable activity of the clergy, and on the oppression of the Kamchadal by the officials, see Dr. Tushov, Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka (Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1906).

797 making free use of the transportation facilities of the Russian settlers and the natives, in their capacity as priests.[1]

Without going into a discussion of questions of a purely religious character, it must be said that the priests would have been in a position to promote the cultural mission, had better men been selected, and had their subsidies from the Government or private missionary societies been large enough to prevent them from becoming a burden to the local population.

177 THE AMERICANS. — Of the representatives of other civilized nations, the Koryak know but the name "Americans," — American whalers. The carving shown in Fig. 173, p. 655, representing the captain of an American whaling-ship, testifies to the fact that the Koryak are acquainted with American seamen. It is hard to fix the date when American traders first appeared in Koryak waters; certain it is, that as far back as the first half of the nineteenth century American whaling-ships hunted for whales and other sea-animals in many places on the Okhotsk and Bering Seas. They entered into relations with the Koryak, and carried on barter with them. The Gulf of Baron Korff, the island of Karagha, and Penshina Bay, were among the places visited by American schooners. At present such visits are less frequent, owing to the decrease of the number of sea-animals in these regions. From its earliest days and up to the present time the American hunt of sea-animals in these waters has been carried on as contraband; but, owing to the absence of coast defences, the hunt of sea-animals, as well as the barter with the Koryak, continue undisturbed. The Koryak themselves are sympathetically disposed towards American seamen. These men from beyond the sea demand no tribute, want no free services; on the contrary, they themselves perform services for the Koryak (see p. 550). The American articles which they offer in exchange for reindeer hides and furs are cheaper and of better quality than the articles brought by the Russian merchants. The elder of the Taigonos Koryak once asked me this question: "Tiyk-e′yım (Sun Chief; that is, the Czar) is so powerful; why are his workers inferior to those of the American e′yim (chief)? The guns, cords, and clothes received from the Americans are of better quality than the Russian ones." The alcoholic liquors which the American traders carry along with other good things are also highly appreciated by the Koryak. There were cases however, when the crews of American schooners entered Koryak villages with other than amicable intentions. In connection with one visit of American sailors to Koryak villages, there is in the Archives of the Gishigia district Administration an interesting "case" (No. 578) referring to the year 1856. The heading reads, "The case of the robbery of the Kamenskoye and Levatı Koryak by men of unknown nationality who arrived on ships" In substance it was the following: —

Early in the winter of the year 1856 some Koryak from Kamenskoye

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[1] From records in the Gishiginsk Archives.

177 went to Gishiginsk and complained to the authorities that they themselves, and the inhabitants of the neighboring village Levatı, had been robbed in the summer by American whalers. All the inhabitants of these two villages had departed in their skin boats to hunt seals. Only two Koryak had remained in Kamenskoye. While the villages were still deserted, two three-masters entered the bay and dropped anchor in the vicinity of Kamenskoye. Here three whales were killed. The men from the ships boarded their whale-boats and came ashore. The two Koryak mentioned above, seeing the approaching strangers, left the village and fled to a near-by rock. Watching the strangers from afar, they saw how they carried out of the houses. foxes, reindeer-hides, and fur garments. Then the sailors entered Levatı, where they proceeded in the same fashion. Further, it appears from the "case" that an account of the occurrence, written by the chief of the Gishiga district, was sent by the Governor to the Minister of the Interior, who passed it over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to be presented for explanation to the United States of North America. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, declared that he could not adopt the course of action suggested, for the testimony of the two Koryak was insufficient to positively establish the nationality of the sailors. Thus the affair remained unexplained. As, however, whalers of no other nationality had until then visited Gishiga Bay, it seems plausible that the whalers in question were Americans.

101 THE NEIGHBORING PEOPLE. — The neighbors of the Koryak at the present time are the Chukchee in the north, the Kamchadal in the south, the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the southwest. On the middle course of the Penshina River we find, wandering with their herds, the remainder of the now almost extinct Chuvantzy people, who were related to the Yukaghir, but have now become assimilated with the Koryak. From the direction of the Kolyma River, single representatives of the Yakut people at times go to the Koryak territory as traders. The Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district, like the inhabitants of Yamsk and Tumanskoye, have to a certain degree mixed with the Yakut, who have been forced to migrate from the vicinity of Yakutsk to the shores of the Okhotsk Sea.

174
648 I have repeatedly mentioned the fact that the Kamchadal, Koryak, and Chukchee are really branches of one and the same people, as testified to by the type of their languages, their religion and culture, except for the fact that the Kamchadal have no reindeer-herds. According to tradition, the early relations of the Koryak with the Chukchee were different from their relations with the Kamchadal. With the former the Koryak were constantly engaged in war, while their relations with the latter were of a more friendly character. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that the Reindeer Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak, whose territories were as loosely defined in olden times as they are now, came into constant collision regarding pas-

648 turages. Besides, in the days when might was right, herds were often taken by force through direct attack of the herd-owner: they had to be always
174 watched, arms in hand. The Reindeer Chukchee, in their invasions of the Koryak Reindeer camps, would ultimately reach the sea and attack the settlements of the Maritime Koryak. The northern villages of the Kerek are
173 still subject to oppression by the Reindeer Chukchee, who, as the Koryak, often rob the Kerek of their stores, and exact service from them.

721 We have some traditions recording wars between the Kamchadal and the Koryak. Without doubt, such wars occured often, as well as lesser feuds between the various groups of each of these two peoples; but what may be concluded from the traditions is, that no such antagonism existed between the Kamchadal and the Koryak as between the latter and the Chukchee and
437 Yukaghir. This could possibly be explained by the fact that in northern Kamchatka the settlements of the Maritime Koryak are in direct contact with
167 the settlements of the Kamchadal. It would have been hard to draw an ethnographic line between these settlements. Marriages between the peoples were common, and the border region was populated by a mixed people.

The Kamchadal obtained from the Reindeer Koryak, through barter, hides for clothing, and these trading-relations were peaceful. In olden times the Reindeer Koryak did not advance in Kamchatka farther south than Tighil. The subsequent movement of the Reindeer Koryak along the western slope of the Kamchatka ridge southward led to complaints from the Kamchadal, who accused the reindeer-breeders of driving away their game-animals or of killing them out of the hunting-season. To regulate these conditions, the Russian authorities require from the Reindeer Koryak, that whenever they pass to the Kamchadal territory, they shall secure the consent of the neighboring Kamchadal villages and abstain from hunting earlier than the Kamchadal hunters. On the other hand, the Kamchadal derive benefits from the close proximity of the Reindeer Koryak; for, outside of the advantages of barter, the Koryak kill reindeer for the Kamchadal in times of famine. Still the Koryak are not admitted to the valley of the Kamchatka River.

The relations of the Koryak to the Yukaghir and Tungus will be dis-
177 cussed more fully in the work on the Yukaghir. Besides, the Koryak at present scarcely ever meet the Yukaghir. Only those of the Reindeer Koryak who during the winter traverse the Stanovoi Mountains to the valleys
648 of the Korkodon and the Omolon Rivers, come in contact with the Korkodon Yukaghir. Their relations with the Yukaghir are rather of a beneficial character. The Yukaghir are too poor to carry on regular barter. Generally they induce the reindeer-owners to give them some hides and a little deer-meat for nothing. The Tungus, who before the advent of the Russians, were constantly at war with the Koryak, began, after the subjection of the country by Russia, to penetrate the unoccupied localities in the Koryak terri-

tory. Being hunters, they occupy the wooded valleys of rivers which abound 177 in game, and where the Koryak with their herds are seldom met with. Friction is thus avoided. It even happens that the Koryak and the Tungus 648 peacefully camp not far from each other or side by side. Thus the Tungus gradually advanced to several tributaries of the Penshina River, on which the squirrel occurs; and along the shores of the Okhotsk Sea they quite recently penetrated, even to Kamchatka, where, besides finding plenty of food for their reindeer, and mountain-sheep for hunting, they ran across a valuable fur-animal, — the sable.

Thus the original warlike relations of the Koryak with the neighboring 178 natives were in the course of time superseded by entirely peaceful relations, based chiefly on barter. 648 It is true that the Koryak still have contemptuous nicknames for each of the peoples; but, wherever they come into contact with these peoples, they form friendships and favor intermarriages.

An interesting trait in the lives of these primitive peoples is the remarkable 186 tolerance with which they treat each other's customs and beliefs, and 648 their willingness, in case of need, to recognize each other's strength or superiority. Thus the Koryak do not hesitate to appeal for assistance to the shamans of the Chukchee or Tungus. A foreign shaman is even treated [756] with more than the ordinary respect accorded to his class, for he is the master of spirits who are beyond the control of local shamans. When a 582 Koryak enters into the relation of marriage or of friendship with a person belonging to another people, the accompanying ceremonies follow the custom 648 of either of the two peoples, according to agreement. If a Koryak, for example, marries a Tungus girl, the marriage ceremony is performed in accordance with Tungus customs, and he pays a ransom for the bride. A Tungus girl, on the other hand, on entering a Koryak household, puts on Koryak garments and submits to the customs which regulate the home life of the Koryak. A Tungus has to serve for his Koryak bride. Tungus-Koryak marriages are, however, very rare in the interior of the country. As indicated above, intermarriages of the Koryak with the Tungus are of most frequent occurrence in the territory of the Reindeer Koryak on the Gishiga and Varkhalam Rivers. Although the Tungus are all Christians, they do not invite the Russian priests to perform their marriage ceremonies whenever one of the parties belongs to the heathen Koryak, but wed according to Koryak or ancient Tungus customs. Marriages between the Koryak and the Chukchee are more frequent than those between the former and the Tungus. In the case of these intermarriages, the Chukchee camps within the Koryak territory, like those in the north of Kamchatka or on the Parapol Dol, adopt Koryak customs; on the Chukchee frontier, on the other hand, in the northern part of the Palpal, the Koryak submit to Chukchee customs, including that of exchanging wives.

[p. 812 is blank]

LIST OF KORYAK AND ALLIED NAMES.

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⁂ For page references to the text, when not given in this list, see Index, under the English equivalent, which is here enclosed in parentheses following the foreign word. Entire entries in parentheses are of either Chukchee or Kamchadal origin.

Ače'pin, man's name, 123.
Ačičen·a'qu (Big-Grandfather).
A'ime-ñe'ut (Ice-Hole-Woman).
A'inqo, man's name, 774.
Ama'aqen, woman's name, 209, 210, 212.
Ami'l̄lu, mythological name, 310.
Amka'vvi, name of mask, 82.
(**Amle'i**, grandson of the Kamchadal Raven, 22.)
A'na. See Index, under *Xe'llu.*
An·a'rukča-ña'ut, daughter of Big-Raven, 21, 312, 333, 334, 335.
Añayı'mtılaᵋn (Star-Man).
Anna'mayat (Frost-Man).
Annon, Kerek village, 440.
Añqa'ken-etı'nvılaᵋn (master of the sea).
Añqalaᵋn (maritime dweller).
A'ñqa-ña'ut (Sea-Woman).
A'n·qiw (Strong-One).
Anyapel (Spider-Woman).
Anyapilaqu (little grandmother).
Apa'pel (grandfather).
Apiga'mtılaᵋn (Paroquet-Auk-Man).
Apka'wka (Able-to-do-Everything).
A'qan, name of woman, 266.
A'rı-ña'ut (Wry-Mouth-Woman).
Atal or **Etel**, Koryak name for the Yukaghir, 418.
Aᵋtanvalaᵋn (Dog-Man).
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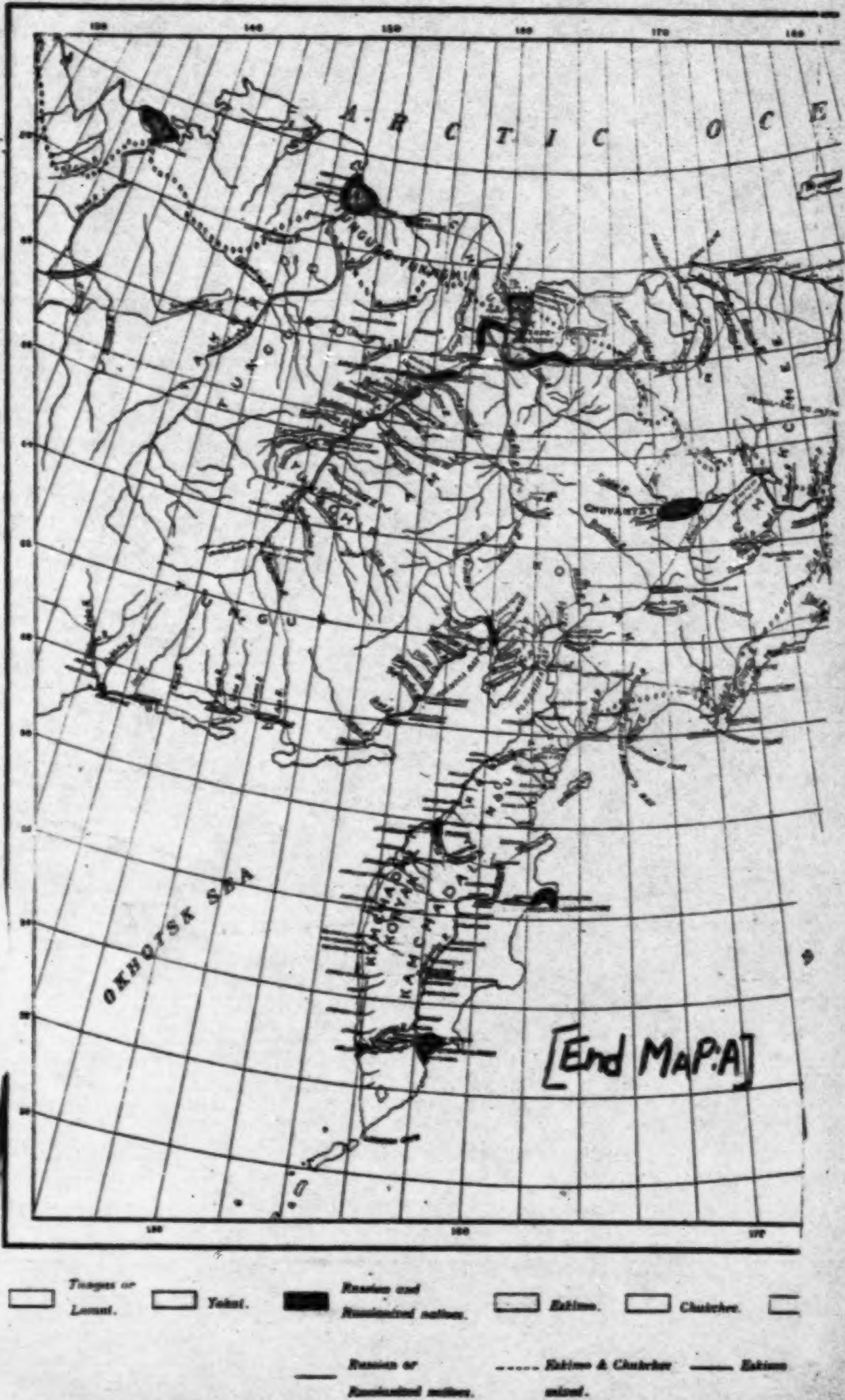
MAP SHOWING PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES IN NORTHEASTERN SIBERI


130
140
150
160
170
180
A R C T I C O C E
CHUVANTZY
OKHOTSK SEA
KORYAK
KAMCHADAL
KAMCHADAL
150
160
170
Tungus or Lamut.
Yakut.
Russian and Russianized natives.
Eskimo.
Chukchee.
Russian or Russianized natives.
Eskimo & Chukchee mixed.
Eskimo

[End MAP:A]

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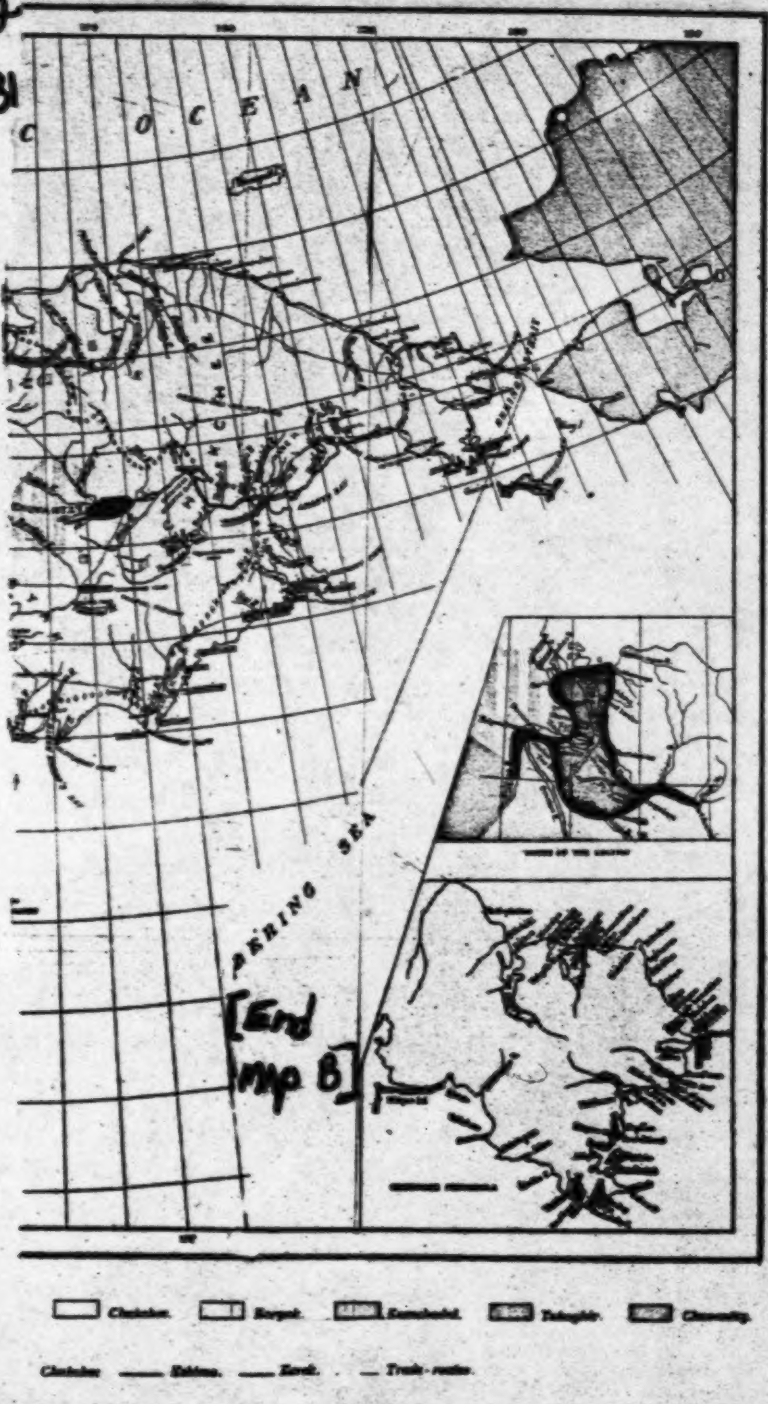

O C E A N
BERING SEA
Chukchee.
Koryak.
Kamchadal.
Yukaghir.
Chuvantzy.
Chukchee
Eskimo.
Even.
Trade-routes.

[End mp B]

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(For information on the Cossacks settled on Kamchatka in their dealings with the Koryak see 1: Jochelson, RY4 Koryak, category 116, pp. 799-806.)

113, 773 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

(For complete translated texts of Kamchadal myths see 1: Jochelson, RY4 Koryak, category 116, pp. 327-340.)

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(This category is reserved for the Koryak people as a whole. For divisions above the community level (which, judging by the text are imposed from without), variously labelled "clans" and /or "districts" in the text, see: 162, 361 and 184.)

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(For complete translated texts of Koryak myths see category 116, pp. 125-326.)

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(For history of contacts with Russian administrative and military agencies, see category 116, pp. 783-807.)

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(For rug-making and designs see category 281.)